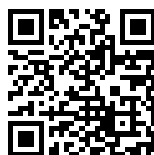

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Rev. R. H. Stone

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.

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THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1859.

THE LEGAL ARGUMENT FOR WAR.

WE can seldom bring or keep the advocates of war to the real issue: Is war a *Christian* way of settling disputes? Are its principles, its spirit, its means, its ends, all in clear and full accordance with the gospel, with the Sermon on the Mount, with the teaching or example of Christ and his apostles? Does the New-Testament enjoin or allow war as a proper, *evangelical* process of determining justice between nations? Is it a Christian institution, one which the gospel is designed, not to condemn and abolish, but to preserve, and merely guard it against abuse?

Here is the true and only issue; but, instead of fairly meeting it, apologists for war fly off to other points on which we have no controversy, and talk about the necessity of government with its appliances for dealing with the wrong-doer. 'Society,' we are told, 'must protect itself against outrage. Jails and prisons, the judge, the sheriff and the executioner, are right in their place, indispensable under the gospel itself to the safety and well-being of society. It may be a hard process, but just as necessary as it is for the surgeon to amputate a mortified limb; and it would be only a girlish sentimentalism, a suicidal kindness, to hold the arm of law back from its steady, unrelenting grasp upon the disturbers of the public peace. The principle is applicable to nations, to wrong-doers alike on a small and a large scale. An army is a species of international police, as a navy is an ocean police, each an instrument of justice between nations. We may well deplore the necessity; but, however deplorable, it exists, and cannot, in the present state of the world, be avoided. A man-of-war is indeed a painful sight; so is the scaffold or the prison; but both are needed to punish or restrain wrong-doers.'

Here is the upshot of the argument ; but the great masters of international law put it in a form somewhat more philosophical. War they regard as a judicial process, a tribunal of justice between nations, a method of determining their rights, of redressing their wrongs, and inflicting condign punishment upon the guilty. Lieber calls it "a mode of obtaining rights;" Vattel defines it to be "that state in which we prosecute our rights by force;" and Lord Bacon describes it as "one of the highest trials of right, when princes and states put themselves upon the justice of God for the deciding of their controversies by such success as it shall please him to give to either side."

Here is the whole force of the legal argument in favor of war as a method of international justice. The plea is sufficiently plausible ; but will facts at all justify it ? What is there in war resembling a process of justice ? In every judicial trial, we see, first, a law common to the parties ; next, a judge and jury, as impartial umpires between them ; then the accuser publicly meeting the accused face to face with his charges ; next the witnesses testifying in open court, and subject to the most searching examination by each party ; then the whole case fully argued on both sides, and closed by the charge of the judge, and the verdict of the jury, each delivered under all the solemnities of an oath ; and finally, the sentence of the court, to be executed according to law only by a special warrant from the highest executive authority.

Here is a legal process of justice ; but what shadow of resemblance to all this can you find in war ? There is no law to define right ; no judge to interpret that law, or jury to apply it ; no tribunal to try the case ; no rules prescribing the mode of trial, and requiring notice of the complaint, and opportunity for vindication ; no charges duly preferred ; no testimony given under oath, and fairly examined ; no delay, or chance for the correction of errors ; no privilege of appeal to a higher tribunal, or right to claim a new hearing ; no hope of reprieve or pardon ; no trustworthy officer to execute the precise sentence of the law ; no restriction of the penalty to the exact demerits of the criminal ; no precautions to guard the innocent against suffering with the guilty. No ; each party makes a law for itself, erects its own tribunal of blood, and then proceeds to act as accuser and witness, as counsel, judge and executioner. What a burlesque on all ideas of justice ! Justice by the process of twenty, fifty or a hundred

thousand professional homicides, the very bloodhounds of society, meeting on a field of battle to shoot, and stab, and hew, and trample each other down ! It is a libel on the name of justice, an outrage on common sense, to call this a judicial process, a mode of redress for national grievances. As well might we call a fight between two mad-men, between a score of jackals, or a hundred buffalos, a process of justice !

Yet is it by such a fiction as this that the great mass of even conscientious, intelligent Christians reconcile themselves to the follies and absurdities, the crimes and woes of war. ‘Shall not slavers be captured, pirates exterminated, and insurrections put down ?’ Certainly ; but is this war ? It does involve the idea of force ; but the act of force, even though it end in destroying life, is not necessarily war. Confusion here arises very much from the fact, that the military are employed, in special emergencies, as a civil police ; but, when thus used to enforce law, they are in the service not of war, but of civil government, and wield the sword, not of war, but of the magistrate. It is, in all such cases, a strictly civil, legal, peaceful process. In acts of this sort, there is not necessarily anything peculiar to war, or involving a single principle of war. Yet because Christians may properly act as police-men in preserving order, repressing popular outbreaks, and bringing criminals to condign punishment, not a few strangely jump to the conclusion that they may with equal propriety devote themselves to the profession of arms, to the trade of blood, as the business of life. According to this logic, soldiers, *Christian* soldiers, were employed in our revolutionary war, and in our last war with England, on each side, to execute justice, England against us, and we against England ; both right, and both wrong ; in one view wrong-doers, and in another avengers of similar wrong in others !

Take the case, a very common one in its principle, of the devout young Capt. Vicars. “There cannot be a *doubt*,” he says of the Crimean war, “that it is a *just war* we are engaged in ; and therefore I say the sooner we are let loose upon the Russians, the better. There are some people, I know, cannot imagine how *any Christian* could ever join the deadly strife of battle ; but I can only say that with such I do not agree, so that I shall not flinch from *doing my duty* to my Queen and my country, the Lord being my helper. I consider war to be a dire calamity, but as much a

visitation from the Almighty as cholera, or any other scourge ; and, as on the appearance of that dreadful malady, we do not sit quietly down, and let it take its course, but very rightly use every precaution, and employ every means to drive it from amongst us, so in the case of this war with the Russian despot. He has made an aggression upon a country, one of our oldest allies, which had given no just cause of provocation, and has thus disturbed the peace of Europe, and let loose upon us the horrors of war. And shall we Britons let him have his own way, and tamely look on ? God forbid ! Rather will we, the Lord being our 'shield and buckler,' crush the evil, and restore peace and quietness to the land." A pretty fair specimen of war-logic in which Christians often indulge ; but its weakness and absurdity are too glaring to need or deserve a passing comment. Russian soldiers could and did, on the other side, reason in essentially the same way ; and thus one of the most inexcusable wars on modern record, was justified by Christians as necessary and righteous on both sides.

SAFETY OF PEACE PRINCIPLES.

THERE is a very general distrust of moral means as a security against evils from our fellow-men ; but the more we inquire and reflect on the subject, the more shall we find that a course of conduct strictly pacific, affords, both for individuals and for nations, the surest grounds of trust and safety. We are well aware that the mass of even Christians do not think so ; and hence we would fain do what we can to rectify herein their wrong modes of reasoning, and bring them into full accord with the gospel they profess to take to be their guide.

There are two ways to keep men from injuring us — by compulsion, or by persuasion ; by brute force, or by kind moral influence ; by appeals to their fears alone, or by addresses to their conscience and better feelings. We may resort to the law of violence, or to the law of love ; we may rely on the principle of war, or on the principle of peace. One threatens, the other persuades ; one hates and curses, the other loves and blesses ; the former gives back insult and injury with interest, while the latter meekly turns the other cheek to the smiter, forgives even its bitterest enemies, and strives to overcome evil only with good.

No man at all acquainted with the gospel, needs to be told which of these methods is most accordant with its spirit or principles. The bare statement must suffice for any one who has read either the New-Testament or the Old ; who has traced the example of Christ and his apostles, or caught from their lips such instructions as these — *lay aside all malice ; do good unto all men ; love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that despitefully use you ; resist not evil, but whoso smiteth you on one cheek, turn to him the other also ; recompense to no man evil for evil, but overcome evil with good.*

Here is the Christian mode of preventing or curing evils ; but most persons deem it unsafe, and resort to some form of violence. They have little confidence in the power of reason or truth, of justice or kindness, to hold in check the bad passions of mankind, but employ for this purpose threats of evil, and engines of vengeance and death. Fear they seem to regard as the only effectual restraint upon mischief or guilt ; and hence they arm themselves with pistols and daggers against their personal foes, and think it madness for nations to rely for protection, one against another, on anything but fleets and armies, a soldiery well trained, and fortifications well manned. Milder means, appeals to the better feelings of our nature, they would not entirely discard ; but the former they make their last resort, their sole reliance, and honestly believe that war is the only sure way to peace ; that there is no real security but in bloodshed ; that we must either fight, or become the prey of malice or ambition, of rapacity or revenge. Nor can we deny that the history of our world, written mainly in blood, and detailing a series of almost incessant jealousies and conflicts between nations, would seem to justify such an opinion ; and yet we verily believe that pacific principles are the surest safeguard, and would, if rightly used, suffice, far better than any war-methods, to avert or mitigate the evils incident from bad passions to individual or national intercourse.

Let us first ascertain the precise point in dispute. The question is not whether the principles of peace, any measures of forbearance, kindness and conciliation, will, in every case, avert all evil. The depravity of mankind forbids any such hope. It is morally impossible ; and no means devised by the policy of man, or the wisdom of God, have hitherto succeeded in securing such a result. Certainly the war principle has not. It has been tried all over the earth for nearly six thousand years ; but has it kept man

from preying upon his brother, or nation from rising against nation? Has it prevented bloodshed, violence, rapine, injustice, oppression, despotism, the countless wrongs and evils that form nearly the sum total of history? Surely, then, war is no security against the bad passions of men; it would seem hardly possible for any system to produce *worse* results; and hence we are forced to inquire, as the only point at issue, whether a policy strictly pacific will prevent more evil, and secure more good, than war-methods actually have.

The advocates of war seem even now to concede in fact the very point in debate; for they all admit, that we ought to use pacific expedients as long as we can, and to draw the sword only as a last and inevitable resort. This admission recognizes the superiority of pacific over warlike measures; and we should, if consistent, abandon the latter, and adopt the former as our uniform and permanent policy.

History, too, though extremely barren of examples to illustrate the efficacy of pacific principles, does nevertheless furnish some strong presumptions in their favor. War, as an engine of mere force and vengeance, belongs to a state entirely savage; and communities, like individuals, abandon or relax the war-principle just as far as they rise in the scale of general cultivation, and come under the sway of moral influences. Nations, even while retaining the war-system in the back-ground as the ultimate reliance, have already reached the wisdom of employing for the most part pacific expedients for the prevention or adjustment of difficulties with each other. They retain the sword, but keep it in the scabbard, and are fast superseding its use by the substitution of pacific methods. They continue the war-system either by the force of habit, or as a sort of scare-crow; it looms up before the world very like an old, useless hulk afloat on the ocean as a memento of the past, and a warning to the future; while they sedulously use in its stead the policy of peace in more than nine cases out of ten, and thus bear an unconscious but decisive testimony to the vast superiority of the former.

We can find in history no considerable nation acting on the strictest principles of peace; but those which approach the nearest to these principles, uniformly enjoy the highest degree of safety and prosperity. Take China, Switzerland, or the United States; and you will see in their case a striking confirmation of this truth, and a strong presumptive argument for the *strictest* principles of peace. None of them have given up the system of armed self-defence; but they have for the most part adopted a policy unusually pacific. They have professedly acted only on the defensive; they have betrayed few, if any, wishes for aggression or conquest; they have kept up no fleets or armies sufficient to intimidate or provoke their neighbors; they have been respectful, courteous and conciliatory in their intercourse with other nations, and relied mainly on their own character, and the force of reason and justice, for the vindication of their rights, and the redress of their wrongs. What is the result? No nations on earth have ever been so exempt from aggression, injury and insult; and, if the

partial adoption of our principles has been so successful, would not their full application be still more so?

Let us dwell a little on cases like these. Rome, while under her warlike kings, kept a great part of Italy in arms against her; but Numa, changing this policy, turned his people from the pursuits of war to the arts of peace, quelled the dissensions among themselves, and cultivated a friendly intercourse with the nations around them. Their neighbors, astonished at the change, threw aside their arms, hailed the Romans as friends, and lived in peace with them so long as they continued this new policy. So of the Chinese. Disinclined to war, and nearly destitute of military resources, still what nation has suffered fewer invasions of its soil or its rights? Look at Switzerland. For more than five centuries has she, with very few and brief exceptions, been at peace with her neighbors. While the flames of war have raged all around her, she has remained quiet upon her mountains, tilled her rugged soil, and reaped the fruits of her industry and pacific policy, in the enjoyment of health, competence and domestic happiness. Nor is this owing to her Alpine position, to the bravery of her sons, or the peculiar form of her government; for there is nothing in all these to shield her against the assaults of any power disposed to invade her territory. It would have been very easy for neighboring states to conquer Switzerland; and yet she remains unmolested, a republic free and flourishing in the midst of surrounding despotisms. Why? Not because she has any formidable power, but because she pursues a pacific policy. She betrays no ambition to enlarge her territory, seeks only security within her own limits, and is scrupulously upright, honorable and conciliatory in her intercourse with other nations. She aims to give no just ground for offence; and, when complaints arise, she holds herself ready to meet every fair and equitable claim for redress. Her policy and her character are the bulwarks of her defence, almost the only pledges of her safety.

Here, too, is the secret of our own security. More than seventy years have elapsed since our independence was acknowledged by Great Britain; and during all this time no invader, except when provoked by the hostilities we had ourselves begun, has set foot upon our soil; nor has there been any real need of drawing the sword to secure from other nations a proper respect for our rights, or an equitable redress for our wrongs. Yet has our general policy ever been essentially and eminently pacific. We have had the merest handful of men for a standing army; our navy, too, though in high repute for its skill and bravery, has always been comparatively small; and in all our intercourse with other nations, we have relied almost entirely on the excellence of our principles, and the justice of our cause. We have doubtless experienced occasional injury, and some delays of justice; but we have suffered as little as any other people in the same time, and far less than we should from an opposite policy.

An example still more striking is found in the commonwealth of San Marino. This little republic in Italy, the smallest independent state in

Europe, covers, on a single mountain and two adjoining hills, some thirty square miles, and contains, in its capital and four villages, only 7000 inhabitants. Yet has this petty republic existed, very much in its present form, more than thirteen centuries. The thunderbolts of war have fallen thick but harmless around it; other republics, proud of their military strength, have been swept from the earth; Italy has repeatedly been covered with armies, and drenched in blood; thrones have crumbled, dynasties perished, and all Europe been shaken to its centre by political convulsions; yet San Marino, strong in its very weakness, and safe mainly by its reliance on a pacific policy, has remained nearly all the time without harm or assault. It claims the right of violent defence, but provides few means for the purpose, and none sufficient to deter or provoke its neighbors. How shall we account for its long and perfect safety? No state is too poor for the clutches of avarice, none too small for the grasp of ambition; and but for its pacific policy, and the indelible disgrace of assailing a community so defenceless, San Marino would long since have been merged in some neighboring nation.

Such are the results of peace principles partially applied; and would not their full application be still more successful? We might fairly deem such a conclusion self-evident; but, if we consider, first, the promised protection of heaven, next the natural tendency of such principles, and finally the history of their actual influence, we shall find an overwhelming accumulation of facts to confirm our faith in the practical efficacy of peace principles.

These topics must be deferred to a future number.

MR. COAN'S LETTER.

HILO, HAWAII, Oct. 18, 1858.

REV. G. C. BECKWITH, D. D., Sec. Am. Peace Society.

. Gladly would I give thousands to that holy cause, were it in my power. The more I contemplate the work in which you are enlisted, the more profoundly I feel that it is the work of Christ. And I am sure that the glad news announced by angels to the shepherds, and proclaimed by Christ and his apostles as the gospel of peace, will never have free course, or the Prince of Peace be revered and fully obeyed, until the war-spirit is rooted out of the Church, and its apologists cease in her ministry. There are men of peaceful hearts and peaceful examples, who nevertheless believe in the necessity of war. And there are thousands who are practically peace-makers, and who study and preach "the things which make for peace," and who yet cannot see as we do, or be persuaded to join a peace society, or openly, directly and independently patronize our cause. We will not condemn such, but wish them God-speed, remembering the words of our Saviour to James and John, when they forbade one to cast out devils because he did not follow with the apostles.

In aid of all *direct* arguments against war, and of systematic efforts in the cause of peace, the Lord is employing ten thousand collateral agencies to hasten the same results. The progress in literature, the discoveries in science, the improvements in art, the refinements in social intercourse, the interlinkings of commerce, the international comminglings, the common and extraordinary preaching of the gospel, the running to and fro of Christian missionaries—in fine, *all the great laws of progress*, point and lead on to the glorious consummation, *the reign of peace*. Even all the late experiments in war have, as I believe, been overruled by the God of love, to bring the bloody system into disrepute—to confound its abettors, and to multiply, consolidate and strengthen the friends of peace. Our platform is *rock*, and compared to it, old marble and the granite of the everlasting mountains, are sand-bars. As Moses said of the heathen, so we will say of the advocates of war, "*Their rock is not our rock*," and we may well add, "our enemies themselves being judges."

How we have been thrilled with delight on hearing of the success of the Atlantic Telegraph enterprize! All Hawaii was quickened as by an electric shock. The *fact* is a great moral battery which sends its quivering pulsations round the world. When the packet which brought the news, entered Honolulu harbor, with the flags of England and the United States entwined, signals floated from every vessel, and from all the consulates and offices in the city, great guns thundered acclaim, and a shout as of many waters went up. We were all unmanned, and many wept for joy. A constant desire gushed up in the heart to speak out, "O give thanks to the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men." May that great artery which unites the heart of the mother with her daughter, never be sundered, and may its pulsations be no other than those of reciprocal love. And may the burning thoughts which flash along the dark bed of the Atlantic, kindle fires of holy emulation on both continents.

We have just heard of a fierce and bloody battle on the island of Apian, in Micronesia, where Mr. Bingham and wife are located. A native member of my church is also a missionary there, and from his pen I have a painful picture of the scene. Contrasting that field with Hawaii, we exclaim with gratitude, "What hath God wrought!"

With full sympathy in all your toils,

I remain your brother in the Lord,

TITUS COAN.

WHY NO MORE INTEREST IN PEACE?

WHY do not the operations of the Peace Society receive more attention and support? Why is so little interest in its progress manifested even by good men? Do they not pray for the speedy coming of the time when "nation shall not lift up the sword against nation, neither shall they learn

war any more"? Are other plans of reform more important than this? Has not war always been the bane and curse of our race? Is it not in fact robbery, waste and murder reduced to a science, and transacted on a scale so vast as to defy comparison with individual crimes? Why then do the followers of the Prince of Peace remain silent, and tacitly, perhaps actively, approve of ordinary war? The proclamation at our Saviour's birth was, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth *peace*, good will toward men." He is called the "Prince of Peace." Why, then, are not the *principles of peace* incorporated into the creed and practice of all his followers? A grave question; and my object in one or more articles will be to account for such a paradox, to present some of the obstacles that obstruct the prevalence of peace principles, and attempt to remove such obstacles.

1. It is a fact, that the human mind condemns comparatively trivial moral wrongs, while their perpetration on a grand scale paralyzes the moral sensibilities, and renders them almost powerless in protesting against crime. Thus the keeper of a low drinking-house is detested as a public nuisance, while the wholesale manufacturer, or dealer in "liquid death and distilled damnation," is treated as a gentleman, and with his family loses little or nothing in his social position. The owner of buildings may lease them for base and immoral purposes, and continue to occupy his cushioned seat in a fashionable church, and retain his standing in it as a professing Christian. He, too, whose indignation is roused at the conduct of one who defrauds his hired man of his wages for a year's faithful labor, or who contrives to cheat his washerwoman out of her hard-earned services, may most complacently justify American slavery, and piously quote Scripture to prove it a divine institution.

Good men even are slow to investigate and denounce great moral evils, where habit and prejudice, or fancied interest, stand in the way. Usually we are thoroughly roused to opposition, only when those evils are forced upon our attention, or where we are personally sufferers. The existence of Popery, Infidelity, ignorance and crime on the Eastern continent, once scarcely awakened the attention of Christians in America; but when all these are precipitated upon our shores, we feel the necessity of self-protection.

There is also a manifest lack of moral courage in many men about denouncing giant forms of wickedness, when fidelity would be likely to be followed by personal opposition. He who boldly denounces the tyranny of Rome in sending the Bible-reader to prison in Italy, may be soft-spoken when in our *free* country another is incarcerated for the crime of teaching poor ignorant children to read the same Bible. It requires but little moral courage for a Christian preacher to denounce sins in which none of his own audience is implicated, or for a religious journal to lift its voice in notes of warning or rebuke against forms of error or of evil, when such plainness does not jeopardize the loss of a subscriber.

In this respect, war is treated like other gigantic evils. In a fatal street affray, the murderer is pursued, rewards are offered for his apprehension, court and jury carefully weigh the testimony on trial, and the verdict of *guilty* strikes a crowded court-room with awe. All are taught that human life is sacred, and he who maliciously takes that of his fellow, justly forfeits his own. Now, multiply this act by thousands, and how is it treated? Two armies meet, trained and armed, with the deliberate intention of murder. Their vocation is to shed blood. Their weapons are prepared for this express purpose. How to effect the most with the least exposure, is the object of both parties. The result is that hundreds or thousands are slaughtered. For their murder, *God holds somebody accountable*. If, on one or both sides, it be a needless battle, then those who engage in it, are as truly murderers, as he who waylays and shoots his near neighbor. But is the horror occasioned by one death, intensified in this case by hundreds or thousands? By no means. This is a battle! *Both sides did their duty (!) as brave men. The slaughtered on both sides died "on the bed of honor."* On one side is a *glorious victory*, on the other an *honorable defeat*.

So, also, the burning of half a dozen houses, and the loss of as many lives in a city, excites general sympathy. Loss of property is a severe affliction; how much more the loss of life. None are so insensible as to hear the story without emotion. But if *an army* rain bomb-shells upon this same city, reducing it to a heap of ruins, then add to this the destruction of millions of property, and, to cap the climax, the death of thousands of unoffending women and children, blown into fragments, or horribly mutilated, and dying in torture by slow degrees — ah! this is *war*, and the infernal act is overlooked in rejoicing at the "*success of our arms*." Christian men even as they meet, as well as others, forget their religion in expressing their patriotism. Cannon, bonfires and even public thanksgiving to God, announce our joy at the event.

Now, if I mistake not, such is the state of public sentiment in our own country, and throughout Christendom. Thankful we are that there are some, we would hope many, exceptions; but these are at most only *exceptions* to the general rule.

L. C. R.

WAR — ITS WASTE OF MIND.

BY EDWARD HITCHCOCK, LL. D.

WAR is eminently hostile to mental improvement. Probably no custom of society has been more so; and consequently it is chargeable with a vast waste of intellect. It exerts this pernicious influence in part by destroying the lives of many who might be the intellectual ornaments of their country; for the highest and most enterprising minds are most apt to be drawn into the vortex of vice, because they love its powerful excitements. The wars of Julius Cæsar destroyed not less than two millions; those of Alexander of

Macedon, as many : those of Napoleon, twice as many. Nor can it be doubted that all the wars which have blasted the globe, have swept from its surface as many human beings as now inhabit it.

Again, war inevitably produces a state of things most unfavorable to the advancement of knowledge. Literature and science can flourish only amid the calm and security of peace. The war-spirit awakens too much excitement, and brings into too powerful action the ferocious passions, to allow of the cultivation of the intellect. The public mind becomes a stormy sea, engulfing every thing which cannot live in a tempest. Finally, the great pecuniary expenses of war, which fall most heavily upon the middling and poorer classes, deprive them in a great measure, and for a long time, of the leisure and money necessary for extending the blessings of education through the community. The agricultural and manufacturing interests of a country are left by war in a deranged state, and a heavy public debt is usually entailed upon the nation ; and to pay this debt, and restore the business of the country to a healthy condition, demand the time and strenuous labors of the citizens.

A few facts may more strikingly illustrate this point. There is perhaps no part of the world where a more efficient system of general education is in operation than in the State of New-York. In 1830, with a population of 1,918,618, she expended \$1,120,000 for common schools and academies, where nearly all her half million of children and youth were in a course of education. To provide the same means of instruction for the seventeen millions of the United States, in 1840, would cost ten millions of dollars ; and to provide the same for the twenty-five millions of Great Britain would need fifteen millions, and for the eight hundred millions of the entire globe it would require four hundred and seventy millions of dollars.

Now, let us compare these sums with the expenses of war. The revolutionary war of this country with Great Britain cost our Government six hundred millions, while the individual losses by the citizens of both countries must have been many times as great. Suppose it the same ; and here we have expended on the American side in seven years money enough to provide the present population of the whole country with instruction like that enjoyed in New-York, for one hundred years, and the population of Great Britain for eighty years. The last war with Great Britain cost our Government fifty millions ; and, on the same principle as above stated, enough money was spent to afford similar instruction to both countries for ten years, although the war lasted but two and a half years. A single war with Bonaparte cost Great Britain five thousand two hundred and fifteen millions of dollars—sufficient to afford the means of instruction to all her population for three hundred and fifty years, and to give the same means to all the world for eleven years. In 1835, the national debt of Great Britain, incurred for war purposes, amounted to three thousand eight hundred and ninety millions of dollars. The interest on this is one

hundred and forty-two millions, and would furnish her inhabitants with the means of education for ten years; that is, she pays a yearly interest that would do this. The daily expenses of a man-of-war, when in service are about fifteen hundred dollars, or more than half a million for a year. Nineteen such ships would of course cost as much as to educate all the children in the United States. Ten such ships, to say nothing of the sum requisite for their construction, would require a pecuniary outlay as great as the income of all the benevolent societies in Great Britain and the United States, which in 1840 was five million one hundred and thirteen thousand four hundred and twenty-two dollars. The average expense of the Florida war, carried on with only a few hundred Indians in the swamps of that country, was from two to five millions, from 1835 to 1840 — a sum nearly equal to that collected, with vast labor, as the fruit of Christian benevolence among the forty millions of Great Britain and the United States.

But the expenses of war are not confined to the period during which it lasts; for it is the common maxim of rulers, in time of peace to prepare for war. The sum paid for this purpose by the United States from 1791 to 1832, a period of forty-one years, was seven hundred and seventy-seven millions, or nineteen millions annually. This was twelve times more than all the other expenses of the government during the same period, and would give instruction to all the children of the United States for twice that number of years. In 1837 and 1838, we paid twenty-six millions annually for the same purpose. The expenses of the English government, from the same cause, from 1816 to 1837, a period of twenty-one years of peace, were two thousand and ninety-one millions of dollars, or one hundred millions per year—sufficient to educate her entire population for nearly seven years. If we suppose the expenses of the United States and the other governments of Europe to be only half as great as those of Great Britain for war purposes during peace, we should still have the startling aggregate of five hundred millions annually—a sum sufficient for the education of all Europe and the United States for more than three years, and all the world for more than one year. If the whole world expended as much in proportion to their numbers for war purposes during peace, it would form the frightful sum of one thousand six hundred millions of dollars—sufficient to educate all its population three and a half years. Truly this is a peace establishment with a vengeance.

These statements seem more like the dreams of disordered fancy than like sober fact. But they are most painfully true; nay, they fall far short of the reality. Instead of looking on the dark side of the picture, as I expected to do when I began these statistics, they have thrown a bright beam of promise upon the future condition of the world. They show us how immense are the pecuniary capabilities of the human family. They show us what an incalculable amount of funds the world will have at its disposal, for the promotion of science, literature and religion, when they shall be brought to act according to the principles of reason and religion; for all

that now goes into the war channel, will then be consecrated to the service of knowledge and benevolence. In spite of all the oppressions and disadvantages under which the human family have hitherto labored, they have been able to sustain this immense war tax which I have described. Nay, I have mentioned only the direct expenses of war. But the losses always sustained by withdrawing men from their regular pursuits, by blocking up the outlets of trade, by idleness and discouragement, and in a multitude of other ways, are far greater. In addition to all this, in most countries men have been compelled to sustain the extortions of tyrannical rulers. Yet has the world borne all these immense taxes; and a few years of peace are generally sufficient to enable a nation to recover its pecuniary independence. How vast, then, will be its surplus pecuniary resources when war and oppression shall cease, and all its energies can be devoted unobstructed to the various pursuits of business? Instead of the stinted sums which men are now persuaded, with great difficulty, to bestow upon objects of education and benevolence, and which leave those devoted to such pursuits to discouragement and heart-sickness, because their hands are so tied, and their energies so cramped, there will then be ready for every noble object more than is wanted. Millions will then be substituted for thousands. This is indeed a bright page of human history, on which we are permitted to gaze in anticipation; and it affords a cheering resting-place for the eye, when placed in contrast with the terrific waste of mind which has been the consequence of war.

Do I seem to any to be indulging in dreams when I say that most assuredly such a bright period will come? But do they doubt that the Bible predicts unequivocally a period of universal peace, and the prevalence of general, if not universal benevolence? In such a state, why will not the vast treasures that have been wasted upon the destruction of men, be consecrated to the diffusion of knowledge and religion through all the earth? — objects that claim the first regard of every benevolent heart. Assuredly this vision is not imagination; and it looms up in the future,—and I would fondly hope not in the distant future,—a bright star of hope for this abused and down-trodden world. The little which has hitherto been contributed to raise man out of the slough of ignorance and sin, has accomplished a great deal. What splendid results, then, will be witnessed when ample means shall be placed within the reach of every human being for the highest attainments in knowledge and holiness.

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS. — In the United States there is one child attending school to every five persons. In Denmark there is one to every four. In Sweden one to five. In Prussia one to six. In Norway one to seven. In Belgium and Great Britain one to eight. In France one to ten. In Austria one to thirteen. In Holland and Ireland one to fourteen. In Greece one to eighteen. In Russia one to fifty. In Portugal one to eighty.

THE CHIEF EXPENSE OF GOVERNMENT.

THE Governments of the Old World are justly thought to be very unnecessarily expensive, even in their civil administration; but only a mere fraction of their enormous expense is devoted to such purposes.

Take a few statements from the London Times:—"What are the necessary peaceful expenses of a nation? The answer is simple. We have a court which is among the most splendid in Europe, and have a wealthy aristocracy raising the tone of society, and causing people to live more expensively than is absolutely needful. We are obliged, therefore, to pay our official people well; and it is generally allowed that the higher functionaries are sufficiently rewarded. Yet, what is the cost of the whole civil government of this old, grand, aristocratic realm, with its numbers of so-called useless offices which are the abomination of economists? In the year 1856, the whole expenditure for Civil List, Privy Purse, salaries of Household, allowances to Royal personages, allowances to the King of the Belgians, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Parliamentary expenses, annuities, superannuation allowances, pensions, and many other things, amounted to but £1,695,052; a sum which could be made away with, without the slightest notice from the public, in converting a few paddle-wheel steamers into screws, or erecting new machinery in the dock-yards, or defences on the coast of Wales, or in any of the warlike expedients which we are accustomed to glance over listlessly as they are detailed in a few lines of newspaper intelligence."

So of the criminal administration. "We are supposed to spend vast sums in punishing and reforming wrong-doers; but 'Total Justice,' as the phrase is, costs only £3,192,420; a mere trifle when compared with the disbursements for Baltic and Crimean campaigns, yet it must be confessed considerable enough, when compared with the expenses of the civil government. The greater part of this item is allotted to police, criminal prosecutions, and the correction of prisoners. The cost of 'correction'—keeping delinquents in prison—rose in one year (1856,) from £765,653 to £1,424,907, nearly double, during the Crimean war.

"How small a proportion, then, do the expenses of even our pompous and courtly social system, our crowded and neglected lower-class, and our well-organized and well-paid magistracy, bear to what we spend in war. Court, Ministers, and Parliament, the bench of Justice, the punishment of crime, diplomacy and the consulate, cost less than £5,000,000 a-year. The peace establishment of our forces is some £25,000,000, and during the last year of the late war we spent more than twice that sum. In fighting, or preparing to fight, we must calculate, therefore, on disbursing on an average nearly six times as much as in defraying all the expenses of the home government. In fact, in 1856 we spent on ordnance alone,—on cannon, mortars, shot and shell,—£10,411,544, or twice as much as all the civil expenses of the country put together."

How little, in comparison, is spent even in educating the mass of the

people. "Education in England is set down for a year at £323,500; the cost of a few days' fire at Sebastopol. Education in Ireland is rated at £157,073; the cost of a screw line-of-battle-ship. A year's expenditure on the National Museum would hardly build and equip the *Glatton* or the *Ætna*. We find the army for 1855 costs £8,380,882, and for 1856 more than double as much, namely £17,395,059. The navy for 1855 cost £14,490,105, and for 1856, £19,654,556. Including ordnance, the total forces cost in 1856 no less than £47,461,188."

How vast the expense of the war-system! nearly \$240,000,000 squandered by England alone on her army, navy and ordnance in a single year! The bare interest at six per cent. of this sum would exceed fourteen million dollars per year; more than five times as much as all the Christians on earth have on an average given annually for the last twenty-five or even the last ten years to spread the gospel among the heathen.

THE BEAUTY OF PEACE.

BY L. MARIA CHILD.

"Power itself has not half the might
Of Gentleness."—LEIGH HUNT.

Men listen more coldly to the advocacy of peace principles than to other wise words. Few professing to believe the Christian Religion, venture to deny their truth, while at the same time all agree in giving them a sort of moonlight reputation, a will-o'-the-wisp foundation, as beautiful but impracticable theories. I cannot help feeling a strong hope, amounting to faith, that the world will be at last redeemed from the frightful vortex of sin and misery in which it has been drawn by the prevailing law of Force. And surely tis a mission worth living for, that the Christian doctrine of overcoming evil with good, is not merely a beautiful sentiment, as becoming to the religious soul as pearls to the maiden's bosom, but that it is really the highest reason, the bravest manliness, the most comprehensive philosophy, the wisest political economy.

The amount of proof that it is so, seems abundant enough to warrant the belief that a practical adoption of peace principles would be *always* safe, even with the most savage men, and under the most desperate circumstances, provided there was a chance to have it distinctly understood that such a course was not based on cowardice, but on principle.

When Capt. Back went to the Polar regions in search of Capt. Ross, he fell in with a band of Esquimaux, who had never seen a white man. The chief raised his spear to hurl it at the stranger's head; but when Capt. Back approached calmly and unarmed, the spear dropped, and the rude savage gladly welcomed the brother man who had trusted in him. Had Capt. Back adopted the usual maxim that it is necessary to carry arms in such emergencies, he would probably have occasioned his own death, and that of his own companions.

Raymond, in his travels, says: "The assassin has been my guide in the defiles of Italy, the smuggler of the Pyrenees has received me with a welcome in his secret paths. Armed, I should have been the enemy of both; unarmed, they have alike respected me. In such expectation, I have long since laid aside all menacing apparatus whatever. Arms may indeed be

employed against wild beasts ; but men should never forget that they are no defence against the traitor. They may irritate the wicked, and intimidate the simple. The man of peace has a much more sacred defence—his character."

Perhaps the severest test to which the peace principles were ever put, was in Ireland during the memorable rebellion of 1786. During the terrible conflict, the Irish Quakers were continually between two fires. The Protestant party viewed them with suspicion and dislike, because they refused to fight or pay military taxes ; and the fierce multitude of insurgents deemed it sufficient cause for death, that they would neither profess belief in the Catholic religion nor help to fight for Irish freedom. Victory alternated between the two contending parties ; and as usual in civil war, the victors made almost indiscriminate havoc of those who did not march under their banners. It was a perilous time for all men ; but the Quakers alone were liable to a raking fire from both sides. Foreseeing calamity, they had destroyed all their guns and other weapons used for game. But this pledge of pacific intentions was not sufficient to satisfy the government, which required warlike assistance at their hands. Threats and insults were heaped upon them from all quarters ; but they steadfastly adhered to their resolution of doing good to both parties and harm to neither. Their houses were filled with widows and orphans, with the sick, the wounded, and the dying, belonging both to the loyalists and the rebels. Sometimes, when the Catholic soldiers were victorious, they would be greatly enraged to find Quaker houses filled with Protestant families. They would point their pistols at their enemies, and threatened, if they were not immediately turned into the street, to be massacred. But the pistol dropped, when the Christian mildly replied, "Friend, do what thou wilt, I will not harm thee, nor any other human being." Not even amid the savage fierceness of civil war, could men fire at one who spoke such words as these. They saw that this was not cowardice, but bravery much higher than their own.

On one occasion, an insurgent threatened to burn down a Quaker house, unless the owner expelled the Protestant women and children, who had taken refuge there. "I cannot help it," replied the Friend ; "So long as I have a house, I will keep it open to succor the helpless and distressed, whether they belong to thy ranks, or to those of thine enemies. If my house is burned, I must be turned out with them, and share their affliction." The fighter turned away, and did the Christian no harm.

The Protestant party seized the Quaker schoolmaster of Baltimore, saying they could not see any reason why he should stay at home in quiet, while they were obliged to fight to defend his property. "Friends, I have asked no man to fight for me," replied the schoolmaster. But they dragged him along, swearing that he should stand in front of the army, and, if he would not fight, he should at least stop a bullet. His house and school-house were filled with women and children, who had taken refuge there ; for it was an instructive fact, throughout this bloody contest, that *the houses of men of peace, were the only places of safety*. Some of the women followed the soldiers begging them not to take away their friend and protector, a man who expended more for the sick and the starving, than others did for arms and ammunition. The schoolmaster said, "Do not be distressed my friends ; I forgive these neighbors, for what they do in ignorance of my principles and feelings. They may take my life, but they cannot force me to do injury to one of my fellow creatures." As the Catholics had done, so did the Protestants ; they went away and left the man of peace safe in his divine armor.

The flames of bigotry were of course fanned by civil war. On one occa-

sion, the insurgents seized a wealthy old Quaker, in very feeble health, and threatened to shoot him, if he did not go with them to a Catholic priest and be christened. They had not led him far before he sank down, from extreme weakness. "What do you say to our proposition?" asked one of the soldiers, handling his gun significantly. The old man quietly replied, "If thou art permitted to take my life, I hope our heavenly Father will forgive thee." The insurgents talked apart for a few moments, and then went away, restrained by a power they did not understand.

Deeds of kindness added strength to the influence of gentle words. The officers and soldiers of both parties had had some dying brothers tended by the Quakers, or some starving mother who had been fed, or some desolate little ones, that had been cherished. Whichever party marched into a village victorious, the cry was, "spare the Quakers! they have done good to all, and harm to none." While flames were raging, and blood flowing in every direction, the houses of the peace-makers stood uninjured.

It is a circumstance worthy to be recorded, that during the fierce and terrible struggle, even in counties where the Quakers were most numerous, but one of their society fell a sacrifice. That one was a young man, who, being afraid to trust to peace principles, put on a military uniform, and went to the garrison for protection. The garrison was taken by the insurgents, and he was killed. "His dress and arms spoke the language of hostility," says the historian, and "therefore they invited it."

During that troubled period, no armed citizen could travel without peril of his life; but the Quakers regularly attended their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, going miles across the country, often through an armed and furious multitude, and sometimes obliged to stop and remove corpses from their path. The Catholics, angry at Protestant meetings being thus openly held, but unwilling to harm the Quakers, advised them to avoid the public road, and go by private ways. But they, in their quiet, innocent way, answered that they did not feel clear it would be right for them to go by any other path than the usual high road. And by the high road they went unmolested; even their young women, unattended by protectors, passed without insult.

Glory to the nation that first ventures to set an example at once so gentle and so brave! And our wars — are they brave or beautiful, even if judged of according to the maxims of the world? The secrets of our cowardly encroachments on Mexico, and of Indian wars, would secure a unanimous verdict in the negative, could they ever be even half revealed to posterity.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE AMERICAN NAVY. — The Navy Register for 1858 states the number of vessels in the American Navy to be 78, with a burden of 124,812 tons. This would seem to be a formidable fact; but an analysis of the list shows that of the ten line-of-battle ships only two could be put into service, and of the ten frigates, only six; of the eight first class propeller frigates, two are on the stocks; of the six second class steam frigates, five are on the stocks; and the five permanent receiving ships are all unseaworthy. The remainder of the fleet consists of twenty-one sloops-of-war, two brigs, two schooners, four propellers of the third class, seven paddle-wheel steamers, and three store-ships. So that of the seventy-eight war vessels, only fifty are at the present time in condition for active service, and of those fifty, only thirty are now in commission.

PENSIONS FOR WAR SERVICES.

THERE is no class of public servants, except warriors, that are paid beyond the term of their actual services ; but if a man, however steeped in vice, or reeking with crime, has once entered the army or navy for any length of time, it would seem as if there could never be an end of rewarding him, his widow, and his children for we know not how many generations. We copy the aggregate of such pensions, \$86,376,687, (army \$81,499,241, navy \$4,876,846) from the origin of our government to June 3d, 1858, distributed in different sections of the country, as follows :

	<i>Army Pensions.</i>	<i>Navy Pensions.</i>
Arkansas.....	\$113,765 83	No agency.
Alabama	583,941 40	No agency.
Connecticut	5,080,241 13	103,650 93
California	18,691 65	163 00
District of Columbia.....	819,304 99	1,032,855 92
Delaware	170,839 55	12,921 85
Florida	158,702 57	16,794 52
Georgia	1,058,389 73	18,744 35
Indiana.....	1,212,041 92	No agency.
Illinois	894,357 64	No agency.
Iowa	72,123 45	No agency,
Kentucky,	3,981,297 52	57,418 55.
Louisiana.....	260,218 92	51,338 18
Maine.....	4,999,322 24	99,242 95
Massachusetts,	7,182,099 92	707,457 60
Maryland.....	1,453,905 43	425,077,31
Mississippi	143,755 98	No agency.
Missouri,	531,112 94	14,537 21
Michigan	528,525 66	174,080 37
New Hampshire.....	3,595,423 25	135,627 61
New York	16,809,795 18	1,071,312 61
New Jersey	2,539,673 28	28,141 08
North Carolina.....	1,974,596 40	2,624 80
Ohio.....	2,943,649 85	19,702 45
Oregon Territory	8,072 19	No agency.
Pennsylvania	6,475,924 59	584,819 99
Rhode Island	1,737,681 45	149,037 23
South Carolina.....	1,179,071 03	73,710 55
Tennessee.....	2,876,857 66	No agency.
Vermont.....	4,635,567 66	No agency.
Virginia	6,747,176 04	292,492 30
Wisconsin	117,312 96	No agency.
Unknown	1,128,303 74	.....
Total.....	\$81,499,241 20	\$4,876,846 36
Aggregate of both.....	\$86,376,087 56	

This amount was paid to the following classes, namely :

To army invalids	\$13,581,907 12
To officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary war.....	4,924,832 09
To the widows of deceased officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary war.....	17,465,146 14
To widows and orphans (five years' half pay).....	3,367,218 56
At the Treasury, but not easily apportionable among the several classes	1,128,303 74
To invalids and widows and orphans of the navy	4,467,877 81
To privateer invalids	154,333 10
To widows and orphans of privateer invalids	254,655 94

It seems from the above analysis, that nearly half a million (\$409,189) has been paid in the way of pensions to reward *privateers*, our legalised pirates ! Thus are we, a reputedly Christian people, paying at this hour a premium for what the growing civilization of the age is now branding as piracy, the very deeds for which individuals are deservedly hung !

It would seem, indeed, as if politicians were becoming perfectly insane on the idea of winning favor with the people by favors lavished on men of blood. At the very moment when our industry is prostrate, our treasury exhausted, and the Government living by borrowing, our House of Representatives recently passed, with a majority of nearly two to one, a sweeping pension bill, giving \$96 a year, \$12 a month, or more than a soldier's usual pay, to every man who served sixty days, or fought in a battle, during our war of 1812 with Great Britain, or in the wars with the Indians at that time. Thus, after nearly half a century, are politicians of every class digging open the graves of that war to find carrion wherewith to feed the supposed popular appetite. We should be glad if this proclivity were peculiar to any one set of political aspirants ; but demagogues of every party, and men that would scorn the thought of being demagogues, North and South, East and West, seem to vie with each other in thus courting favor with the multitude. Is neither patriotism nor common sense ever to get the better of this insane, vulgar demagoguism ?

This reckless extravagance the people must pay sooner or later, and it is quite time for them to count the cost. How much all this after-pay to warriors for services fifty years ago, will take in time from the national treasury it would be impossible to estimate or conjecture with any certainty ; but the sum total must be reckoned by hundreds of millions. Some suppose it would absorb nearly a hundred millions a year, and none reckon it much less than two millions a year for we know not how many years.

The whole subject of pensions for war services demands much more than this passing notice ; and we may hereafter give it, from the practice of our own government, and more especially of those in the Old World, a more extended and thorough investigation.

THE MILITIA.

THE assembling of our state legislatures will probably be a signal for new efforts by military men to secure legislative favors for the militia ; but we hope they will all end as they did a year ago in Maine. "The militia bill," say the newspapers of the day, "passed both houses to be engrossed, but was killed in the house on its final passage. It provided for a volunteer force of two thousand men at \$4,50 a head per annum, making an addition of \$9000 to the other expenses of the military department. This bill was killed on its final passage."

OUR ENTIRE MILITIA. — The returns of militia in the several states, made to the war department, shows an aggregate of 2,755,000, of whom all but 50,000 are infantry.

CONDITION OF THE MILITIA IN SOME STATES — MISSISSIPPI. — Senator Davis, of Mississippi, recently made a speech counselling that state to prepare for war against Northern agitation ; and thereupon the Vicksburg *Whig* gives the following inventory of the arms belonging to the State, as ascertained by actual inspection to be on hand, showing what a mere shadow or skeleton our militia system is :—

"Four flint-lock muskets, all rusty, and no breeches to at least two ; one cannon ; seven bayonets, rusty, with no points ; a pile of belts and scabbards, but no swords ; fifty cartridge boxes." The *Whig* adds :—"We now have five major generals, ten brigadier-generals, and sixty colonels, sixty lieutenant-colonels, sixty Majors, and will soon have six hundred captains, twelve hundred lieutenants, four thousand eight hundred sergeants, and four thousand eight hundred corporals. We are happy to inform them, however, that we have no privates ! the legislature having dispensed with that useless portion of the army."

VERMONT MILITIA.—The war-spirits, both in and out of this State, have been, for some two years or more, making set and persistent efforts to galvanize the militia system there into some degree of vitality and vigor. The good sense of the people, however, will be sure in time to kill the bantling ; but there seems now a fair prospect of its having a temporary run of popularity among the politico-military classes. The flood-wood of society will of course drift into the current ; and politicians, who seem to have an instinctive affinity for any bubble of the kind which can so easily be made to win votes, will be eager, especially the weak and the unprincipled, to get astride of this hobby, to ride into a vulgar notoriety. The men of sense in Vermont must bear the infliction for a time ; but, after trying the humbug a while at an expense of ten or twenty thousand dollars a year to the State, and perhaps five times as much more to individuals, the

thing will at length die of itself. Only leave it to its own merits, without either opposition or favoritism, and it cannot live long among such a people.

The last Governor, a good man, but with the military habits of early life still clinging to him, was used as the chief tool in thus reviving a mitigated form of the militia system in Vermont. His successor, though making it in form a very prominent topic in his first message, did in fact throw cold water upon it; and, though a set effort was attempted to increase the number of companies, and their pay from the State, we believe it mainly failed. We wished, but find now no room, to copy some extracts on the subject from Gov. Hall's message.

MASSACHUSETTS MILITIA. — GOV. BANKS UPON IT. — "The Report of the Adj. General represents the department of the Militia to be in more prosperous condition, and the troops in more perfect discipline than heretofore. The number of enrolled men is 147,682. The number of men in active service is 5,771. The expenditures of the department for the past year have been \$65,185 — nearly \$7000 less than in 1857, and \$14,000 less than in 1856. The division encampments during the past year were distinguished by attention to discipline, and, with one exception — affecting only a very small portion of the troops — by unusual propriety and decorum; a result that is to be attributed, in a great degree, to the excellent and manly example of the general officers, who prohibited intoxicating liquors in their respective camps. When Napoleon thought it of sufficient importance to announce in his army bulletins that 'the army of Italy bivouacked without strong drinks,' it would seem, as it has proved, that holiday encampments among us could be conducted on the same principle. While I find great pleasure in awarding to the militia the highest commendation for its excellent condition, I also feel that it is my duty to suggest that careful examination should be made of the principles of organization upon which it is based.

"There is necessity for more clearly defined general regulations for the military forces of the State than now exists. It is proper that Massachusetts should have a military code of her own, which, while it should recognize and enforce the constitutional authority of the United States, should be also adapted to the conditions and wants of her own service; and I invite you to consider the expediency of appointing a commission of military officers for the consideration of this subject. The provision of the constitution which defines the power of the Commander-in-chief over the military forces of the State, is inconsistent with the constitution of the United States, and should be amended so as to conform to the provisions of that instrument upon this subject."

"*Holiday encampments.*" Such is the Governor's unguarded yet very significant description of the only *effective* part of our military drills, "the three days' encampment," without which the military members repeatedly declared they would give up the whole thing.

The *morals* of these encampments we have heretofore reported from the testimony of military officers themselves, as well as from the contemporary press. We copy a few specimens of the past year from the very friends of the militia:—

The editor of the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, a steadfast friend of our present militia system, and now Speaker of our House of Representatives, says,

August 30, 1858, "We say to our friends of the volunteer militia of Massachusetts collectively, that if they do not mend their ways, they must regard their existence as an institution *doomed*. How long do these short-sighted *holiday soldiers* suppose the people of Massachusetts will continue to tax themselves at the rate of \$70,000 a year for *their benefit*, and allow them gratuitously the exclusive use of the valuable arms distributed to the State, by the United States Government, for the behalf of the whole enrolled militia of the State, some 160,000, if the 7,000, who undertake to perform what is called active duty, cannot creditably acquit themselves of their task? We have an honest regard for the militia; and it is for this reason that we lift our voice in warning to tell the active militia collectively, what they seem too much engrossed with their own plans and feelings to see, that the very existence of the whole institution depends upon a behavior very different from that of which the recent encampment at Winter Island, in Salem, is an example."

The editor would not publish what his own reporters had sent for his columns, "because he could not regard the record as creditable to the State," but from other papers we gather the main facts of the case. The *New England Farmer* says, "We have in years past had occasion to condemn these large and protracted military gatherings, for the tendency to rowdiness which they foster. It would seem, from the reports of the Salem encampment published in the daily journals, that time and experience have done little, if anything, to lessen these tendencies to evil. Indeed, the scenes that were enacted in Salem, last week, seem to have opened the eyes of many to the fact that these encampments are not only occasions of rowdiness and dissipation, but are ridiculous failures in a military point of view. The camp was a scene of turbulence and disorder; and even the personal presence of the commander-in-chief during the second night — an unprecedented compliment to the militia — failed to secure a tolerable degree of quiet. According to the report of a military cotemporary, who may be supposed to have put the best face upon matters, while the Governor was trying to get 'at least four hours' sleep on a bed of straw, *four hundred* of his faithful soldiers eloped to Salem to visit a circus, 'while the conduct of some others who remained in camp, was no less censurable, and many occurrences unbecoming a soldier are reported.'"

A correspondent of the *Daily Advertiser* "A Militia Man in Active Service," says:—"Let me add one word on the subject of disorder at night in camp. Everybody who has ever been to camp, will bear witness that the scenes at Winter Island are the rule, and *not* the exception, on such occasions. The license which prevails throughout the tents, is unworthy of Christian, pagan or man, to say nothing of soldiers. To all who have attended on such occasions, I need only to mention the *yelling, swearing and vile language* which render night hideous at camp, to call up to their recollection scenes disgraceful to civilized beings, and such as it is to be hoped will be omitted from the programme of all future encampments. You are right, sir, in saying that, if the members of our volunteer militia do not 'mend their ways, they must regard their existence as an institution as doomed;' and let me add, that they will have no one but themselves to thank for their doom, if it comes; and unless they do mend their ways, the sooner it comes the better."

The *Congregationalist*, Boston, copying from its secular contemporary, says, "All this is very bad, and seems to justify the *Advertiser* in asking for an investigation. It now costs the State of Massachusetts \$70,000 a year, or at any rate that has been the average cost for several years past, to support our militia system. It *ought to be* very good, and to do a great deal of good, for that money. It is somewhat difficult to point out the ac-

tual good it does. If in addition to its inutility as an active agent, it does not possess the passive merit of being orderly and obedient, it had better be looked into a little more closely."

This subject deserves of our assembled Legislatures a kind of attention different from what it has hitherto received. So long as it is left, a foot-ball of contention, in the hands of the military and of politicians, we must of course expect a continuance, perhaps an increase, of its evils, both pecuniary and moral. Our legislators will, *of their own accord*, do nothing to remove or abate this nuisance; and, if the people really wish anything done on the subject, they must send up their petitions for the purpose to the Legislature.

INVASION OF PARAGUAY.

IN an age when the practice and advocacy of war, once universal, seem at length to be giving way before the extending influence of Christian principles, it is to be regretted that any new practices should be introduced tending to obstruct that influence, and to furnish fresh occasions for the hostility of nations. That the principles of peace have advanced in the civilized part of the world, may be seen in the evident anxiety of the Governments of Europe to avoid occasions of war with each other, and to settle their disputes by amicable negotiation. It may be said, indeed, that this disposition proceeds rather from fear or policy, than from humanity; but it is not less reliable on that account; and, doubtless, in time the latter will grow out of the former. The mitigation of the rigor of the former belligerent maritime code, is an encouraging circumstance in this direction; and the increased facility of intercommunication between the people of different countries, affords great promise of the preservation of peace.

But it seems to us, that any claim which encroaches on the independent sovereignty of nations, especially if doubtful and resisted, will prove a fruitful source of war; and we have now to notice two such claims, unadvanced in former ages, and peculiar to the present. The first of these, is the claim of a government to protect its own citizens or subjects in a foreign land, although they shall have expatriated themselves, and voluntarily placed themselves for a time under the laws of another government. The second is, the claim to enforce a diplomatic and commercial intercourse with a nation, which prefers to seclude itself from the rest of the world. Our business now is only with the second of these claims.

The empires of China and Japan had, for many years, maintained this policy of non-intercourse with other nations; and had they known better than they did the character of governments calling themselves civilized, they would have been fully justified in this exclusive policy. Their right to do so has never been questioned until a late period in the history of the world; nor can it now be denied in consistency with the principles

of common reason or political morality. It is true, indeed, that China long allowed a small settlement for the factories of European nations, with considerable freedom of trade, and Japan a little island to the Dutch, with a very restricted traffic; but beyond these privileges, granted rather as favors than as rights, the same exclusive policy was maintained. Suddenly, however, a new doctrine has been brought up, and introduced among those felonious practices commonly styled the Law of Nations, namely, the doctrine that no nation has a right to seclude itself from intercourse, commercial or political, from the rest of the world; and, if any nation should persist in such a course, its ports and its highways may be rightfully opened by force.

The first actual attempt at this enforcement, or the open assertion of the right, we believe was made by the British government in compelling the Chinese emperor to permit the interdicted and pernicious trade in opium, which, being of course resisted, led to what is called the "opium war," and which terminated in the permanent retention by the British of the island of Hong-Kong, which cannot be deemed anything less than unmitigated robbery. The same unrighteous doctrine was the guiding stimulus of the last Chinese war, and, although this has now been closed with all the allies, by treaties of peace ostensibly voluntary, and the ports of Japan, in like manner opened by amicable treaties without war, yet the presence of powerful naval forces, which it is thought were mainly conducive to such treaties, forbids our belief in the total abstinence from intimidation.

Condemning entirely this doctrine of compulsion or encroachment as obviously infringing the independence of weaker nations, we perceive with regret and alarm, that our government, professing higher principles of justice and freedom than those of the elder world, has at length begun to adopt it, and is following the atrocious example. We now refer to its conduct towards Paraguay. This State has long maintained the exclusive policy, neither seeking nor tolerating commercial or political intercourse with other countries; and, in pursuance of this policy, she has forbidden the approach of any ship of any other nation, private or national, up its principal river. Notwithstanding this interdict, a United States ship-of-war ascends this river for the purpose of sounding and exploration, which we have clearly no right to make. There she is regularly warned not to pass beyond a certain point, which is fortified as a national entrance. Disregarding this notice, however, she continues her way, and, passing that point, is of course fired upon by the forts. Now, although this fire was returned, which we should suppose would settle the matter, our government considers it an insult to our flag, which must be atoned for by apology and reparation; and accordingly a strong naval force is being sent to that river, to "bully" that nation, because it is a small one, into such submission.

Here is a clear case of forcible interference with the internal chorography of a country, which prefers to remain unknown and unexamined; and, as it cannot be supposed that Paraguay, consistently with what is deem-

ed honor among nations, should be willing to give an apology where she has done no wrong, the force sent will be necessarily resisted, and war seems likely to ensue. Should this be averted by intimidation, we hold that disgrace, and not honor, will accrue to our own government; for the enforcement of wrong by physical power, is the depth of dishonor.

But the most alarming circumstance on this subject, is the silence and apparent acquiescence of the citizens of these States, of all classes and parties, in this unprincipled expedition. That it should have been fitted out by the government on so weak a pretence, is not a matter of surprise; for this is only in conformity to the frequent encroachments practised by other nations, in pursuit of their own ambitious aggrandizement, and in disregard of justice; but that it should raise no voice of remonstrance from legislators or statesmen, or even the ministers of the gospel, is a melancholy indication of apathy to the grossest violations of political right and philanthropic humanity. Especially do we think the organized friends of peace should be instant and loud in their remonstrances against so atrocious a wrong, which is almost certain to be maintained by bloodshed. And now is the time to make such remonstrances. It is useless to set forth, in time of peace, general expositions of the evils and criminality of war, if political measures clearly leading to it are not promptly and zealously resisted. Like all general confessions of sin, when every particular sin is disclaimed, so general condemnation of wars is a timid farce, when special wars as they are projected meet with tacit concurrence. J. P. B.

We thank our friend for calling attention to an embryo practice of our Government likely to bring in its future train a world of crime and mischief. All wise citizens ought to keep their eye open to a subject so pregnant with evils to our country; and we trust especially that the press will not let it rest.

What is likely to be the effect of this crusade against Paraguay, may be gathered from a recent number, (Nov. 22,) of the *Seminario*, one of her local papers. "The Republic," it says, "is ready for war, if war is to come. We are resolved to maintain our rights with all the tenacity their justice authorizes. We shall stand firmly together, without being appalled by consequences, keeping ever in sight our outraged national dignity. We do not hesitate to say that this war, when once begun, will undoubtedly affect the security of our neighboring States; and, to preserve their tranquility, they must not admit into their political schemes a sentiment of entire indifference to the attack made upon the Republic of Paraguay."

COST OF THE UTAH EXPEDITION.

In the expeditions of the Utah service, we have a specimen of what warlike operations cost. These expenses, as far as ascertained, amounted already to \$5,132,000; and, if followed out as originally proposed, they might, in time have reached a score of millions or more. It seems that

4,947 wagons and abidances, and 53,396 horses, mules and oxen have been furnished.

WHAT THE SOLDIERS WOULD COST. — It was proposed in the last Congress to raise, for the expedition to Utah, three regiments, consisting in all of 2,000 men, and some 500 other persons. What was the *estimated expense for a single year*? Here are the items—quarter-master's supplies, \$2,427,000; subsistence, \$344,000; pay, \$1,077,000; arms and accoutrements, exclusive of horse equipments, \$166,780, making a total of \$4,289,547 for *one year*. A pretty dear whistle.

SOME FACTS ABOUT WAR.

The tax paid by the actual producers and quiet inhabitants of the world for the support of idlers and ruffians, titled and tinselled, who are kept by potentates for the game of war, is crushing.

It is horrid to observe how armies have multiplied since the Roman Empire. Rome kept Gaul with six legions; but now that Gaul (France) keeps itself with more than half a million of troops. Rome ruled Britain with a garrison of thirty thousand men. Now Britain maintains an army of over six hundred thousand, and a fleet of ten thousand guns, with about ten sailors to a gun. Rome kept what is now Austria, with eight legions and that country now keeps itself, with over half a million of soldiers.

Reliable statistics make the number of fighting men, in the smallest division of the earth, to be

	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Cannon</i>
Britain,	560,000	592	17,291
France,	650,000	407	11,773
Austria,	650,000	102	752
Prussia,	525,000	50	250
Germany,	452,470		
Bavaria,	239,880		
Belgium,	100,000		
Sicilies,	106,200		
Switzerland,	108,680		
Netherlands,	50,650		2280
Sweden,	115,700	87	
Spain,	106,800	418	1670
Denmark,	80,000	116	900
Greece,	12,000	25	65
Papal States,	15,000		
Portugal,	40,000	53	500
Sardinia,	53,350	41	930
	<hr/> 3,905,830	<hr/> 1920	<hr/> 36,955

Besides the above, there are several armies kept in Europe by smaller powers; and Turkey has nearly 400,000 troops in all. Ten men to each cannon afloat, will make 369,550; giving a total of over four millions of able bodied men set apart and maintained as public cut-throats and licensed pirates! And all these professed Christians!! and their chief employment is to kill professed Christians, and burn and lay waste Christian territories!!

Were each of these men of blood to go to work, and earn fifty cents a day, it would add to the world's wealth two millions of dollars a day, and reduce the taxes almost to nothing. Nineteen twentieths of the revenues of the United States, are and have been, all peaceful as the country is, spent for war!

Soldiers become enormously wicked, and do the world more damage in this way than they do by their slaughters. For this and other reasons, the mortality among them is greater in the camp and barracks than in active service, and their ranks must be constantly recruited.

With a thousand such facts before us how few help the Society which seeks PEACE ON EARTH. — *Col. Herald.* H. M.

OUR NATIONAL FINANCES FOR THE YEAR.

The receipts into the Treasury from all sources during the fiscal year ending 30th June 1858, including the Treasury notes authorized by the act of Dec. 23, 1857, were \$70,263,869 59, which amount, with the balance of \$17,710,114 27 remaining in the Treasury at the commencement of the year to \$87,983,984 86.

The public expenditures during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1858, amounted to \$81,685,667 76, of which \$681,537 99 were applied to the payment of the public debt, and the redemption of Treasury notes, with interest thereon; leaving in the Treasury on July 1, 1858, being the commencement of the present fiscal year, \$6,398,316 10.

The receipts into the Treasury during the first quarter of the present fiscal year, commencing the 1st of July, 1858, including one-half of the loan of \$20,000,000, with the premium upon it authorized by the act of June 14, 1858, were \$25,230,879 46; and the estimated receipts for the remaining three quarters to June 30, 1859, from ordinary sources, are \$38,500,000, making, with the balance before stated, an aggregate of \$70,129,195 56.

The expenditures during the first quarter of the present fiscal year, were \$21,708,198 54, of which \$1,910,142 37 were applied to the payment of the public debt, and the redemption of Treasury notes and the interest thereon. The estimated expenditures during the remaining three quarters, to 30th June, 1859, are \$52,357,698 48; making an aggregate of \$74,665,896 99, being an excess of expenditure beyond the estimated receipts into the Treasury from ordinary sources, during the fiscal year to the 30th June, 1859, of \$3,936,701 43. Extraordinary means are placed by the law within the command of the Secretary of the Treasury by the reissue of Treasury notes redeemed, and by negotiating the balance of the loan authorized by the act of 14th June, 1858, to the extent of \$11,000,000.

ESTIMATES FOR THE NEXT YEAR.—The estimated receipts during the next fiscal year, ending June 30, 1860, are \$62,000,000, which, with the estimated balance of \$7,063,298 67, make an aggregate, for the service of the next fiscal year, of \$69,063,298 57. The estimated expenditure during the year ending June 30, 1860, are \$73,139,147 46, which leaves a deficit of estimated means, compared with the estimated expenditures for that year, commencing on the first of July, 1859, of \$4,075,848 89.

In addition to this sum, the Postmaster-General will require from the Treasury, for the service of the Post Office Department, \$3,838,728, as explained in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, which will increase the estimated deficit on the 30th June, 1860, \$7,914,576 89.

The public debt on the 1st of July, 1858, was \$25,155,977 66. During the first quarter of the present year, the sum of \$10,000,000 has been negotiated of the loan authorized by the act of 14th of June, 1858, making the present outstanding public debt, exclusive of Treasury notes, \$35,155,977 66. There was on the first of July, 1858, of Treasury notes issued by authority of the act of December 2, 1857 unredeemed, the sum of \$19,764,800, making the amount of actual indebtedness, at that date, \$54,910,777 65. To this will be added \$10,000,000 during the present fiscal year, this being the remaining half of the loan of \$20,000,000, not yet negotiated. — *President's Message.*

SLAVE-CATCHING WARS IN AFRICA.

"There is" says Rev. T. J. Brown, a returned missionary from Africa, "one objection to the importation of such apprentices, which seems to me insuperable. The Africans generally have a deep aversion to emigration from their native country. Slaves are the only apprentices to be obtained in Africa, and destructive wars are the only means by which the African chiefs can obtain slaves to supply the demand for emigrants. The opening of the French traffic in apprentices immediately reproduced the slave-catching wars, which had almost ceased in every part of Western Africa. If the Southern States should adopt the French policy, this evil would of course be augmented.

Having resided and travelled in different countries of Western Africa for six years, I can testify, what no one can deny, that the battles and sieges which supply Europeans with slaves, or apprentices, *destroy from two to four persons* for every laborer who reaches the plantations in America. In one journey of sixty miles, I counted the sites of no less than eighteen towns and villages which had been laid in ruins to supply slaves for the markets of Brazil and Cuba. I found similar desolations in every country which I visited — on the waters of the St. Paul's River, a hundred miles interior from Monrovia, on the slave coast generally, and on the waters of the Niger. On the third of March, 1851, I witnessed a battle between the slave-catching army of Dahomey, and the Egbas people, in which the former were defeated, and left 1209 of their number dead on the field. The carnage was probably as great on the following day, in a running fight of fifteen miles, and a subsequent close conflict of two hours.

The commerce of Western Africa is now worth more than thirty millions per annum. If the civilized nations of Europe and America would refuse to depopulate that extensive and fertile country, and would endeavor to promote peace and civilization among the people, the varied productions of Africa would eventually become a grand item in the commerce of the world. That the people are willing to labor, when they have a profitable market, is well known to every one who has been acquainted with the country since the partial suppression of the slave trade. In several districts, large quantities of land have been brought into cultivation, and several whole tribes have made decided advances toward civilization. But the unfortunate policy of France has again aroused the demon of war; and some tribes, who were foremost in the work of improvement, have turned their attention from agriculture to kidnapping."

SACKING OF ISTALIF.

In the Afghan war, 1842, we have a specimen of the way in which nations, reputedly Christian, treat their enemies: —

"On 25th September, General M'Caskill marched out with a brigade of about 4000 men, with battering guns, and a strong force of artillery, in the

direction of Charekar, in Kohistan, to a fort about fifty miles off. He reached the town of Istalif on the 29th, and immediately attacked it. The official accounts of the destruction of the fort restrict themselves to a narrative of the military operations, which appear as meritorious and brilliant as they were successful. (?) Istalif ordinarily contains a population of about 15,000; thousands of people who had fled from Cabul on our advance, had here found shelter; and the troops defeated at Tezeen and Ghuznee, having apparently retired in this direction, there were said to have been 14,000 fighting men within the garrison at the time of our attack. Upwards of 500 women, the only prisoners made by us, were captured; they were treated with respect, and afterwards set at liberty.

So soon as a sufficiency of provisions for the service of the troops was taken from the inhabitants, the town was directed to be set on fire, and the fortifications to be blown up. For two days Major Sanders, of the engineers, was engaged in directing the work of destruction, and for this space the place was given over to fire and sword. Not a living soul was spared, whether armed or unarmed; the men were hunted down like wild beasts; not a prisoner was taken; mercy was never dreamt of! All the bitterness of hatred was shown by the soldiery, both European and native. Whenever the body of an Affghan was found, the Hindoo Sepoy set fire to his clothes, that the curse of a 'burnt father' might attach to his children. It is said, indeed, that the wounded, when found alive, were in this manner roasted to death!

An immense quantity of plunder was secured, consisting chiefly of women's clothes, gold-laced shirts, embroidered trowsers and shawls, of ornaments, apparel, horse clothing, house utensils, and arms. In consequence of its bulkiness comparatively little of this could be brought away: the rest was piled in heaps and destroyed by fire. We are imperfectly acquainted with the further progress of this brigade, though they continued another week absent from the camp. Charekar was said to have been destroyed before we reached it, so that the devotion of the people saved our army from one ignominious act." — *Naval and Military Gaz.*, Jan., 1843.

MISCELLANEOUS.

EAST INDIA RAILWAYS. — The total amount of the estimated outlay of capital required for the six lines of railway in the three Presidencies of India is, \$170,000,000, and the total amount of capital already issued with the "Company's" sanction is \$140,000,000.

AMERICAN RAILWAYS. — The total number of railways complete in the United States is 271, and the number of miles in operations 21,528, constructed at a cost of \$616,766,333. One hundred and seventy-four are in course of construction. The number of miles in operation on the surface of the globe is 40,344, of which 17,020 are in the Eastern and 23,324 in the Western hemisphere. The number of miles in the United States exceeds those of the rest of the world by the amount of 2,712 miles. The longest railway in the world is the Illinois Central, which, with its branches is 731 miles in length, and was constructed at a cost of \$15,000,000. The State of Massachusetts has more miles of railway, in proportion to its extent of territory, than any other state or country on the globe. It has one mile of railway to each seven square miles of its geographical surface; and Essex county, with a geographical surface of 400 square miles, has 159 miles of railway facility, which is a ratio of one mile of railway to each three square miles of its geographical surface.

POWER OF STEAM.—President Hitchcock says there are in Great Britain, at the present day, fifteen thousand steam-engines driven by means of coal, with a power equal to that of two millions of men; and thus is put into operation machinery equalling the unaided power of 300,000,000 or 400,000,000 of men. The influence thence emanating reaches the remotest portions of the globe, and tends mightily to the civilization and happiness of the race.

THE INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES.—The report of the U. States Indian bureau gives the whole number of Indians within our limits at 350,000. Over 393 treaties have been ratified with the Indians since the adoption of the Constitution, by which we have acquired 481,163,188 acres of land. The Commissioner thinks we have made mistakes in removing the Indians from place to place, in assigning them too much land, and in granting them too large annuities.

INCOME FROM OPIUM.—The East India Company has been wont to impose an annual tax of \$5,000,000 on the production of opium in India. The whole commercial value has been \$32,000,000 a year, the profits of which has been more than 200 per cent. In the last fifty years, China is supposed to have paid the Company \$400,000,000 for opium!

SCRAPS FROM BUSINESS CORRESPONDENCE.

We often find our letters on business not a little instructive and encouraging. One, just received from Ohio, brings, along with other assurances of interest, two dollars from a venerable friend eighty-four years old; and another from a man of age and character in the heart of Massachusetts, with his annual five dollars, and his earnest "hope that the friends of peace will *never* cease their efforts for so desirable an end." To-day a thoughtful friend in Connecticut requests us to forward our periodical regularly to his son in college; and a few days since we were much gratified to receive from a teacher in Vermont her dollar for our cause, saying she "has opportunities, being a teacher, to impress the children intrusted to her care with the evils of war, and shall endeavor to improve the opportunities she has."

Besides such incidental proofs of cordial, habitual interest, we get now and then a clue to facts more suggestive, if not more encouraging. One friend up in Vermont says he has delayed his donation "that he might have a full opportunity to confer with his Pastor, and see if we could not raise a collection. I don't know as we can. He had *forgotten* even that our Association had passed a resolution to have the Peace cause presented to the churches. But he is a good man, and will eventually come right.

He yesterday reported nearly one thousand dollars paid last year by our church to various benevolent objects, not one dollar to Peace! If providence permits me a suitable opportunity, I intend to make a solemn appeal to our church whether *one tenth* of this money *ought* not to have gone to the Peace Society." Just the right sort of a man; and if we had only *two* or three such in *every* church, we should make sure of leavening in *due* time the whole Christian community with the true spirit and principles of peace. Pastors would then begin to remember Peace as well as the *popular* enterprises to which public opinion now *compels* attention. We *know* this minister, and can cheerfully add our testimony that "*he is a good man*;" but we must own that we are somewhat impatient to have such men "*come right*" with as little delay as possible. We *need* them *very much* now.

We are glad to find here and there a pastor spontaneously and habitually faithful to this cause. A letter, written on the same day with the foregoing by a minister in New Hampshire, says, "I have been much interested in the Peace cause for a long time, and consider it not second in importance to any other branch of Christian benevolence. It has been my aim, for some time past, to preach on the subject annually, and in some instances more than once a year. My only apology for not taking up a collection is the feeble state of my society here; but I have designed sending a pittance from my small salary to aid the Society, or, if nothing more, to pay for the *Advocate*. I enclose \$2 as an annual donation, and would be happy, if able, to pay for the *Advocate* in addition."

Three days later a deacon in Connecticut, enclosed the "usual donation" from a few fast friends, adding that "Rev. G. J. T., of P —, lately preached to us on "*The fruits of the Spirit*," and, in tracing out these fruits, he dwelt on our duties to the cause of Peace, &c. I could not but feel, as I listened to him, that if these people could hear a few more such discourses, there would be some addition to your list of supporters in this place." And how easy would it be for all preachers to follow the example of our friend T., even if they could not reach his ability? Is not Peace as really a part of the gospel, as any other of the topics on which they preach Sabbath after Sabbath? Well does our friend say, "Ministers have it in their power to do more than any other class to influence their fellow men in such works;" but we are sorry he should have any occasion to add, "they seem generally disinclined to venture much in an *unpopular* cause."

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS.—Our thanks are due to our friends who have recently remembered us; but we would remind others that we need very much their aid, and trust that they will, in due time, forward at last their usual donations. We cannot call on them, nor send an agent for this purpose, but must rely on their own spontaneous remembrance of our wants, and trust we shall not rely in vain.

Rev. R. S. Stokes D.D.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE,

FOR

MARCH AND APRIL.

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BOSTON:
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

21 CORNHILL,
1859.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MARCH AND APRIL, 1859.

SAFETY OF PEACE PRINCIPLES.

I. It is a source of special confidence to the friends of peace, that *God has promised protection to those who act on the pacific principles of his gospel*. Here is security enough. It is always safe to do right; and no man, or body of men, ever did their duty, and trusted God in vain. It may have *seemed* otherwise for a time; but it was *not* in vain, nor ever can be. History is full of proofs on this point; and if God has made it the duty of nations in their intercourse to put in practice the principles of peace, then may they do so in full confidence of his protection. His promises insure their safety. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good? When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." Both the New-Testament and the Old are replete with promises of divine protection to those who obey and trust God; and ever will the path of obedience to him be found a path of safety both for individuals and for nations.

This point needs little proof; but take an illustration from the Old Testament. God bade the Israelites, "thrice in a year shalt all your man-children appear before the Lord;" and he added the promise, "neither shall any man desire thy land when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God thrice in the year." So the result proved; for a learned author assures us, "that the Hebrew territories remained free from invasion, while all the adult males three times every year went to the Tabernacle, or the

Temple, without leaving in their cities and villages any guard to protect them from foreign incursions ; and in no instance does there appear to have been any hostile attack made upon them at such times."

The Bible is full of instances very like this ; the history of God's ancient people exhibits a series of similar interpositions ; nor should we, from the nature of the case, expect any other result. If he *knows* what is best for us, can we suppose that a God of infinite love would enjoin upon us a course of conduct fatal to our welfare ? The supposition would impeach every attribute of his character. If he hath the hearts of all entirely in his hand ; if he doeth his pleasure in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth ; if he controls every event from the falling of a sparrow to the revolutions of an empire and a world ; if all his attributes are pledged for the protection of such as obey his will, and trust his promises for safety ; can we doubt that he will fulfill those promises in their actual preservation from danger ?

To this question, the history not only of the Israelites, but of Christian missionaries in every age, gives a most triumphant answer. They have gone forth to combat the errors and sins of a world lying in wickedness ; and while assailing time-hallowed prejudices, and thus provoking both anger and revenge, they have for the most part been safe under the invisible but omnipresent and almighty protection of Him who called them to such perilous, godlike services. Look at the herald of the cross. He is far away from his native land, with no promise or hope of safety from its power ; he takes up his abode in Greenland or Caffraria, among savages and cannibals ; he has no means whatever of defence, but, like a lamb among wolves, is entirely at the mercy of men inured to blood, and steeled to compassion. Yet is the missionary safe even there. Trusting in his character, in his work, in his God, he walks unharmed, and sleeps without fear, in the midst of those whose chief business is the butchery of mankind. The warrior just returned from battle, the savage holding still in his hand the green scalps of his victims, the cannibal fresh from the taste of human flesh, all unite in spontaneous deference to the man of peace, the messenger of love from the Great Spirit to his wild, wandering children. There is no weapon of death in his hand, no word of menace on his lips, no scowl of defiance or malice on his brow ; and the rude, untutored sons of nature welcome

him to their homes and their hearts, as one whom none must harm. Even in their bosoms we find a principle which reveres his character and mission of peace, and renders him far safer than he would be with all the bayonets of Christendom to guard him. We grant that missionaries have sometimes been persecuted, and have occasionally fallen victims; but we believe this has always resulted from some misapprehension of their real character and intentions. When these have been fully understood, the heralds of the cross, in the simple panoply of the gospel, have been safe. like those saints of old who passed unharmed through the fiery furnace. God has been their protector; and even in the lion's den have his Egedes and Eliots, his Brainerds and Martyns, walked fearless and secure, not merely because his providence guarded them, but because his hand had planted in men a principle which makes them spontaneously yield to the charms of goodness, to the welcome power of peace and love.

Let us look at some instances of providential protection. The natives of the South Sea Islands once came down upon the missionaries, with the intention of killing them, for the sole purpose of seizing their property, which they coveted. The missionaries expostulated with them in vain: they still persisted in their bloody design, and seemed on the point of carrying it into effect. God was the only resort; and the missionaries, turning towards each other, knelt in prayer, and expected every moment the war-club to dash out their brains. They rose at length from their knees; and the natives were gone! They feared an ambush, or some other stratagem, and searched for them with care, but could discover no traces of their assailants. They went to the seashore; but the natives were not there. At length they met a little boy, of whom they inquired, 'where are all the people?' "Why," said he, "don't you know? They are gone to the other side of the island, to hide themselves in the wood." "And how came they to do that?" "When they saw you praying," replied the boy, "and heard you call on your God, and knew that he is a great and mighty God, they were afraid he would come down and kill them all, and so they all ran away to hide themselves."

A case still more remarkable occurred at the siege of Copenhagen under Lord Nelson. An officer in the fleet says, "I was particularly impressed with an object which I saw three or four days after the terrific bombardment of that place. For several nights before the surrender, the darkness was ushered in with a

tremendous roar of guns and mortars, accompanied by the whizzing of those destructive and burning engines of warfare, Congreve rockets. The dreadful effects were soon visible in the brilliant lights through the city. The blazing houses of the rich, and the burning cottages of the poor, illuminated the heavens; and the wide-spreading flames, reflecting on the water, showed a forest of ships assembled round the city for its destruction. This work of conflagration went on for several nights; but the Danes at length surrendered; and on walking some days after among the ruins, consisting of the cottages of the poor, houses of the rich, manufactories, lofty steeples, and humble meeting-houses, I descried amid this barren field of desolation, a solitary house unharmed; all around it a burnt mass, this alone untouched by the fire, a monument of mercy. Whose house is that? I asked. 'That,' said the interpreter, 'belongs to a Quaker. He would neither fight, nor leave his house; but remained in prayer with his family during the whole bombardment.' Surely, thought I, is it well with the righteous. God has been a shield to thee in battle, a wall of fire round about thee, a very present help in time of need."

II. Such is God's care of the peace-maker; but let us glance at the natural tendency of his principles. Their power is peculiar and universal. They address some of the deepest, strongest elements in the nature of man. There is in innocence and love, in meekness, forbearance and forgiveness, in the spirit of self-sacrifice for others, in the principle of returning only good for evil, a charm which few can resist. Even the maniac, the beast of the forest, the very reptile at our feet, all feel its power. It allays passion; it disarms hatred; it checks revenge; it subdues the felon and the savage. From every heart does it call back echoes of its own sweet and soothing voice. Like begets like; and whatever spirit we breathe in our intercourse with others, we may expect them to manifest more or less of the same spirit towards ourselves. Hate them, and they will hate you; love them, and you will ere long kindle in their bosoms an affection responsive to your own; curse them, and they will fling back your curses; menace them, and you will arouse a spirit of stern defiance; assail them, and they will turn upon you in wrath; do them either good or evil, and you may expect a return of your own treatment. You must first give to others what you wish from them. It is a law of our moral nature. Speak in harsh, angry tones to any

man ; and his first impulse will be to answer you in the same tones. Address words of respect and kindness to the veriest churl or brawler in the streets ; and he will make an honest effort to treat you as well as you have treated him.

But weakness and innocence are their own protection, better far than lead and steel. Throw an infant on the mercy of any man, civilized or savage ; and, so far from killing it, he will instinctively respond to its claims upon his kindness and care. If that infant belongs to his enemy, he may wreak his vengeance on the latter by murdering the former ; but the child left to itself, he would spontaneously protect and cherish. No man assails, or challenges to mortal combat, a woman, a feeble old man, or a minister of the gospel. Whence their security ? They carry no weapons ; they utter no threats ; they have little or no power to defend themselves by force ; they look for protection, nor look in vain, to the great principles of our nature. In these there is far more power for such a purpose, than there is in any weapons of violence that a Hercules ever wielded ; and the feeblest, most defenceless, will generally be found to enjoy the greatest degree of safety. Even the iron tempest of war sweeps over them comparatively harmless. At the close of a battle, a soldier of the victorious army, more ferocious and reckless from the bloody work of the day, chanced to find a small boy on the field, and, very much from the habit of assailing whatever came in his way, lifted his sword to cleave him down, when the little fellow, looking up in his face, exclaimed, "*O, sir, don't kill me, I'm so little.*" That simple appeal went to the warrior's heart ; and returning his sword into its scabbard, he galloped away without harming the child. Some men there possibly may be who would have killed him ; but scarce one man in a million would so outrage his own nature.

Men generally rely upon force ; but there is, in truth, far more efficacy in persuasion. *Æsop*, in one of his fables, relates a contest between the sun and the north wind to see which should first disarm a certain traveller of his cloak. The wind blew, and the traveller wrapped his cloak more tightly about him ; it blew still more loudly, but he only held his cloak with a firmer grasp than ever ; the fiercer the assault, the more vigorous and determined the resistance. The sun took an opposite course ; he betrayed no purpose of violence, no symptoms of wrath, but spread over hill and valley the warmth of his purest, gentlest radiance ; the

traveller smiled, and at once yielded to persuasion what he had denied to force. Such is human nature ; and a counterpart to this beautiful picture may be found all over the earth.

Universal experience proves the truth of this principle. You will find it at work every where ; and a man, *known* to be unarmed, would be safer even among robbers and assassins, pirates and savages, than he would with the most formidable weapons. Let us hear the deliberate judgment of one taught by long and familiar acquaintance with the worst specimens of humanity. "Spanish smugglers," says Raymond, "are as adroit as they are determined, are familiarized at all times with peril, and march in the very face of death. Their first movement is a never failing shot, and certainly would be a subject of dread to most travellers ; for where are they to be dreaded more than in deserts where crime has nothing to witness it, and the feeble no assistance ? As for myself, alone and unarmed, I have met them without anxiety, and accompanied them without fear. We have little to apprehend from men whom we inspire with no distrust or envy, and every thing to expect in those from whom we claim only what is due from man to man. The laws of nature will still exist for those who have long shaken off the laws of civil government. At war with society, they are sometimes at peace with their fellows. The assassin has been my guide in the defiles of Italy, and the smuggler of the Pyrenees has welcomed me to his secret paths. Armed, I should have been the enemy of both ; unarmed, they have alike respected me. In such expectation, I have long since laid aside all menacing apparatus whatever. Arms may indeed be employed against wild beasts ; but no one should forget that they are no defence against the traitor ; that they irritate the wicked, and intimidate the simple ; lastly, that the man of peace among mankind has a much more sacred defence—his character."

FEASIBILITY OF PEACE.

There lurks in many minds a vague, deep-rooted idea, that the Peace Reform is really impracticable ; and such skepticism, dishonorable to the gospel, and to the promises of God, holds not a few Christians back from the efforts indispensable to the success of this cause. Is there any just ground for such distrust ? Our sole ultimate aim is the entire abolition of war. We seek to supersede the custom itself, by putting in its place legal, Chris-

tian methods of justice and peace between nations. We dream not of accomplishing all this at once, or ever without the gospel ; but we do hope, by God's blessing on a right application of its pacific principles, to drive the custom eventually from Christendom, and then to spread permanent peace, hand in hand with our religion of peace, over the whole earth.

Now, we contend that all this may be done. There is nothing in the war-passions of mankind, nothing in the habits of society, or the structure of government, nothing in the nature or the long continuance of this custom, nothing in all the influences that have so long been accumulating the world over for its support and perpetuity—nothing in all these, or anything else, to forbid the hope of its utter and everlasting extinction.

War is not a physical, but a moral necessity, only such as there is for duelling, intemperance, or any other form of folly and sin. It comes solely from the wrong choice of men, and might be prevented by a general change of that choice. It never rushes upon them like a tornado or the cholera, like the eruptions of a volcano, or like lightning from the cloud. A war without men to will it, and carry it on, would be a contradiction in terms ; and if so entirely dependent on their will, can they not, if they choose, discard forever this brutal mode of settling their disputes ?

Glance at the history of kindred reforms. Long was knight-errantry the admiration of all Christendom ; but where is it now ? Vanished from the earth, its very name a term of reproach, and its memory living mainly in those works of genius which ridiculed its follies from the world. Nearly the same might be said of the crusades, and all wars of religion, the prosecution of which was once regarded as the highest service a Christian could render the God of peace ! So of trials by ordeal, and judicial combat, in which the accused was required to fight his accuser in single encounter, or plunge his arm into boiling water, or lift a red-hot iron with his naked hand, or walk barefooted over burning ploughshares, or pass through other trials equally severe and perilous. It were easy to multiply examples ; but why allude to intemperance, and persecution, and witchcraft, and other evils already abolished, or put in a train which promises their ultimate abolition ? I need not surely specify any more cases ; for if such customs as these have already been wholly, or but partially done away, is there no possibility of putting an end to war ?

Review, next, the meliorations of war itself. Bad as the custom still is, it has already lost more than half its primitive horrors, and undergone changes much greater than would now suffice to abolish it entirely. Its former atrocities are well-nigh incredible. Belligerents employed whatever means would best subserve their purposes of conquest, plunder or revenge. They poisoned wells, and butchered men, women and children, without distinction. They spared none. Prisoners they massacred in cold blood, or tortured with the most exquisite cruelty; and, when unable to reduce a fortified place, they would sometimes collect before it a multitude of these victims, and, putting them all to the sword, leave their carcasses unburied, that the stench might compel the garrison to retire! Such atrocities were practised by the most polished nations of antiquity. In Rome, prisoners were either sold as slaves, or put to death at pleasure. Kings and nobles, women and children of high birth, chained to the victor's car, were dragged in triumph through the streets, and then doomed to a cruel death, or left to end their days in a severe and hopeless bondage; while others less distinguished, were compelled, as gladiators, to butcher one another by hundreds for the amusement of Roman citizens! But such barbarities are indignantly discarded from the present war system of Christendom; and if thus ten steps have already been taken — they confessedly have — towards abolishing this custom is there no possibility of taking the six more that alone are requisite to complete its abolition?

Still more; certain kinds of war have actually been abolished. Private or feudal wars, once waged between the petty chieftans of Europe, and frequently occasioning even more mischief than flows now from the collision of empires, continued for centuries to make the very heart of Christendom a scene of confusion and terror. There was no safety, no repose. Every baron claimed the right, just as nations now do, of warring against his neighbor at pleasure. His castle was his fortress, and every one of his vassals a soldier, bound to take the field at the bidding of his lord. War was their business; and all Europe they kept in ceaseless commotion or alarm. The evil seemed intolerable; and finally, emperors and popes, magistrates and priests, rulers and citizens, all combined against it, and succeeded, after the lapse of four or five centuries, in exterminating a species of war as dreadful as any that ever scourged our world. And would not similar efforts bring international wars to an end?

Glance at some of the causes now at work for such a result. I can-

not here pause even to name a tithe of these causes; and it must for the present suffice to know, that all the means of general improvement, all the good influences of the age, are so many handmaids to the cause of peace, and harbingers of its universal spread and triumph. The progress of freedom, and popular education;—the growing influence of the people, always the chief sufferers from war, over every form of government;—the vastly augmented power of public opinion, fast becoming more and more pacific;—the spirit of free inquiry, and the wide diffusion of knowledge through presses, and pulpits, and schools;—the disposition to force old usages, institutions and opinions through the severest ordeals;—the various improvements which philanthropy, genius, and even avarice itself, are every where making in the character and condition of mankind, all demanding peace;—the actual disuse of war, and the desire of rulers themselves to supersede it by the adoption of pacific expedients that promise ere long to reconstruct the international policy of the civilized world;—the pacific tendencies of literature, science, and all the arts that minister to individual comfort, or national prosperity;—the more frequent, more extended intercourse of Christians and learned men in different parts of the earth;—the wide extension of commerce, and the consequent inter-linking over the globe of interests which war must destroy;—the rapid spread of the gospel in pagan lands, the fuller development of its spirit in Christendom, and the more direct, more efficacious application of its principles to every species of sin and misery;—all the enterprises of associated benevolence and reform, but especially the combined efforts made to disseminate the principles of peace, to pour the full light of heaven on the guilt and evils of war, and thus unite the friends of God and man every where against this master-scurge of our race—such are some of the influences now at work for the world's perpetual peace.

Nor have these causes been at work in vain. “Already,” says Ware, “is the process begun, by which Jehovah is going to fulfill the amazing prediction of his word. Even now is the fire kindled at the forges where swords are yet to be beaten into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks. The teachers are already abroad who shall persuade the nations to learn war no more. If we would hasten that day, we have only to throw ourselves into the current, and we may row with the tide. There may be, here and there, a counter-current; but the main stream is flowing steadily on, and the order of Providence is rolling forward the sure result.”

The gospel, rightly applied, is amply sufficient for such a result. It is God's own power at work for the world's eventual deliverance from all forms of error, sin and misery. There is no passion it cannot subdue, no vice it cannot reform, no evil custom it cannot abolish, no moral malady it cannot cure, no inveteracy of error or sin from which it cannot reclaim. Its history, as well as its nature, proves its power; and a libel would it be on God himself to suppose his chosen instrument for a world's spiritual renovation, inadequate to the task of exterminating war from every land blest with its heavenly light, and eventually from the whole earth.

On this point God has taken care to leave no room for doubt. Expressly, repeatedly has he promised, that 'the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of his name, even as the waters cover the sea; that the kingdoms of this world shall all become the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ;' and then 'shall they beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall no longer lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' Thus has God promised the world's eventual pacification as explicitly as he has the world's conversion, or even the salvation of any believer in Jesus; and we must either discard the whole Bible, or believe in the possibility, the absolute certainty, of universal and permanent peace.

It is not incumbent on us to show *how* these prophecies are to be fulfilled; and yet it were easy to point out a variety of expedients that might, with safety and success, take the place of war. There is in truth no more need of this custom among Christian nations than there is of paganism itself. They could, if they would, settle all their difficulties without war, as well as the members of a church can theirs without duels. There is no impossibility in the case. Substitutes far better than the sword for all purposes of protection and redress, might be made to supersede entirely the alleged necessity of war between nations. Once individuals had no other means than brute force for the redress of their wrongs, or the adjustment of their difficulties; but, if that old practice of private wars gave place ages ago to codes and courts of law between individuals, it is equally possible for nations, if they choose, to provide similar methods for the settlement of their disputes without the effusion of blood.

WHY NO MORE INTEREST IN PEACE ?

2. We have already assigned one reason for this ; and another hindrance to the progress of Peace principles may be found in the mistaken impression, that they rest upon the foundation of *strict non-resistance*, and the *inviolability of human life*. These opinions I would not controvert. It is not necessary for the purpose in hand. If our coadjutors in the work of Peace have practically adopted its principles, we hail them as co-workers in this cause, though they have come to a right result by a different process than ourselves. We simply affirm our own sentiments, and those of millions of good men, and state them as preliminary to the presentation of *our* mode of reasoning on the subject.

1. The precepts of our Saviour, that all should show great meekness and forbearance towards dishonest and violent men, we fully receive. If a man will rob you of a coat by litigation, better give up a cloak also, than contend with him. If a quarrelsome man smites you on one cheek, turn the other rather than retaliate. Christians should be men of peace — kind and forgiving. But it does not follow, that for this reason one may not protect himself, or defend his family, or others, when assaulted by violent men. David Hale, of New York, was once assaulted by a testy Frenchman, for an imaginary insult. It was, however, only with a rattan, and inflicted no permanent injury. Mr. Hale might have prostrated his antagonist by a blow from his powerful hand ; but, like a Christian, he offered no resistance. This was right. But at another time, he was informed that a powerful man, offended at an article in his paper, threatened to attack him in the street. His reply was, " If he does, I shall defend myself, for I cannot afford to trifle with him. He will injure me too much." He did not think it his duty to risk life or limb by non-resistance.

2. We believe that the law given to Noah, requiring the life of the murderer, is still in full force. Therefore, for any government to neglect or refuse to put the wilful murderer to death, brings the guilt and divine punishment for murder, upon itself and upon the land. Wilful murder is a crime that can only be expiated by capital punishment. The life of the murderer is justly forfeited, and must be taken, in order to exculpate the community from complicity with the criminal. It were easy to prove that strict obedience to this law preserves many innocent lives, for every one that is taken by capital punishment ; but the argument does not require it. Enough that God commands, and man's duty is to obey.

3. We believe that civil government is divinely instituted. " The powers that be are ordained of God." The ruler is designed to be, and is " the minister of God ; a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." Civil officers may be constituted in any proper manner. King or Parliament, Congress or State Legislature, or popular vote, may be the lawful method of designating public officers. But this designation does not confer power upon them, by virtue of any inherent authority in those who appoint. This is derived directly from God. Hence a ruler or civil officer

is authorized to do in his public capacity, what would be a heinous moral wrong, a crime in him, as a private citizen. It may be the duty of a sheriff to hang a condemned murderer, when, were he either a judge or private citizen, the same act in him would morally be murder. It is, therefore, a great error to suppose that one may do nothing to punish crime, as a public officer, that he and others may not rightfully do as individuals. To plead that the appointing power cannot confer authority, which the individuals who appoint do not themselves possess, supposes that *governmental authority is derived from the governed*. This is not the Scripture doctrine, and my remarks are designed for those who believe the Bible. I enter into no argument with those who reject its authority.

Nor do these views conflict with our Declaration of Independence; "that to secure these rights, (viz., life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,) governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." This we also firmly believe. No people consent to live without a government; and so far as it does not contravene the rules of eternal right, it is their privilege to be consulted in regard to the government under which they are placed. All this is fully admitted; and if we cannot establish the claims of Peace upon the hearty support of those who embrace the sentiments here expressed, we consent to wait until more light shall shine on our pathway.

L. C. R.

COST OF ARMED PEACE.

It would seem from the song of the angels at our Saviour's birth, that peace was to be one of the first fruits of Christianity, under whose reign "nations were to learn war no more; to beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks." But just see what nominally Christian nations are doing from year to year to bring in this blessed time. They are exhausting all their revenues in working out a condition which they call a *peace*! an *armed peace*! O how unlike the peace predicted by the holy prophets of old, when "every man should sit under his own vine and fig-tree, with none to molest or make him afraid!" They have taken some 3,000,000 able-bodied men from the plough, and trained them, at the ploughman's expense, to cut and kill with the sword. The cost of this strange *peace-armament*, according to Mr. Cobden's estimate, amounts at the lowest calculation, to £200,000,000 or, \$1,000,000,000 a year!

Let us see what might be done with this immense sum, if appropriated to agricultural purposes. According to well authenticated statistics, there are 34,014,000 acres of arable, garden, meadow, pasture, and marsh lands in Great Britain. Let us suppose that the fair average value of this land would be £50 per acre; it would then amount to £1,700,000,000. There are also 9,934,000 acres of improveable wastes, which we will set down at £25 per acre; amounting in all to £248,350,000. Then there are 12,885,330 acres of unimproveable wastes, worth, perhaps, £5 per acre, amounting to £64,427,650. If this be a fair estimate, then the land of Great Britain, if sold outright in the market, would bring £2,012,777,650. Now look at this fact—the nations of Christendom have spent in mere preparations for war, during the last ten years of an "armed peace," enough to buy the whole island of Great Britain! Since 1815 their "*armed peace*" establishment has cost them more than three times the present value of all the acres of this great garden of the world!

There is a family economy sometimes practiced on a small scale, by which one party throws out with a teaspoon as fast as the other can throw in with a shovel. But this economy is prudence itself compared with the "armed peace" policy of nations. *Two hundred millions of pounds sterling a year*, in mere preparations for war! Let the farmers of Christendom revolve this fact in their minds in seed time and harvest. The whole agricultural produce of Great Britain and Ireland, including all the horned cattle, horses, sheep, swine, poultry, butter, cheese and eggs, were estimated in 1840 at £197,455,375; or less than the cost of the armed peace establishment of Europe for that very year! or, in other words, all the land, labor, capital and skill, invested in agriculture in Great Britain and Ireland, does not produce enough to support the fighting men and other instruments of war belonging to the peace armament of Christendom! And does not the soldier throw out with the point of his bayonet as fast as the farmer can throw in with his shovel? Take two neighboring nations, and see how they are affected by this economy. The whole rental of fertile England falls short of the annual cost of the peace armaments of Great Britain and France! — E. B.

SIEGE OF GENOA.

IN 1800, Genoa, occupied by 24,000 French troops, was besieged at once by a British fleet, and a powerful Austrian army. We will not detail the horrors attendant on the sallies and assaults; but let us look at the condition of the soldiers and citizens within. The former, worn down by fatigue, and wasted by famine, had consumed all the horses in the city, and were at length reduced to the necessity of feeding on dogs, cats and vermin, which were eagerly hunted out in the cellars and common sewers. Soon, however, even these wretched resources failed, and they were brought to the pittance of four or five ounces a day of black bread made of cocoa, rye, and other substances ransacked from the shops of the city.

The inhabitants, also, were a prey to the most unparalleled sufferings. The price of provisions had from the first been extravagantly high, and at length no kind of grain could be had at any cost. Even before the city was reduced to the last extremities, a pound of rice was sold for more than a dollar, and a pound of flour for nearly two dollars. Afterwards beans were sold for two cents each, and a biscuit of three ounces weight, when procurable at all, for upwards of two dollars. A little cheese, and a few vegetables, were the only nourishment given even to the sick and wounded in the hospitals.

The horrors of this prolonged famine in a city containing above 100,000 souls, cannot be adequately described. All day the cries of the miserable victims were heard in the streets, while the neighboring rocks within the walls, were covered with a famished crowd, seeking in the vilest animals, and the smallest traces of vegetation, the means of assuaging the intolerable pangs of hunger. Men and women, in the last agonies of despair, filled the air with their groans and shrieks; and sometimes, while uttering these dreadful cries, they strove, with furious hands, to tear out their ravening entrails, and fell dead in the streets! At night, the lamentations of the people were still more dreadful; too agitated to sleep, and unable to endure the agonies around them, they prayed aloud for death to relieve them from their sufferings.

Dreadful was the effect of these protracted calamities in hardening the heart, and rendering men insensible to anything but their own disasters.

Children, left by the death of their parents in utter destitution, implored in vain the passing stranger with tears, with mournful gestures, and heart-broken accents, to give them succor and relief. Infants, deserted in the streets by their own parents, and women who had sunk down from exhaustion on the public thoroughfares, were abandoned to their fate; and, crawling to the sewers, and other receptacles of filth, they sought there, with dying hands, for the means of prolonging their miserable existence for a few hours. In the desperation produced by such long-continued torments, the more ardent and impetuous rushed out of the gates, and threw themselves into the harbor, where they perished without assistance or commiseration. To such straits were they reduced, that not only leather and skins of every kind were devoured, but the horror at human flesh was so much abated, that numbers were supported on the dead bodies of their fellow-citizens!

Still more cruel, horrible beyond all description, was the spectacle presented by the Austrian prisoners of war, confined on board certain old vessels in the port; for such was the dire necessity at last, that they were left for some days without nutriment of any kind! They ate their shoes; they devoured the leather of their pouches; and, scowling darkly at each other, their sinister glances betrayed the horrid fear of their being driven to prey upon one another. Their French guards were at length removed, under the apprehension that they might be made a sacrifice to craving hunger; and so great did their desperation finally become, that they endeavored to scuttle their floating prisons in order to sink them, preferring to perish thus, rather than endure any longer the tortures of famine.

Pestilence, as usual, came in the rear of such calamities; and contagious fevers swept off multitudes whom the strength of the survivors was unable to inter. Death in every form awaited the crowds whom common suffering had blended together in the hospitals; and the multitude of unburied corpses which encumbered the streets, threatened the city with depopulation, almost as certainly as the grim hand of famine under which they were melting away. When the evacuation took place, the extent of the suffering which the besieged had undergone, appeared painfully conspicuous. 'On entering the town,' says Thiebault, 'all the figures we met, bore the appearance of profound grief, or sombre despair; the streets resounded with the most heart-rending cries; on all sides death was reaping its harvest of victims; and the rival furies of famine and pestilence were multiplying their devastations. In a word, both the army and the inhabitants seemed fast approaching their dissolution.'

EXCUSES FOR WRONG. — No crime habitually committed, however revolting it may be, is without excuse, or even justification, in the minds of those guilty of it. The Barbary States deemed piracy as honorable and as justifiable as modern civilized nations deem war; the so-called Christians of a few centuries back felt it a *duty* to persecute, harass and slay Jews; slave-holders find arguments to justify themselves in holding slaves; and the slave-trader, whose infamous and diabolical business has made Africa a terrestrial hell, knows how to persuade himself that his atrocious guilt is perfect innocence. So the dealer in intoxicating drinks, by a violent wrenching of logic, knows how to make his business as innocent as that of raising potatoes, and how to sever himself from all connection with the beastly drunkenness of his victims, and the squalid poverty, the broken-heartedness, the unutterable misery which his traffic sends into their families. So we may go the rounds of vice and crime; and all will find apologists and defenders in those who practice them.

DESECRATION OF THE SABBATH BY WAR.

The occupation of soldiers on the Sabbath, even when at home, are greatly at variance with its observance as a time appropriated to solemn worship, and profitable retirement from secular engagements. How frequently are troops marched from town to town, or embarked on board ship, on the Sabbath? It is notorious that these are times of general disorder and profligacy. Even in their usual procession to a place of worship, with drums beating, fifes playing, and so forth, they are commonly followed by a rabble of boys and girls, much to the annoyance of sober people, and often to the disturbance of other places of worship. Indeed, the misappropriation of the day by the military often involves the whole town in disorder and dissipation.

A recent number of a religious newspaper, prominent in its advocacy of war, contains a long editorial article on the desecration of the Sabbath by musical bands, and the like, while in another column of the same paper it very complacently notices, without a word of reproof, that, "Her Majesty and the Prince Consort, with the royal family and suite, as is customary on Easter *Sunday*, were present at the promenade on the Grand Parterre of Windsor Castle. The bands of the Royal Horse Guards and Scots Fusilier Guards played on the occasion. The terrace was unusually crowded by fashionable company."

These are some of the most innocent forms of Sabbath desecration by the army; but the occupations of our soldiers on the Sabbath, when they are in an enemy's country, embrace such deeds as we may imagine to be the employments of infernal spirits. It was characteristically observed by the French Admiral, in reference to the French and English acting together at the bombardment of Sweaborg, that "every one had but a single object, that of trying *who should do the utmost possible injury to the enemy.*" The bloody battle of Inkerman was fought on the Sabbath day; and we were told that at that very time the Christians (?) of Constantinople, the missionaries in particular were praying that the arms of the Allies in the Crimea might be successful. This coincidence, with the victory gained by the Allies, was triumphantly brought forward by a Sabbath-advocating newspaper, as a remarkable answer to prayer. Wonderful that men, professing to believe that "God is love," and that "He who loveth God should love his brother also," can suppose He delights in such sacrifices on the Sabbath, or on any other day! The same paper informs us that "Sir Henry Havelock's letters show how entirely he was a soldier and a patriot, all the braver, and all the more patriotic, for being altogether a Christian." It then quotes the following passage from his letters: "I did see your Crystal Palace when I was in England, though hastily. No; you must have no Crystal Palace open *on the Sabbath*, if you value the small amount of piety to be found in the nation." On this, the said paper comments thus: "Still there is hope we shall have *no* Crystal Palace open on the Sabbath, and Havelock's condemnation of such a sin remains written down to testify against it."

The same paper contains extracts from Havelock's military career in Scinde and Afghanistan. Of the manner in which the soldiers, engaged in that unrighteous and barbarous war, spent their Sabbaths, some specimens are given in the diary of a chaplain who accompanied them. On one occasion he says, "I regret to say that *Sunday* was selected for sending a working party into the town of Cabul, to blow up and destroy the central buildings of the bazaar! This was the signal for European soldiers, sepoys, followers, all who could get away from camp, to commence plundering—a melancholy and disgraceful scene! The next day every kind of disgraceful outrage was suffered to go on in the town, and this after we

had replenished the commissariat supplies by the help of these poor people who had returned to their shops upon an express proclamation of protection in the event of their doing so !"

"Sunday, Aug. 28. — We turned to a fort from which an attack on our grass-cutters was said to have been made. The men rushed in ; and one of those painful scenes ensued, which are more or less common to all warfare. Every door was forced, every man that could be found was slaughtered ; they were pursued from yard to yard, from tower to tower, and very few escaped. One door, which they refused to open upon summons, was blown in by a six-pounder, and every soul bayoneted ! If any remained concealed in the buildings, they must have perished in the flames, for it was one mass of blazing ruins before we left it." What occasioned all this ? "It was melancholy" says the chaplain, "to see fields of wheat, the hope of the year, trampled down and destroyed by thousands of camels, horses, tattoos, and bullocks. Such are the miseries of war ! All hands were employed in cutting the green wheat and barley ; and their crops destroyed, and villages burnt, they have a fearful prospect for the coming year. It may truly be said, 'The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness.' Oh ! what a day !"

Such are the scenes common in all warfare in which all soldiers are engaged on the Sabbath in the time of war. Yet we hear no protest from religious newspapers, or from *Sabbath Observance Societies*, against this wicked profanation of the day. They appear to consider such an occupation perfectly in harmony with the character of men altogether Christian ! — *W. N. in Lond. Her. of Peace.*

POWER OF KINDNESS.

THE value of kindness, as a remedy for the ills of life, is beginning to be appreciated. It is now the established specific for insanity ; it is the only mitigation of madness. Where a spark of reason is left to the raving maniac, though invisible to every other human eye, it is fanned into life, and soon perceived by the messenger of mercy. It is but a few years since the most atrocious cruelties were perpetrated by good people against those bereft of reason. The age of cruelty is giving way to that of mercy. Kindness is known to be a specific for many forms of disease, and kind nursing for many more. Christ's whole ministry was one of personal kindness. Charity is the great lever of Christianity ; by it the messengers of the gospel can open the eyes of Pagan blindness ; by it the ears of the most obstinate and hardened can be unstopped ; by it reason can be restored and life saved ; by it every human ill can be alleviated ; by it all obstacles to the progress of Christianity can be removed or diminished. Men are selfish, unfeeling, and prone to the abuse of power and wealth ; yet, where charity appears in her simplest garb, she is hailed as a heavenly visitant, and the message which accompanies her deeds of kindness is received as the voice of Heaven.

It is time the virtue of this remedy were tried in the name of Christianity upon the whole mass of humanity. Try it upon the poor, upon paupers, upon prisoners, soldiers, sailors, servants, laborers ; try it upon infidels, socialists, reforming zealots, revolutionists ; try it upon all men, and the result will be happy beyond all our present conceptions.—*S. Colwell.*

CHRIST'S LIFE A COMMENTARY ON HIS TEACHING.

We have an infallible rule by which to interpret the instructions of the Divine Teacher. and that is his own life and example. Was it "moderate wrongs" only that he "suffered with patience, rather than hastily resent them?" Turn to that wonderful story, and what do we find! We find, on the one hand, a life of matchless purity and benevolence; and, on the other, ingratitude, insult, slander, torture, agony, and death. We find him who went about doing good, who walked among men like the almoner of the divine mercy, scattering blessings wherever he trod, opening the eyes of the blind, loosening the tongue of the dumb, healing all manner of diseases, restoring vigor to the paralyzed limb, and sanity to the distracted intellect, unlocking even the iron gates of death, to restore the lost ones to the bleeding bosom of bereaved affection, bringing sudden light into the house of mourning and despair, and making the widow's heart to sing for joy, to say nothing of the message of infinite love and joy which he came to reveal from the Father—we find Him, who did all these things, dogged through life by scorn, and wrath, and grinning contempt. We find him charged with sedition against the civil power, with blasphemy against God, with being in alliance with infernal spirits, with setting up pretensions which served only to mislead and delude his ignorant followers to their own destruction. We find him pursued incessantly with the bitter enmity of those whom he came to bless and save, and perishing at last, his body writhing in pain, his mind and his heart broken by reproach, and his name blasted by calumny. Surely these were not very "moderate" wrongs to endure! And how did He endure them? "He was oppressed, and He was afflicted, yet He opened not His mouth; He was taken as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he opened not His mouth."

But we may be told that He thus suffered in order to fulfil great and mysterious purposes connected with his advent and death, and that we are not expected in this respect to take Him as our example. Not so taught those who had received their instructions from his own lips, who had been with Him in the Holy Mount, and were supposed to have drunk most deeply of his spirit. Here are the words of one of them: "If when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called; because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps; who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, He threatened not, but committed Himself to Him that judgeth righteously."

ARGUMENT FROM THE INSTINCT OF SELF-PRESERVATION.

We hear much of this instinct as a plea for war; but what is its real value? Its value depends entirely on a series of assumptions,—1. That the natural law of self-preservation necessarily leads men violently to confront and assail any agency by which their life may be imperilled;—2. That such a method of defence is the best and wisest and most effectual, because it is instinctive;—3. That we are at liberty, in such emergencies, to obey our instincts, as if they were a revelation from heaven, without consulting either reason or conscience.

1. Now, we deny *all* these assumptions. We deny that the instinct of self-preservation *would* necessarily impel a man to "strike out" at any unknown danger to which he may be exposed. We believe that the natural instinct is to *flee* from danger, and that the disposition to resist is, at least in the great majority of men, an acquired and highly artificial *habit* which has to be cultivated with the most sedulous care, and which, with all the powerful

motives of fear, and shame, and ambition, and the sense of honor by which it is sought to be strengthened and pampered, is often, after all, found wholly inadequate to counteract what is indeed a real instinct — the disposition to escape from that which threatens injury or destruction to our life. At any rate, the inclination to flee from danger is, in a very large proportion of men at least, we believe in *all men*, a natural instinct; and if every instinct must be regarded as a "revelation from heaven," why should not men be allowed to obey *that* instinct?

2. But we deny that, even if the disposition "to strike out" *were* an instinct, that it would be wise or safe to follow it. It may happen, it often has, that instinct may utterly mistake as to the character, nay, as to the very existence, of the apprehended agency which it fears, and may, instead of averting, only provoke danger. We have read of two brothers encountering each other in the dark, and, under the cowardly terror dignified with the name of instinct, beginning to "strike out," until they had belabored each other within an inch of their lives. Did they do this in obedience to "a revelation from heaven?" It was but the other day that the newspapers told us of a clergyman hearing the noise of an approaching footstep "in the dark" outside of his house, and acting on the instinct to "strike out," discharged his pistol in the direction of the apprehended peril, and in the morning had the satisfaction to find that he had shot dead a poor old farmer, one of his own parishioners, who was returning home from market a little the worse for liquor, and had so wandered out of his way. We were told that this pistol-keeping clergyman was very much distressed when he found what he had done. But it is evident he had a morbid conscience; for why need he afflict his soul for obeying an "instinct which as manifestly came from God as any truth of revelation?"

3. But we deny that we are at liberty implicitly to obey our instincts, even though we had a far greater certainty than we could have in this case of safety or advantage from such obedience. On this point we are at one with Bishop Butler, whose words we subjoin: — "Mankind have various instincts and principles of action, as brute creatures have. Brutes obey these instincts or principles of action, according to certain rules — suppose the constitution of their body, and the objects around them. Brutes, in acting according to these rules, act suitably to their whole nature. Mankind, also, in acting thus, *would* act suitably to their whole nature, if no more were to be said of man's nature than what has now been said, if that, as it is a *true*, were also a *complete*, adequate account of our nature. But that is *not* a complete account of *man's* nature; somewhat further must be brought in to give us an adequate notion of it, namely, that another principle of action, that is, conscience or reflection, is to be found there, and that this, compared with the rest, as they all stand together in the nature of man, plainly bears upon it marks of authority over all the rest, and claims the absolute direction of them all to allow or forbid their gratification. — *Lond. Her. of Peace.*

CONSCRIPTION IN FRANCE.

This military lottery occurs once every year. The annual contingent of troops levied thereby, varies according to the necessities of the state, being in war-times very high, and in quiet, peaceable times comparatively low; at all times, however, it amounts to at least 20,000 men, that being the number who annually receive their *conge*, their term of service having expired. In order fairly to get at the contingent, a census of all the departments is taken every five years; and the number of men required, is divided in equal proportions among all the provinces, arrondissements, cantons, and communes of the empire. Immediately after the census has been

taken, the names of all the young men between the ages of twenty and thirty, both years inclusive, are described on the conscription lists of their respective localities, and every attempt to evade this conscription by removing to a distant place of residence, or by any other subterfuge, is punished by an imprisonment of from one month to one year, whilst any one aiding or abetting a fugitive from the dreaded ballot, is liable to the same penalty.

The scene which takes place at the drawing, is one of much picturesque animation. Groups of the finest youths of a wide neighborhood, with generally their fathers and mothers, relatives and friends, are assembled in the spacious hall of the town-house. The mayors, prefects and sub-prefects of the environing cantons and communes, are there to receive them, with usually several officers quartered in the district. On every face among the involuntary candidates for military service, as well as those of their attendants, there is an expression of hope and fear, anxiety and excitement; and, as each advances towards the fatal urn, as towards an oracle of Epidaureus, containing his future destiny, all the spectators, as well as the parties immediately concerned, feel the most lively interest in the lottery. The result of the whole agitating ceremony is, that those who draw a higher number than the number of recruits required, are exempt for life from any obligation to become soldiers, whilst those who draw a lower number are condemned to serve their country as *militaires* for the space of seven years.

There are certain exceptions to the universality of the conscription. These exceptions include all below the standard height of five feet five inches; all criminals; all who are the subject of any physical incapacity; the eldest of orphans; the only son, or eldest son, or grandson of a widow, or of a father seventy years of age; certain classes of students in the public schools, including all those who have carried off the great prizes of the institute, or of the university. With such exemptions, none are exempt from the ballot; all must appear and draw their lots; and after this ceremony is over, such as have objections to urge, are at liberty to send them in to the *council of revision*, which is appointed for the express purpose of taking these objections into consideration, and of examining generally into the validity of the conscript returns. Were it not for this close examination, many would, under false pretexts, evade the common national responsibility, and some would intrude themselves into the service, whom the service would otherwise reject. *As it is, the instances are numerous of persons who mutilate themselves by chopping off a finger, or who raise sores on their bodies by piercing their flesh, and drawing strings through the wound, that they may be reported by the medical inspectors infirm, and unfit for military life.*

The whole effective organization of the French army, in all its details, arises out of this one institution. There is danger of its abuse. During the latter part of Napoleon's reign, the conscription was felt to be an intolerable grievance. There was then such an incessant drain on the country for men, cannon-flesh, as they were called, that there was hardly a family in France that had not to deplore the loss of sons or brothers. The whole land might be said to be in mourning, and the national glories, even before they were darkened with reverses, brought domestic grief to every hearth. Then it was that conscripts, fleeing from the ballot, or making their escape after being duly passed, might be seen in groups, handcuffed, and with ropes around their necks, dragged forward by military police to join their regiments. A year or two after the battle of Waterloo, making a pedestrian tour through some of the southern provinces of France, we recollect being struck with the fact that there was not a young man between the ages of twenty and thirty-five to be seen! There were boys, a few middle-aged, many old men; but the whole track we traversed, seemed to be depopulated of its youthful manhood. — *United (Eng.) Serv. Mag.*

MORAL RECOIL OF INDIAN CONFLICT ON ENGLAND.

PERHAPS there is nothing that so surely corrupts the virtue of a people, as to be obliged, for what they deem their own honor, to justify and applaud deeds which it is impossible they can in their hearts approve. The inevitable result of such tampering with conscience, will be to blunt its perceptions, until by degrees, those who accustom themselves hardly to "call evil good, and good evil, to put darkness for light, and light for darkness" for their own convenience, will grow in time to see those distinctions less clearly, and will end ultimately by believing their own lie. This is what we have been doing for the last century in our relations with the East. It is impossible for us to disguise from ourselves, that we have been constantly called upon to apologise for deeds done in our name and for our advantage, which, if they had been done by any other nation, would have met with unhesitating and unanimous condemnation on our part. The constant policy of aggression remorselessly carried on by combined cunning and violence; the plunder of Indian provinces; wars like those carried on in Afghanistan, in Scinde, in Burmah, in Persia, in China; annexations like those of Sattara and Oude; a traffic like that in opium; punishments so sweeping and ferocious as those inflicted on the Indian mutineers — is there any man amongst us who doubts that, if such things had been told us of Russia, France, or America, we should have poured upon their heads our indignant execration?

Again, is it credible that, but for the gradual brutalization we have undergone, English men and women could have contemplated such deeds, and listened to such language, as they have been familiar with in connection with India during the last eighteen months, not only without disgust, but with complacency and approval? If we had been told a few years ago that Englishmen would ever do such things as they are now daily doing in India, would we not emphatically have exclaimed, "Are thy servants dogs, that they should do such things?" Would we have believed that a British officer, before hanging a Hindoo, would compel him to lick blood, in order that he might die with the conviction that his soul was eternally lost? Would we have believed that another British officer would have shot two unarmed Indian princes, after inducing them to surrender under promise of sparing their lives? Would we have believed that another British officer would be found hanging his prisoners of war with his own hands? Would we have believed that a Christian Englishman would have massacred in cold blood 500 unarmed men, whose only offence was a desperate attempt to escape from what they believed was a fixed intention to destroy them? Would we have believed that a countryman of ours, even though nothing higher than a common soldier, in writing home to his mother, could have gloated over such horrible atrocities as these: — "There was a gateway by which we had to leave, that was completely crammed with dead and dying. Here might be seen Sikhs murdering the wounded men, and then setting fire to them as they lay bleeding. Oh! mother, sweet, sweet, was this revenge; I gloried in seeing it, although my heart turned and made me sick at the time with the smell of the roasting dead and dying." Are not these indications of the frightful extent to which our countrymen in the East are becoming demoralized and de-humanized by the spectacles they have to witness, and the deeds they have to perform?

"I had to see everything done myself, even to the adjusting of the ropes, and saw them looped to run easy."—"I took on my own shoulders the responsibility of hanging them first, and asking leave to do so afterwards."—*Extracts from officers' letters in the Times.*

But even those who are not engaged as actors in the worst part of Eastern life, become somehow almost invariably corrupted, in a more or less degree, by the unhealthy moral atmosphere they breathe. It is difficult to meet a man, whatever may be his calling, who has resided for a considerable number of years in India or China, who does not exhibit symptoms that he has suffered in conscience, as well as constitution, by a climate which seems as unfavorable to the moral as it is to the physical health of our countrymen. In the absence of all lofty public opinion, they learn to look, first with tolerance, then with connivance, and at last with almost approval, upon sentiments and practices, from which, before they left England, they would have shrunk with unqualified abhorrence.

We have had some painful illustrations of this lately in the effect produced even upon ministers and missionaries by their Oriental sojourn. Mr. Russell, the correspondent of the *Times*, alluding to the ferocious temper generally exhibited by the Anglo-Indian population, speaks thus:—"It is not in this or that instance that we detect the existence of that most vindictive, unchristian and cruel spirit which the dreadful contest and the crimes of the mutineers have evoked. It is in the press, in the counting-house, *I regret to say, in the pulpit*. One reverend divine has written a book, in which, forgetting that the heart of man is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, he takes the cheerful view that the Oriental nature is utterly diabolical and hopelessly depraved, as contradistinguished from his own nature and that of his fellows. The reverend doctor apparently forgets, also, in what part of the world God planted his favored race, and gave his revelations, though indeed it appears to be imbued rather with the teaching of those who smote hip and thigh, even from the rising to the setting of the sun, than of Him who told his servants to put up their sword. I know, indeed, that an excellent clergyman at Simla took occasion the other day, in his sermon, to rebuke this disposition on the part of certain of his hearers to ill-use the natives; but generally the voice from the pulpit has been mute on the matter, or it has called aloud, 'Go forth and spare not.'"

Even the *Times* correspondent in China during the late hostilities, though one of the most unscrupulous writers we have met with for a long time, was shocked and scandalized at the talk of the missionaries with whom he came in contact there—the manner in which they defended war with arguments drawn from infidel writers, and vindicated and encouraged the bloody atrocities enacted by the Chinese insurgents upon their countrymen. "Amid the outpourings," says he, "of blood, in famine and pestilence, in the wreck of all the physical good which antiquity has wrought, our missionaries think they see a safe hope for the religion of the Bible. With all allowance for their strongly militant position, it is hard to understand how so faint and indefinite a hope can blind their eyes and deafen their ears to the material woes which this rebellion has produced. Yet we have men who have gone among them in the same spirit as Samuel went to Saul, and who have produced scandal, even among their own body, by urging these ruffians to go forth and kill. I have objected to the missionaries, the material miseries the insurrection has caused; and they have quoted against me *Cousin's Defence of War*, which is no other than that *war is in itself a good*, and that the abridgement of longevity is not necessarily an evil. When I reply that this is all that could be said by an infidel philosopher against a certain article in the Decalogue, they have replied that, notwithstanding this commandment, the Israelites were enjoined to exterminate the Canaanites. I reply that to establish an analogy between the cases, it will be necessary to admit Taepingwang's pretensions to direct personal intercourse with God the Father. No missionary is prepared for his admission, and our argument closes."

Now, all this cannot fail to re-act, and is re-acting most perniciously, upon the moral character of the nation at home. Is there not some ground for the fear, that a terrible retribution is gradually overtaking us for our conduct in the East, in what is worse, infinitely worse, than any loss of territory, or political and military *prestige* — the gradual corruption of the national conscience through familiarity with evil by that process described so graphically by the poet in reference to an individual: —

“Vice is a monster of such hideous mien,
That, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with its face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.”

Lond. Her. of Peace.

All this, and even more, is true of the British proceedings in India. The effect is to demoralize the general mind, not only of England, but of all Christendom, and to throw obstacles, which ages cannot remove, in the way of converting the heathen to the gospel in its purity and saving power. The mass of Christians are unaware and quite incredulous of such a state; and for this very reason it is likely to be more fatal and lasting.

GEN. HAVELOCK AND THE AFFGHAN WAR.

When the proclamation of the Affghan war was issued by Lord Auckland, the English in India, habituated as they are to scenes of unjust aggression on native rights and territories, and far from being over-sensitive on these points, yet even *they* were shocked and scandalized at this. “The press,” says Mr. Kaye, in his History of the War, “seized upon it, and tore it to pieces. If it were not pronounced to be a collection of absolute falsehoods, it was described as a most disingenuous distortion of the truth. In India every war is more or less popular; but many who rejoiced in the prospect before them, wished that they were about to draw their swords in a better cause.”

It does not appear that Gen. Havelock ever expressed any disapprobation of it, or felt any compunction in entering himself on a war which even the reckless young officers of the Indian army acknowledged to be unjust. It is not our place to judge him for this; but we deem it a duty to express the deep conviction we entertain, that those who are holding up Gen. Havelock as a model for admiration and imitation, and “every inch a Christian,” are doing irreparable injury to Christianity, and losing sight of one of its most blessed attributes, *Peace*, which the world, and even the religious world, has not (to use Sir T. F. Buxton’s words) nearly enough striven after.

That Havelock could feel for the miseries produced by war is attested by the following description from his own pen: “The scene now excited feelings of horror, mingled with compassion, as one by one, the Affghans sunk under repeated wounds upon the ground, which was strewn with bleeding, mangled, convulsed and heaving carcasses. Here were ghastly figures stiffly stretched in calm but grim repose; here the last breath was yielded up through clenched teeth, in attitudes of despair and defiance, with hard struggles and muttered exclamations; and there a faint Ue Ullah (O God) addressed half in devotion to God, half in the way of entreaty to man, alone testified that the mangled sufferer yet lived. The clothes of some of the dead and dying near the entrance had caught fire, and in addition to the agony of their wounds, some were enduring the torture of being burnt by the slow fire of thickly-wadded vests, and aged and hardened coats of sheep skin.”

RESULTS OF THE RUSSIAN WAR.

The friends of Peace have some right to be proud of their opposition to the war with Russia. It was not, be it remembered, the simple negative doctrine of the sinfulness of war. Their most unscrupulous revilers cannot venture to assert that, in their parliamentary, platform, or newspaper conflict against the Russian war, they ever appealed to any authority not recognized among politicians. It was a battle of blue-books. With their fingers between the despatches of our own diplomatists, they argued that the interests of civilization and liberty would not be promoted, but retarded, by our going to war in defence of Turkey; that the dispute with Russia would be honorably and safely adjusted, if we refrained from interference; and that, unless we intended a perpetual protectorate of Turkey, or her division between ourselves and France, we had better leave her to the exertion of her own strength.

These arguments were drowned in clamorous cries of eagerness to repel Russian aggression. Far be it from us to reproach our countrymen with an enthusiasm which was none the less disinterested for being mistaken. They who, like ourselves, at one time shared that enthusiasm, do right to vindicate its honesty. But we ought not to be ashamed to confess our error. We must all see now that these men of peace were right. The war itself disproved, as it went on, every pretext upon which it was undertaken. Bit by bit, it came out, that the disputants had actually agreed to terms, when our meddling ambassador set them at each other's throats; that so far from intending to liberate Poland, the allies bound themselves at the outset not to diminish, in the event of their success, the Empire of Russia; that if the only object had been to prevent Russia keeping up a force in the Black Sea, diplomacy would have accomplished that object as well before as after the destruction of Sebastopol; that so far from the Turks being unable to hold their own frontiers, they unaided drove the Russians from the Danube, and were only prevented by their allies from raising the siege of Kars; and that, instead of the war being instrumental to establish even the independence of Circassia, a provision for that purpose was omitted from the treaty of Paris, though accepted at the Conferences at Vienna.

No doubt there is a considerable change for the better in the relations of Russia to the rest of Europe; but that is a consequence of the change from Nicholas to Alexander. Would we see how little — how vastly less than nothing — the war has had to do with any improvement, we have but to look at the condition of Turkey. That unhappy and ill-used power has been deprived of all but the name of independence. Her finances disordered beyond the help of loans, her national spirit outraged in every conceivable way, her improvement retarded by the new stimulus given to the old Mahometan ferocity, the government of provinces, nominally her own, re-constituted with or without either their will or hers, one of her towns bombarded in retaliation of an outrage for the legal punishment of which she had provided — is it possible that the most ignorant of her population, whether Moslem or Christian, can think with gratitude of the war in her defence?

And what of Europe at large? Does not the last chance of Polish resurrection seem to have vanished with the signature of the treaty which passed her over among the nations forgotten as well as dead? Did not the Hungarian leader point out with pathetic prescience, that every ship steering to the Crimea carried away with it the hopes of a nation whose liberation was supposed to be one of the objects of the war, and whose un-

bought valor would have been our best auxiliary? And what is the latest item of continental news, but the reinforcement of the French army at Rome? As if for the final dispersion of our dreams of European liberty, rising from the blood-stained waters of the Euxine, the Gallic cock crows loud and shrill his right of proprietorship over the chained and wounded eagle of republican Rome. And in the bitterness of regret for the ruin of hopes so bright and pure and large, we scarcely care to remember how much of life and wealth were squandered in the vain attempt to give them form and substance!" *Carlisle (Eng.) Examiner.*

Thus slowly, yet surely, are the views of peace-men triumphing at length over the delusions of war-men. Yet how long does it take, and how much of quiet patience and perseverance does it require, to set the public mind right on such a question. How dear the wisdom learned in the bloody school of war experience! It cost nearly a million lives, and we know not how many thousand millions of treasure, just to engrave on the heart of Christendom, in the noon of this nineteenth century, the suicidal folly of such a conflict as that in the Crimea, and even now scarce half learned by one man in fifty. Courage, friends of peace! Trust in God, and in his own good time there shall come the blessed consummation you seek.

WILLIAM PENN'S EXAMPLE.

To show the power and efficacy of the principles of peace, I do not know that the world has furnished a better instance than occurred in the well-known event in the life of the founder of this Commonwealth. Penn met a race of men here — the inhabitants of the forest — who had been regarded as bloody and cruel, and unfaithful, and always disposed to war. With portions of that race there had been long and fierce conflicts, and every colony had been made to feel the cruelties of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife. Penn was on principle opposed to war, and meant to live with all mankind on terms of peace. He came unarmed — with neither battle-axe, nor buckler, nor sword, nor shield, nor cannon. "We meet," said he to them, "on the broad pathway of good faith and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers, for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain, for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree break. We are the same as if one man's body were divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood."

'The children of the forest were touched by the sacred doctrine,' says the historian, 'and renounced their guile and their revenge. We will live,' said they, 'in love with William Penn and his children, as long as the moon and the sun shall endure.'

The treaty of peace and friendship made between him and them under the old elm on the banks of the Delaware, was one of the most remarkable transactions in history, one of the finest conceivable triumphs of the spirit of peace; one of the most signal rebukes of the spirit of war, and of the necessity for war. 'It was not confirmed by an oath; it was not ratified by signatures and seals; no written record of the conference can be found; and its terms and conditions had no abiding monument but on the heart. There they were written like the law of God, and there they were never forgotten. The simple sons of the wilderness, returning to their

wigwams, kept the history of the covenant by strings of wampum, and long afterwards, in their cabins, would count over the shells on a clean piece of bark, and recall to their own memory, and repeat to their children or the stranger, the words of William Penn. He had come without arms; he declared his purpose to abstain from violence; he had no message but peace; and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian. (Bancroft, ii. 383, 384.) Who can tell how much the same spirit would have done to disarm all hostile tribes; and who can fail to see here a sublimer victory than was ever achieved on any field of blood, and brighter and more enduring laurels than were ever gained in the carnage of battle?
Albert Barnes.

THE PARAGUAY EXPEDITION.

We are glad to find, since the publication of our article on this subject in our last number, the papers of the country, and even both Houses of Congress, taking it up somewhat in earnest. There is need only of timely and thorough discussion to put the whole movement under the frown of an indignant public opinion.

"It is desirable," says the *Independent*, "that the people of the United States, who may soon be called upon to revise this whole proceeding at the polls, should acquaint themselves with the position and resources of Paraguay, and the alleged *causæ belli* against our South American neighbors. The means of authentic information are happily at hand, and the press should be prompt in making this information generally accessible. The Messrs. Harper have issued, in an octavo of 600 pages, a Narrative of the Exploration of the Tributaries of the river La Plata, and adjacent countries, made during the years 1853-56 inclusive, under the orders of the U. S. Government. This narrative is from the pen of Lieut. Page, U. S. N., who commanded the expedition. The volume contains a great deal of both general and scientific information concerning the basin of the La Plata, its products and resources, its inhabitants and their institutions. The territory of Paraguay is wholly interior, lying between 19° and 27° 30 min. south latitude, and between 54° and 58° west longitude from Greenwich, and is enclosed between the river Paraguay upon the west, and the Parana upon the south and east. Its area is estimated at 84,000 square miles.

The colonial laws of Spain while she had control over this region, and the policy of Rosas after the independence of Buenos Ayres, shut up this vast chain of interior navigation from the commerce of the world; but in 1852 the Argentine Confederation declared its waters free to all nations. Immediately upon this declaration, Mr. Fillmore's administration despatched a small steamer, the *Water Witch*, under the command of Lieut. Page, to explore the rivers of La Plata, and to negotiate commercial treaties with the Argentine Confederation. Notwithstanding some little embarrassments at the outset, the expedition was received with all the consideration which could fairly be claimed; and the explorations, as described in the narrative of Lieut. Page, extended over 3,600 miles of river navigation, and 4,000 miles of land travel in Paraguay and the Argentine Confederation.

In the *Confederation* the expedition was received with every mark of respect. Toward the close of the visit to *Paraguay*, however, a serious difficulty arose between the United States Consul at Asuncion and President Lopez—a difficulty involving the commercial schemes of an American Company in which the Consul was interested. To this day no statement of this

affair has been given which is entirely satisfactory. There is too much reason to suspect that an occasion for a quarrel was sought by the American Company in consequence of the failure of their exaggerated schemes of commercial adventure; and that an air of contempt toward Paraguay and its President provoked a feeling of hostility, which finally exploded in an attack upon the Water Witch while sailing in waters claimed to be within the jurisdiction of Paraguay. To revenge this provoked insult, and to repair the dilapidated fortunes of a commercial company, the costly expedition to Paraguay has been undertaken.

From Lieut. Page's account of the Parana and Paraguay rivers, we do not anticipate any very brilliant naval achievements in those waters; and as to the national insult, and the commercial treaty, whatever may be due to the comity of nations, and the general principles of commercial intercourse, we doubt whether in this instance the game is worth the powder. The commercial value of Paraguay has been over-estimated; and as to national honor, Lieut. Page well observes that "Filibustering will not create for us, as a nation, respect in the South American Republics. Neither will it promote our commercial interests, nor advance civilization. The most brilliant oratorical efforts in our National Legislature upon the 'Monroe Doctrine,' will be unavailing, if we fail to convince them that our policy is genial and sympathetic. It is easy to have our flag respected without making it suspected."

HOW INDIAN WARS COST SO MUCH.

The House of Representatives, sometime ago, called on the Secretary of the Treasury for information respecting the enormous expenses for Indian hospitalities in Oregon and Washington Territories. The real cause is not given in the reply, though it is clearly enough "the old story of plundering and war against the red man; and the instant his savage nature finds an outlet in retaliation, the dogs of war are let loose upon the tribes, and extermination, or a distant removal, is the only alternative."

"But to the expense. It appears that a commission organized at Portland, Oregon, in October, 1856, has submitted a report to the Secretary of War, in which claims for the snug little sum of \$4,449,949.33 were presented for payment from the national treasury. This is for Oregon only. The Washington claim is more modest, but touches the handsome figure of \$1,481,475.45, making for both these young territories a sum reaching nearly six million dollars.

The items in the account are rich. The limits of my letter forbid extensive quotations. The price of labor is fabulous; the ordinary laborer *four dollars* per day, while clerks are awarded *ten dollars* per diem invariably. Horses, by quantities, are purchased for three and four hundred dollars apiece, hired at four dollars per day; shanties for officers and men are rented at from one to two hundred dollars per month; and one little item of 'expressing a message from Deer Creek to Port Oxford,' is set down at the cool price of \$800 — a handsome sum for an ordinary horseback ride. The miscellaneous articles, with their prices, are astounding. As for example, harness, \$100; riding-saddle, \$50 to \$60; lumber \$30 to \$100 thousand, and this, too, in a timber country; nails, from 15 to 50 cents, per pound; tobacco, 75 to \$1.50 per pound; axes, \$3 to \$6; axe-handles, \$1 to \$1.50 each; hand saws, \$3; etc., etc. The price charged for forage is on the same princely scale. Oats, from \$5 to \$7 per bushel; corn, \$4

per bushel ; hay, \$160 to \$200 per ton. Blacksmiths or farriers must have made a harvest out of the war, for I find the invariable price for shoeing animals is \$5 per shoe, or \$12 for a single horse or mule.

The difference between purchase and *sale* illustrates so clearly the whole swindle upon the Government, that I cannot refrain from giving one full quotation, premising that the whole statement, seventy odd pages, is of a piece with it. "Mr. Peters purchased 317 mules and 19 horses, at an average of about \$250 each. He hired in addition, 448 horses and mules, 28,078 days at \$4 per day, \$112,312, and teams to the amount of \$21,900. The rates of hire of teams were \$4 per day for the horses and mules, \$2 per day each for oxen, and \$4 for wagons. The hire of packers, teamsters, etc., is \$4 to \$10 per day, having been reduced by commission from \$6 to \$12. The persons from whom the animals were hired, were nearly all in service as teamsters and packers at from \$4 to \$8 per day. The purchases of forage are : 157,504 pounds oats, charged \$5 to \$7 per bushel, allowed \$3 60 ; 3,214 pounds corn, charged \$4 per bushel, allowed \$3 50 ; 61,709 pounds barley, charged \$9 to \$12 per bushel, allowed \$3 50 ; 441,807 pounds wheat, charged \$4 per bushel, allowed \$3 50 ; 393,735 pounds wheat crushed, charged \$7 per bushel, allowed \$4 50 ; 432,569 pound hay, charged \$160 to \$200 per ton, allowed 120 ; 11,400 pounds straw, charged \$20 per ton, allowed \$20.

"Mr. Peters sold at auction, at Jacksonville, August 27, 1856, 26 horses for \$1,891, being a little less than 73 each ; 200 mules for \$18,076, being at an average of \$90 each. This included 127 aparajoes and pack-saddles, costing about \$15 each. 7 wagons were sold for \$362, an average of \$51, 70 ; 898 bushels wheat sold for \$580 25 ; 261 bushels sold at 71 cents—\$185 31 ; 637 bushels sold at 62 cents—\$394 94 ; 50 riding-saddles sold for \$303 50, the rates being from 33 cents to \$29 each ; iron, 8½ cents ; nails, 16 cents ; caps, 25 cents ; hats, 50 cents ; 129 pairs boots, \$1 55 per pair, and 29 pairs at \$2 50 per pair. Of 150 sheets drawing paper, for which \$450 were paid, 75 sheets were used ; the remaining 75 sheets sold for \$11 25."

SPOILS OF WAR.

The morals of so-called Christian warfare may be seen from the reports of what it has instigated or allowed of late in India. It must have led to a deep general demoralization of the troops.

"The English troops," one account says, "must have had a rare time of it in Lucknow. It was impossible, the officers say, to stop the plunder ; and from the accounts given, they did not seem disposed to attempt impossibilities. The place was given up to pillage. All the evidences of barbaric magnificence—furniture, embroidered hangings, chandeliers, statues, mirrors, and china,—were knocked about in search of treasures. Those who could not get in at once to carry on the work, searched the corridors, battered off the noses, legs and arms of the statues in the gardens, or, diving into cellars, either made their fortunes by the discovery of unsuspected treasure, or lost their lives at the hands of concealed fanatics. The amount of spoils carried off by the soldiers, is said to have been very large."

"We learn," says the *Bristol* (Eng.) *Mercury*, "that a lady residing at Clifton, the wife of a gallant major at present serving in India, has received a letter from her husband, which gives a glowing account of the treasure seized by our troops at Lucknow. As an earnest of his own success, he has sent her home a necklace of splendid pearls and some emeralds, one of which is believed to be of large value. The gems are in a comparatively rough state, the emeralds having been ignorantly, and we almost said, mercilessly drilled through. The letter speaks of a corporal in the gallant

officers regiment having got a bracelet which will probably be worth from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000. Another letter from a younger officer received at Clifton, states that the writer has got three superb embroidered shawls of rare workmanship and great price."

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

In 1823, when the allied despots of Europe were inclined to interfere in behalf of Spain for the recovery of her American colonies, and to prevent their becoming permanent republics, our government, under President Monroe, entered into an understanding with England to resist such interference and gave a distinct, significant and effective intimation that we would not consent to it. It was a wise and beneficent use of diplomacy, and served for the time an admirable purpose. But a wild, reckless use has since been made of it by filibusters and unprincipled demagogues. It has been assumed even by some statesmen of whom better things were to be expected, and by no small party of our people, very much as if the American Continent belonged to ourselves.

Of this doctrine, the National Intelligencer sometime since gave a long and elaborate history, concluding thus:—

"We have thus endeavored to lay before our readers a faithful history of a much mooted topic in American politics. Let us briefly recapitulate the points we have, as we think, established beyond successful controversy:—

1. That the Monroe declaration of 1823, in both its phases, had its origin in the changed relations and new responsibilities imposed on the several states of the American Continent, arising especially from the emancipation of the Spanish Colonies, and rendering it conducive to the interest of all that the American Continent should not be subject to future colonization by any European power as waste and unoccupied territory; and that no foreign State or States should be allowed to intervene in the domestic affairs of any American people, for the purpose of suppressing republican institutions.

2. That the Monroe declaration, in so far as it related to the threatened intervention of the Holy Alliance in the concerns of the Spanish-American States, was intended to meet a particular contingency of events, and therefore passed away with the occasion which called it forth.

3. That the Monroe doctrine, in so far as it relates to the colonization of the American Continent by any European Power, was not intended to bind the United States to guard the territory of the New World from such occupation by European States; but *was* intended to indicate, as an important principle of American public policy, "that each State should guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony" within the jurisdiction of its flag. That is, the American Continent was no longer held open to colonization as derelict territory, capable of occupation by right of discovery and settlement.

4. That the "Monroe doctrine" was not, in any proper sense, "a pledge," and as such was especially discarded by the democratic party.

The current interpretation of the "Monroe doctrine," has, therefore, no foundation in the truth of history, and, if defended at all, must be defended on its intrinsic merits."

COST OF REPAIRING WAR-SHIPS.

Repairing seems to have risen to the dignity of a main business in the Navy Department. Building is only an accessory, a contingent, a sort of mold into which repairs are to be conducted. We have before us a report of the Secretary of the Navy, in answer to a resolution of the Senate calling for information as to the time at which each of the vessels of the navy were built, their original cost, the cost of repairs, and their present condition.

A glance at these statistics will show the propriety of our remarks above. For instance, the ship-of-the-line *North Carolina*, built at Philadelphia in 1820, cost originally \$431,852, but has since cost in repairs \$499,814, and now needs more repairs. The *Ohio*, built in the same year, for \$309,769, has been repaired to the amount of \$764,252, and is not in good condition now. Several other ships-of-the-line have the same history; in fact, it is the general rule. It applies as well to the modern as to the ancient built. Thus, the *Germantown*, built at Philadelphia in 1846 for \$142,956, had over \$14,000 repairs in '48, \$6,000 in '49, \$23,000 in '51 \$45,000 '53, and nearly \$49,000 in '57. The brig *Perry* displays a still more remarkable case. She was built at Gosport in 1813 for \$12,672, but her repairs have already amounted to over \$115,000! They appear to have put repairs on her to the average amount of 15,000 from year to year, until at last in 1857, they got tired of this slow process, and laid out at once \$47,870 — \$5,000 more than her first cost, and the Secretary is compelled to add in a note: "Complete accounts have not been rendered!"

But where ships have been built in sufficient numbers, it would look as if they had been purchased for the sake of repairing. Thus, the schooner *Fennimore Cooper* was bought for \$8,000, and received immediate repairs to the amount of \$7,261. The storeship *Release* was bought for \$17,000 and double that amount, or \$34,116, was used in repairing her. The Department, a dozen years since, gave \$45,000 for the *Supply*, spent \$59,000 in getting her into shape, and has since laid out in her repairs over \$70,000!

So the list goes on, repairs, repairs, repairs! The question is suggested whether it would not be better policy to destroy the old vessels at once in many of the cases, and build anew, instead of reconstructing them under the name of repairs. The present process does more than illustrate the old joke about the stocking that was darned until not a thread of the original fabric remained; for, if we were to judge by the figures above, we should say that the child sock of common yarn had gradually given way to one of the hugest specimens of the celebrated "silk stocking" family.

WAR IN EUROPE.

The political sky of Europe has been supposed for some months past to portend war; and meanwhile all sorts of rumors and speculations have become more or less current. We profess no special wisdom or forecast in such matters; but we must own that we have not, to any considerable extent, shared these alarms. Yet they certainly develop facts and tendencies connected with the war-system, to which public attention ought to be turned in earnest:—

1. This system, on which nations seem chiefly to depend for security, is clearly their great source of danger. If Europe, with her millions of soldiers, and hundreds or thousands of war-ships, were not, so well prepared for war, there would now have been little, if any, thought of appealing to the sword. The effect of these enormous military preparations on the

question of actual war, is very like that of individuals in society going armed to the teeth with revolvers and bowie-knives, just to prevent violence and blood-shed! Every body knows, the semi-savages themselves who indulge the practice, admit that it increases the general danger more than ten-fold. So with the system of full and constant preparation for war. It provokes ten wars where it averts one, turns all Europe into a vast camp with her three million warriors all sleeping with their armor on, and makes her so-called peace little better than an armed truce, to be broken by any and every party at pleasure. Yet such is the climax of *Christian statesmanship* in the nineteenth century; the application made of the gospel for the cure of this immemorial and world-wide evil, the greatest and most deeply rooted, paganism alone excepted, that ever afflicted the human race!

2. We see how very difficult it is to change the war-habits of Christendom. At the close of the Crimean war, there was made, in the Congress of Paris, a set effort to break up the practice of relying on the sword for the settlement of international disputes, and to substitute in its place a resort to some form of arbitration. All the great powers of Europe gave their assent to this principle; and, had it been wisely as well as honestly applied, it would have obviated all danger or idea of war in the present emergency. We do not accuse the parties of insincerity; for, however sincere they may have been, it is quite impossible to change at once the old, immemorial reliance on the sword. It must take many years, if not ages, to cure, in either rulers or people, those deep-seated war-habits; a result that will alone require a hundred-fold more effort than the friends of peace have yet made.

3. Meanwhile public opinion, such as has already been created in behalf of peace, or may be rallied for the emergency, must be our chief reliance to hold nations back from actual war. We own it is a very slender, precarious dependence, a broken reed at best, and it may prove a piercing spear; but it is all we have for the present, and should be turned to the best possible account. Nor would it be without much hope of success, if all the professed friends of peace—the Christian Church, the Christian Pulpit, and the Christian Press—would only do what they might and should to keep the sword in its scabbard. Nay, they alone might, if they would, insure, even under the present miserable war-system, the actual peace of all Christendom to the end of time. Will not God hold them to a heavy responsibility for the result?

HINTS FROM CORRESPONDENTS.

IN our last, we gave from business correspondence some very suggestive extracts, and we are quite inclined to add a few more in the present number.

A Western Pastor, after referring to a service for our cause which he had undertaken with only partial success, says, "Your cause I still love; and, if you do not receive a collection from my church, and only a trifling

pittance from me,"—the letter contained his own annual donation — "bear in mind that the Western field is crying aloud, oh, how loud, for help, and we are all the while planting churches, and building meeting-houses, which duty devolves upon comparatively few. I hope you will hear from Illinois hereafter."

Another friend, enclosing his donation of three dollars, writes from Wisconsin in the following strain — "Christian friends, the cause in which you are engaged, is the cause of truth and righteousness, and *must be established on earth before the full tide of millennial glory can be ushered in.*" There never was a truer sentiment, but quite unlike the way in which the mass of Christians seem to reason. They tell us, first spread the gospel everywhere in its full efficacy, and peace will then follow as a matter of course. But how *can* the gospel *be thus* spread, so long as war continues as it has among all Christians for more than fifteen centuries? The idea is absurd, a practical contradiction in terms. We may just as well think to convert the wicked without repentance or faith as without peace.

Another excellent friend (\$5 enclosed) says, "Some people ask, what good does the Peace Society do? Such inquirers evidently have not been in the habit of reading its publications, and take no note of the progress which the Peace Cause has made in our land, and in Europe. Those who *have* kept themselves well posted on the subject for the last twenty or thirty years, know that great good has been done; and the friends of the cause have no reason to be discouraged in their labors, but ought rather to take courage from the progress already made, and go ahead in patience and faith. All reforms are slow at the beginning. Only think how very little after near nineteen hundred years, has been done for the world's conversion to Christianity! Nineteen-twentieths of the human race are probably now in their sins. Why not say, 'can't do anything — must give it up?'"

Another intelligent, steadfast friend, enclosing his two dollars, and regretting it could not have been more, exclaims, "O! what a shame that so few ministers and Christians take any active part in this great work of beating swords into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks! It seems as if most Christians, as well as a wicked world, expect that God will bring about a state of Peace on earth *without their agency.* Truly, the cause of Peace is an uphill business; and I do not wonder you are sometimes almost discouraged. But still they that are for us, are more than those that be against us. Be of good courage, and stick to the ship of Peace. Our Father is at the helm; and she will yet outride the storms of war, and arrive at last safe in a haven of universal PEACE."

Such is the unusual strain of our correspondence; but we sometimes find among professed friends of peace modes of reasoning that seem strangely preposterous, and utterly fatal to any and every enterprise of Christian reform. When one stops the Advocate because forsooth he "has no time to read it," we are always sure to find him more or less wrong on the general subject, and much in need of information on it, though he *thinks* he knows all about it, or *so much* that he has little occasion to read or hear any more.

Here is one such case: "I feel that, if the gospel is carried by faithful servants, and in kindness explained to all people, peace will follow, and therefore we must give our aid to assist in that great work first." God speed and largely increase all efforts in every such work; but that these efforts do not supersede the necessity of specific means in the cause of Peace, is proved, beyond all controversy, by the fact that the gospel, *without* such efforts as we are making, has not in fact put an end to the practice of war in any land, and still more by the strange fact, that the very Christians who reason in this way about there being no need of any more effort in the cause of peace than what will follow as a matter of course, still cling to the war-system as a necessity, and seem to have little, if any real idea of *ever* abandoning it, unless it should *chance* to cease somehow, without effort or means, in some vague future called the millenium! *If* the gospel is carried "aright;" but will it, or can it *ever* be, without such an application as we are trying to make of its pacific principles? Never; and such an application will never be made by those who reason in this way.

So another, who has been an "advocate of our cause for twenty years," and sends "his best wishes and humble prayers for its prosperity," still indulges a sort of logic that would kill ere long, not only this cause, but every enterprise of benevolence or reform. "If the professed ministers of the gospel of Christ, which is a gospel of peace, will do their duty,—and they are *paid* for doing it,—more can be accomplished by them than by all other means now in use." Be it so; but how can you make sure of their doing so? What have they been doing in all these long ages of blood, and, if left to themselves, what will they do hereafter to abolish the custom of War? If they do so little, after all the light we are spreading on the subject, what can we expect of them when peace societies shall all cease? Our friend would "trust to *other* means, such as the press, enlightened public opinion, and especially the promise of God in the Gospel of His Son, to carry on and complete the work." But how does God usually "carry on and complete" any such work? Without any means? Never. Does our friend trust God to support his own family without suitable means on *his* part? No more right have we to expect He will "carry on and complete" the work of Peace without the means he has appointed for the purpose. Christians as a body are almost entirely neglecting these means; and, so long as they continue such neglect, it would be just as preposterous and suicidal to leave the cause of Peace with them, as it would be to leave that of Temperance with a set of Christians who are wont, and deem it right, habitually to make, and sell, and drink alcohol as a beverage. Every such proposal is a practical abandonment of our cause. Our friends, here quoted, do not *mean* so; but such would surely be the result of their logic.

A NEW LABORER.—Rev. C. S. MACREADING, who has been for some time under commission as one of our lecturers, but has thus far performed only incidental labor for us, is expected early in March to enter our service as our General Agent, and devote his whole time to our cause. We would bespeak for him a cordial welcome from the friends of Peace.

Rev H. S. Storrs D.D.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE,

FOR

MAY AND JUNE.

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1859.

THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MAY AND JUNE, 1859.

SAFETY OF PEACE PRINCIPLES :

THEIR POWER OVER BRUTES, AND INSANE AND CRIMINALS.

The peace principle has a wonderful power over all sentient beings. For the young and the old, for the refined and the rude, for the bad as well as the good, for savages, maniacs, and even brutes, it has a peculiar and well-nigh irresistible charm.

Nor can we wonder when we look at its nature. A slave in one of the West Indies, originally from Africa, became, after his conversion, singularly valuable on account of his integrity and general good conduct. His master at length raised him to a situation of some consequence, and used to employ him in the purchase of new slaves. On one occasion he was sent with instructions to select twenty of the strongest, most able-bodied he could find in the market ; but he had not long surveyed the multitude offered for sale, before he fixed his eye intently on a feeble, decrepit old man, and told his master he must be one of the twenty. His master in surprise remonstrated against so strange a choice ; but the poor fellow begged so hard to be indulged, that the dealer said, if they took twenty, he would give them the old man in the bargain. The purchase was accordingly made, and the slaves conducted to the plantation ; but upon none did the negro bestow half the attention and care he did upon the old African. He took him to his own habitation, and laid him on his own bed ; he fed him at his own table, and gave him drink out of his own cup ; when he was cold, he carried him into the sunshine, and when hot, he placed him under the shade of the cocoa-nut trees. Astonished at such attentions, his master interrogated him on the subject. ' Why do you take such interest in that worthless old man ? There must be some special reason ; he is a

relative of yours, perhaps your father? "No, massa," answered the poor fellow, "he no my fader!" "An elder brother then!" "No, massa, he no my broder!" "Then he is an uncle, or some other relation." "No, massa, he no be of my kindred at all, nor even my friend!" "Then," asked the master in astonishment, "why do you take so much interest in the old fellow?" "He my enemy, massa," replied the slave; "he sold me to the slave-dealer; and my Bible tell me, when my enemy hunger, feed him, and when he thirst, give him drink."

Such a principle touches a responsive cord even in brutes. We once read of a lion so pained by a thorn in his paw which he could not himself extract, that he prevailed by some means upon a passing boy to pull it out; and that act of kindness attached the king of the forest to the lad, and drew forth a flood of the fondest caresses. Martin tells a similar story of a lion on board a British war-ship. Prince had a keeper to whom he was much attached. The keeper got drunk one day; and, as the captain never forgave the crime, the keeper was ordered to be flogged. The grating was rigged on the main deck opposite Prince's den, a large barred up place, the pillars large, and cased with iron. When the keeper began to strip, Prince rose gloomily from his couch, and got as near to his friend as possible. On beholding his bare back, he walked hastily round the den; and when he saw the boatswain inflict the first lash, his eyes sparkled with fire, and his sides resounded with the strong and quick beatings of his tail. At last, when the blood began to flow from the unfortunate man's back, and the 'clotted cats' jerked their gory knots close to the lion's den, his fury became tremendous. He roared with a voice of thunder, shook the strong bars of his prison as if they had been osiers, and finding his efforts to break loose unavailing, he rolled and shrieked in a manner the most terrific it is possible to conceive. The captain, fearing he might break loose, ordered the marines to load, and present at Prince. This threat, however, only redoubled his rage; and at last the captain desired the keeper to be cast off, and go to his friend. It is impossible to describe the joy evinced by the lion. He licked with care the mangled and bleeding back of the cruelly treated seaman, caressed him with his paws, which he folded round the keeper as if to defy any one renewing a similar treatment; and it was only after several hours that Prince would allow the keeper to quit his protection, and return among those who had so ill-used him.

Let us see the effects of this principle upon the most unmanageable of human beings, men who have lost their reason. It used to be supposed, that force alone would suffice for the control of maniacs, and they were treated entirely on the war-principle; but the whole mode of treatment has been changed, and kindness now takes the place of violence. The results are well known; but this new system had at its outset to encounter what

may now seem a strange skepticism. Its introduction into this country is comparatively recent; and we will take the story of its first trial in France.

In 1792. Pinel, who had been for some time chief physician to the Bicetre, or mad-house of Paris, begged repeatedly of the public authorities to let him remove the chains from the furious. His applications having been unsuccessful, he presented himself before the commune of Paris, and, repeating his objections with increased warmth, urged a reform of such monstrous treatment. "Citizen," said one of the members to him, "I will to-morrow go to visit the Bicetre; but wo betide thee, if thou deceivest us, and concealest any of the enemies of the people amongst thy insane."

This member of the commune was Couthon. The next day he went to the Bicetre. Couthon was himself as strange a spectacle as any whom he visited. Deprived of the use of his lower extremities, and compelled to be borne on the arms of others, he appeared, says Pinel, a fraction of humanity implanted on another's body; and from out of this deformity, pronounced in a feeble and feminine voice, merciless sentences proceeded, sentences of death; for death was the only logic that then prevailed. Couthon visited the insane in succession, and questioned them himself; but he received only imprecations amidst the clanking of chains on floors disgustingly filthy from the evacuations of the miserable occupants. Fatigued with the monotony and revolting character of this spectacle, Couthon returned to Pinel. "Citizen," said he, "art thou thyself mad to desire to unchain such animals?" "Citizen," replied Pinel "I am convinced that these lunatics are intractable only from being deprived of air and liberty, and I expect much from a different course." "Well," said Couthon, "do as thou likest; I leave them to thee; but I am afraid thou wilt fall a victim to thy presumption."

Master of his own actions, Pinel immediately commenced his undertaking, fully aware of its real difficulties; for he was going to set at liberty about fifty furious maniacs, without injurious or dangerous consequences, as he hoped, to the other peaceable inmates of the establishment. He determined to unchain no more than twelve at the first trial; and the only precaution he took, was to have an equal number of strait jackets prepared, made of strong linen with long sleeves, which could be tied behind the back of the maniac, should it become necessary to restrict him from committing acts of violence.

The first person to whom Pinel addressed himself, had been a resident for the longest period in this abode of misery. He was an English captain, whose history was unknown, but who had been chained there for forty years. He was looked upon as the most terrible of all the insane. His attendants always approached him with circumspection; for in a paroxysm of fury, he had

struck one of the servants on the head with his manacles, and killed him on the spot. He was confined with more rigor than many of the others, which circumstance, combined with almost total neglect on the part of the keepers, had exasperated a disposition naturally furious. Pinel entered his cell alone, and approached him calmly. 'Captain,' said he, 'if I were to remove your chains, and to give you liberty to walk in the court, would you promise me to be rational, and do harm to no one?' "I promise thee. But thou mockest me; they, as well as thyself, are too much afraid of me." 'Assuredly not. I have no fear; for I have six men at hand to make me respected, should it be necessary. But believe my word; be confiding and docile. I will give you liberty, if you will allow me to substitute this strait waistcoat for your ponderous chains.'

The captain yielded with a good grace to every thing required of him, shrugging his shoulders, but without uttering a word. In a few minutes his irons were completely removed, and Pinel withdrew, leaving the door of the cell open. Several times the maniac raised himself from his seat, but fell back again; he had kept the sitting posture so long that he had lost the use of his legs. At length, in about a quarter of an hour, and after repeated attempts, he succeeded in retaining his equilibrium, and from the depth of his dark cell advanced staggering towards the door. His first action was to look at the sky, and exclaim in ecstasy, "How beautiful!" Through the whole day he ran about, ascending and descending the stairs, and constantly repeating the exclamation, "How beautiful! how good!" In the evening he returned to his cell, slept tranquilly on a better bed, which had been provided for him; and during the two additional years which he passed in the Bicetre, he had no paroxysm of fury. He rendered himself, indeed, useful in the establishment, by exerting a certain degree of authority over the patients, whom he governed after his own fashion, and over whom he elected himself a kind of superintendent.

But the case of Chevinge, a soldier of the French guards, is looked upon as one of the most memorable feats of that interesting and eventful day. While in the army, he had but one fault—drunkenness; and when in this state he became turbulent, violent, and the more dangerous from his strength being prodigious. Owing to his repeated excesses, he was dismissed from his regiment, and soon dissipated his limited resources. Shame and misery subsequently plunged him into such a state of depression, that his intellect became disordered. In his delirium he thought he had been made a general, and beat those who did not admit his rank and quality; and, in consequence of a violent disturbance thus originating, he was taken to the Bicetre, laboring under the most furious excitement. He had been confined in chains for ten years, and with more severity than most of his fellow sufferers, as he had frequently broken asunder his irons by the sole strength of

his hands. On one occasion, when he obtained momentary liberty in this manner, he set at defiance the united efforts of all his keepers to make him re-enter his cell. His strength had, indeed, become proverbial at the Bicetre.

Pinel, on several visits, had discovered in Chevinge an excellent disposition, masked under the excitement incessantly occasioned by cruel treatment. He promised the lunatic to ameliorate his condition, and this promise itself rendered him more tranquil. Pinel at length told him he should be no longer chained; 'and to prove the confidence I have in thee,' said he, 'and that I regard thee as a man adapted for doing good, thou shalt aid me in freeing those unfortunates who have not their reason like thee; and if thou conductest thyself as I have reason to hope, I will take thee into my service, and thou shalt never quit me. Never,' adds Pinel, 'was there a more sudden and complete revolution. The keepers themselves were impressed with respect and astonishment at the spectacle which Chevinge afforded.' Scarcely was he liberated when he was seen anticipating and following with his eye every motion of Pinel, executing his orders with skill and promptitude, and addressing words of reason and kindness to the insane, on the level with whom he had been but a short time before. This man whom chains had kept degraded during the best years of his life, and who would doubtless have spent the remainder of his existence in the same wretched condition, became afterwards a model of good conduct and gratitude. Often, in the difficult times of the revolution, he saved the life of Pinel, and on one occasion rescued him from a band of miscreants who were conducting him to the "Lanterne," owing to his having been an elector in 1789. During the time of famine, he left the Bicetre every morning, and returned with supplies of provisions which gold could not at that time procure. His whole life was one of perpetual devotion to his liberator.

In the course of a few days, the shackles were removed from fifty-five lunatics. An unexpected improvement followed from a course previously regarded impracticable and even fatal. The furious mad-men, who monthly destroyed hundreds of utensils, renounced their habits of violence; others, who tore their clothes, and rioted in filth and nudity, became clean and decent; tranquillity and harmony succeeded to tumult and disorder, and over the whole establishment order and good feeling reigned.

Mark, also, the power of this principle over criminals. Mr. Pillsbury, warden of the state prison in Connecticut, once received into the prison a man of gigantic stature, whose crimes had for seventeen years made him the terror of the country. He told the criminal when he came, he hoped he would not repeat the attempts to escape which he had made elsewhere. "It will be best," said he, "that you and I should treat each other as well as we can. I will make you as comfortable as I possibly can, and I shall be anxious to be your friend; and I hope you

will not get me into difficulty on your account. There is a cell intended for solitary confinement ; but we have never used it, and I should be sorry ever to have to turn the key upon any body in it. You may range the place as freely as I do ; if you trust me, I shall trust you." The man was sulky, and for weeks showed only gradual symptoms of softening under the operation of Mr. Pillsbury's cheerful confidence. At length information was brought of the man's intention to break prison. The warden called him, and taxed him with it ; the man preserved a gloomy silence. He was told it was now necessary for him to be locked in the solitary cell, and desired to follow the warden, who went first, carrying a lamp in one hand, and a key in the other. In the narrowest part of the passage, Mr. Pillsbury, a small, light man, turned round, and looked in the face of the stout criminal. "Now," said he, "I ask whether you have treated me as I deserve ? I have done every thing I could to make you happy ; I have trusted you ; but you have never given me the least confidence in return, and have even planned to get me into difficulty. Is this kind ? And yet I cannot bear to lock you up. If I had the least sign that you cared for me." The man burst into tears. 'Sir,' said he, 'I have been a very devil these seventeen years ; but you treat me like a man.' "Come, let us go back," said the warden. The convict had free range of the prison as before ; and from this hour he began to open his heart to the warden, and cheerfully fulfilled his whole term of imprisonment.

The labors of Elizabeth Fry in Newgate, and their signal success, are well known ; but let us quote the case of Haynes, executed in 1799, at Bristol, Eng. He was heavily ironed, yet so extremely turbulent and outrageous, that the other prisoners stood in fear of him, and were obliged to be constantly on their guard. It became necessary even to call out the military ; but this only irritated him, and made him worse. He would expose his naked breast to the soldiers' bayonets, dare them to run him through, and say he would rather be shot dead than surrender himself to them. Yet, when force failed, remonstrance succeeded ; for he actually delivered up to the persuasions of a gentleman, a weapon which a file of soldiers were unable to take from him. A pious minister, by the name of Bundy, used to visit him, and at length told the keeper he wished to spend the night with the felon. He was warned of his danger ; but, moved with compassion, he persisted, and entered the prisoner's cell. Finding him prostrate on the floor under the weight of his irons, he persuaded the keeper to let him have one hand and foot at liberty. The keeper retired late at night, locking after him three massive doors ; and Haynes, immediately lifting up his liberated hand, and reaching a clasped knife he had concealed, rushed fiercely towards him, exclaiming with the voice and looks of a demon, 'now thou art in my power, I will kill thee.' The man of God thought his end had come ; but suddenly recalling the passage,

"thou canst have no power over me unless it be given thee from above," was instantly raised above all fear, and calmly met the enraged culprit, to whom he kindly said, "now, my friend, what harm have I done you, or of what service would my death be to you?" He then spoke of the love of Christ, and assured the felon, that he was ready to receive all, even the most wicked, who came to him. These words of kindness softened the culprit's heart; he threw down the knife, acknowledging his guilt, and burst into tears. Deeply convicted at length of sin, he asked if it was possible for such a sinner as himself ever to be saved? The anguish of his mind was extreme; he would often weep bitterly in view of his sins; and there is reason to hope that he died a sincere penitent.

A case still stronger occurred in France early in the same century. A pious man by the name of Claude, was confined in the Bastile, and along with him a felon so ferocious and brutal, that no one durst approach him. In vain had every possible means been used to humanize him; and when all expedients had failed, the governor urged Claude to undertake the work. His humility at first declined the proposal; but the entreaties of the governor prevailed on him at length to attempt the difficult and perilous service, and he was shut up with the human brute. He received the saint with the greatest rudeness, and exhausted his ferocity in revilings, in blows, and still more savage tokens of his disposition. To this treatment, continued till the mad-man was completely exhausted, the man of God opposed only silence, patience and meekness. His prayers achieved the rest. The monster, after absolutely wearing himself out with abuse and violence, looked at length into the face of Claude, and seeing the love and patient benignity of its expression, suddenly threw himself at his feet in a flood of tears. On recovering his voice enough to speak, he expressed the utmost abhorrence of himself, as well as veneration for Claude, and, humbly beseeching his forgiveness, implored to be taught a religion which could do such great things. Claude, raising the penitent, and embracing him with tears, showed him the necessity of an entire and thorough change. Nor were his instructions in vain; they effected a complete alteration in the man, and he became pious, gentle and resigned, a tiger transformed into a lamb.

DISCRIMINATION NECESSARY IN PEACE:

ENFORCEMENT OF LAW AGAINST CRIMINALS NOT THE SAME AS WAR.

Much depends upon the proper definition of terms. How many disputes might clear, well-expressed definitions at the outset have prevented. What, then, is war—war between nations, or smaller communities? Let us define. The year 1786 is memorable for the "Shays rebellion." Shays, an officer of our

Revolutionary War, headed a body of 1,100 men under arms, in an attempt to take possession of the Arsenal at Springfield, Mass. Here they were met by General Shepard at the head of a superior force of State militia. He gave Shays timely notice, that, if he and his men advanced, he would fire upon them. They persisted, till a cannon ball penetrated their ranks, killing three men, besides wounding others. The rebels then fled, and soon dispersed.

Let us suppose, however, there had been a hard fought battle, or a succession of them, in which thousands had fallen. Would this have been war? Certainly not, as we understand it. It was, though on a more extended scale, what the sheriff does in employing a sufficient force to aid him in arresting a party of robbers or counterfeiters. It is but calling to the aid of government a force sufficient to maintain and execute the law, a body of police in a larger number than ordinary, in consequence of an emergency demanding it. The object is to maintain law and order; and the simple question is how this object can be best secured. If anybody of armed men, under a proper officer to direct them, be necessary, let them be employed. We feel no mawkish dread of employing such a force, if no better method presents itself for protecting the lives and property of peaceable, law-abiding citizens.

But let us go a step further. What if an army of 20,000 or 50,000 men were to land on our shores? They are armed, equipped, officered, and duly commissioned by a foreign government. They are placed under a commander-in-chief, whose directions are to kill, burn, and lay waste our country, so far as shall be in his power.

Let us now examine his *rights*, and those of his army, upon our soil. Were they citizens, they would be guilty of treason, without a shadow of justification for lifting a finger against our laws. To kill an inhabitant, whether armed or unarmed, would be nothing less than murder, subjecting the offender to death, and his accomplices to condign punishment. How, then, does this foreign army acquire upon our soil rights that our own citizens do not possess? Is it by virtue of orders, support, and employment by a foreign government? But the jurisdiction of that government does not extend beyond its own limits. Queen Victoria, or Louis Napoleon, possesses no more authority on our soil, than the meanest beggar of England or France. Their commissions or orders, designed to take effect within the limits of our territory, are no better than waste paper. As well pretend that the orders of the head of a gang of robbers, or of the captain of a pirate vessel, can extenuate the guilt of those who obey them. In the eye of law and of reason, this army has no more claim to leniency, than if they were outlawed by every government upon earth, and adjudged robbers or pirates.

Now, the duty of our government *in principle* is the same in

this case as in a domestic insurrection. It is to call out a force sufficient to capture and punish these aggressors. It is to hold that commander-in-chief, and his subordinates, responsible for every infraction of our laws. If a battle is fought, and our citizens are killed, then treat the aggressors as murderers. A well regulated government might hang some dozen or twenty of the principal officers, and perhaps with safety pardon all the inferior officers and soldiers, unless known to have been wantonly guilty of murder.

But in order to pursue such a course, the government must be able to show clean hands. We must renounce the idea of invading foreign territory ourselves, or what is equally criminal, and *infinitely meaner*, connive at private, unauthorized military expeditions, *filibustering*. All that I have supposed might be done in regard to an invading army without war. An armed force may be raised, battles may be fought, the invaders may be victorious or defeated, and yet, while our efforts are confined to their ejection, capture or destruction, it is not *war*, but upholding the supremacy of law. Thus far our rulers maintain the supremacy of law, and permit none, whether of our own citizens, or intruders from abroad, to molest those who live peaceably in our own territory, without punishment. Between the duty of government to protect its peaceable citizens in the enjoyment of their rights, unmolested by any persons, whatever authority they may plead, or wherever they may originate, and strict *non-resistance*, the denial of all right to resist wrong-doers by physical force, I am unable to discover any tenable position. This is not *war*, as we understand its proper definition; or if every contest where arms are used, and blood is shed, has been so called, let us learn to discriminate between the enforcement of law, and an appeal to brute force to decide a public quarrel. They differ as much as individual self-defence, when one is unexpectedly attacked by a bully, and formal arrangements for fighting a duel.

We have now trodden on the verge of what may properly be termed *War*. What then is necessary to convert the above named foreign invasion into real war?

1. It is for our government to recognize the right of another nation to invade our soil, if they are able to do so, without subjecting the invaders to the same penalties that we would consider their just due, were they citizens, or mere private adventurers. Should the commander-in-chief be taken, he would demand the treatment due not to the leader of a gang of pirates or banditti, but to a gentleman of rank. Should the soldiers be taken prisoners, they might look perhaps for confinement and scanty fare; but the officers would expect to be released on their parole of honor, and be treated as gentlemen who have simply discharged *their duty*. For the bloodshed, and other outrages they have committed, they hold themselves as guiltless as the sheriff, who, in arresting a gang of criminals, should in self-defense wound or even kill

several of these desperadoes, before he succeeded in taking them into custody. What then, is war but a tacit agreement between two hostile governments to suspend the operation of their respective civil laws in favor of their enemies? It is for government to allow a foreign invader to enact, without due punishment, crimes that would subject its own citizens to the gallows. The only boon required for this generosity to a national enemy, is, that this government may be permitted in time to make reprisals, without fear of condign punishment to individual offenders. *This is war.*

Now, what can be more absurd than such a course? If it be said that, were we to hang the highest officers of a captured army, retaliation would follow, we think it very likely, nor would we shrink from such a recoil of our principle. We claim no immunities for our own officers above those of other nations. If it be a wrong and an outrage for a hostile army to enter *our* territory, can it be any thing less for ours to invade that of our neighbor? 'But an invading army might treat our own citizens, taken on our own soil, in the same way.' Certainly, and so might a band of robbers. But do we consent to treat these as honorable men, because they may retaliate, if we thrust those we arrest into prison, try them by the laws of our land, and either send them to the penitentiary, or even hang them! The government that should thus compromise its authority, and crouch to open rebels against its laws, would soon find its power at an end, and its authority held in derision.

Such a course would operate as a strong check and defense. Any foreign government would pause in its course, if fully assured that, as a matter of principle, another nation should steadfastly refuse either to invade a foreign territory, or to make any terms whatever with aggressors upon its own, and would hold them all individually responsible, just like any other criminals, for their offences against life and property.

War between nations is in its nature the same as a duel between individuals. It is an appeal to combined skill and brute force to inflict a deadly injury upon a party with whom we are at variance, at the risk of receiving a similar injury ourselves. A resort to deadly weapons in either case has no tendency to procure redress for past injuries. By so doing, the party aggrieved degrades himself to the level of the aggressor. Within the memory of men of middle age, the duel has sunk into disrepute, and the laws of honor no longer require one to give or receive a challenge, for the good reason that only evil can result from a hostile meeting. It settles no disputed question. It brightens no man's tarnished honor. It has no tendency to repair an injury, or to prevent a greater. So may it soon be with war.

L. C. B.

PEACE AS A PRACTICAL TEST.

From a long tried and very intelligent friend of our cause, we have received the following communication, with a request that we would "present the leading thought at the proper time to our Board, or a meeting of the Society." We deem it fairest, and every way best, to let him speak for himself. We hope every Christian reader, more especially every preacher of the Gospel, will ponder well the issue here presented.—ED.

HAS not the time arrived when the Peace Society should appeal to the evangelical churches of our land to give the doctrines of Peace a place among their articles of Christian faith, and insist on their practical observance by their members? Especially, should not the clergy be called upon to set forward and prosecute such a work? We have the example of the faith of primitive Christians for the first three centuries, with all its efficiency. We have the assurance of ancient prophecy, that the success of the latter-day church should be the concomitant of the reign of peace; all the teachings of Christ and his apostles corroborate the same truth; and the arguments of your various publications demonstrate, beyond a rational doubt, that war is unchristian in all its motives, in all its tendencies, and in all its effects. Nay, worse; it is *antagonistic* to Christianity in all these, a fearful destroyer of souls, and a clog to missionary operations every where. You have clearly shown that all the most plausible arguments in favor of war are futile, and only expose its deleterious character. You have received the concurrent approbation of large bodies of the most distinguished clergy in various evangelical denominations, reiterating these truths. What, then, remains but to bring these sentiments into practical use in the church?

The time has certainly come for an application of our principles. I ask a clergyman to patronize the cause of peace with his influence, his money, and his personal efforts. He says, 'I believe our people are *about right on this subject*. The cause of peace has been forty years before the public, and its friends have done what they can; but its main object, the abolition of war, has not been reached—it is intangible.' And yet we see professed Christians, of nearly all denominations, ready to aid a war, "right or wrong," simply on the ground that it is a war of *our country*, and ready with their suffrages to aid in promoting to the highest honors of our nation, the man who shall have most distinguished himself by military achievements even in a war they disapprove! The best apology for such an act is, 'we vote not for the war-feature of the man's character, but only in view of his availability.' Still, however, reluctantly the vote may be given, it is nevertheless a vote in honor of military achievement, and in support of this pernicious availability. Such complicity is inconsistent with Christian character.

How different the course taken by early followers of Christ!

With the puritan church of the first centuries was not intrusted, as with us now in effect, the control of the question of war or peace; and yet they sustained the position, that all wars are unlawful, and would sooner suffer martyrdom than fight. At the present day the question of war or peace, especially between Christian nations, may be regarded as indirectly at the option of the church, and still more especially and directly so in our own nation. I think there can be no doubt that, if professed Christians of all evangelical denominations held and sustained the true Christian position relative to war, a speedy stop would be put to the practice. Only withdraw from it *religious* support, and it would sink of its own weight.

War assumes a prerogative of God, that of disposing of human life. Hence the religious sanctions that have been drawn about it by blood-thirsty conquerors to blunt the conscience of the soldier. Hence the profane practice of making it an appeal to the Lord, and the prayers offered for its success. Hence, also, the promises of future blessedness to the soldier for his daring deeds of blood. Indeed, so repulsive are the moral features of war to the natural conscience of man, that religious sanction of some sort, Pagan, Mahometan or Christian, has been thought essential to its successful prosecution.

But, alas! that our church members, who participate in the sovereign power of the nation, should have the honors bestowed on war. Already we see and feel its pernicious effects. Our nation, by the Declaration of Independence, first came out before the world, and took its stand on sound political and Christian principles, and many of the States have in a good degree sustained the position. But the Federal Government, whose elections have been so much marked with this spirit of complicity with war, and its bantling, slavery, has strangely degenerated from these first principles. This degeneracy may be most obviously traced in the decision of the supreme court in the Dred Scott case; a decision which professes to be, and the President claims it, to be settled law. The Declaration makes the rights of men, all men equally, the bestowment of the Creator; but that decision makes a large class of persons, though native freeborn Americans, a subjugated class, possessing no rights, but what the dominant race see fit to grant them. The Declaration makes it the object of government to secure to all men their inalienable rights, such as life, liberty, and the privilege of pursuing happiness; that decision makes it one prominent object of government to secure the dominion of the dominant over the subordinate race. The Declaration makes governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; while that decision divides the persons of the United States into a victorious and a vanquished race, who hold each their respective positions by hereditary heirship. The Declaration asserts its principles as self-evident. The decision in support of its opinions goes back to

Grecian and Roman history, and finds its support among the fragments of pagan and despotic mythology. Thus are the fundamental principles of both our government and our religion, subverted by our complicity with the doctrine, *that power makes right*.

It must be obvious to every discreet observer, that there is political power enough in the members of our churches to lay a veto on such a course of things. Is there not, also, religious and moral courage enough to do it? We trust there is. And we should lose no time in calling it forth. The schemes for farther enlarging our public domain, are fast maturing, and we may soon see the scenes of Texas and the Mexican war re-acted, and perhaps in a far more bloody and horrid form. The churches should forestall such an event; but should the work linger, and meet strong opposition from influential members both among the clergy and laity, the cause of peace can lose nothing from the agitation. Such agitation would be far preferable to the present state of torpor on the subject. I ardently desire to see the experiment tried. It is *more* than time to make the trial. When, if not now, or where if not here, can it ever be made? How much longer must we wait? More than eighteen centuries have passed; and, at this rate when is peace ever to come, or Christians as a body to take any *peculiar* stand in its behalf? If the Gospel is God's appointed method of redeeming the world from war, and the church is God's appointed bearer of the gospel as the "light of the world," how shall the human race be redeemed from war while the Church gives a false light on the subject? If our food be fresh, we find salt to season it; but, "if the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be seasoned?"

B.

FUTURE CHANGE OF OPINION ON PEACE.

There has already been, especially since the rise of Peace Societies, a very marked advance of public sentiment on the subject of Peace; but we have the best reason to expect in due time still greater and more decisive changes in the same direction. We should be horrified at modes of thought and feeling once common all over Christendom; and future ages will doubtless look back with equal amazement on not a few of the views now prevalent among the very leaders of public opinion alike in state and church.

Take a specimen of opinions current in past ages on the kindred topic of duelling. "The author of a curious old "History of Duelling," while condemning the practice, quotes a writer as arguing thus in its favor:—'Without the spirit of duelling, there would be no living in a populous nation. It is the tie of society—there has been no virtue which hath proved half so instrumental to the civilizing of mankind. There are now many thousands of mannerly and well-accomplished gentlemen in Europe, who would have turned out very insolent and insupportable cox-combs, without so salutary a curb. Is it not somewhat strange, that a nation

should grudge to see perhaps half a dozen men sacrificed in a twelve-month, to attain such invaluable blessings, especially a nation that is so ready to expose, and willing to lose, many thousands in a few hours, without the least certainty that any future benefit shall accrue to her from such a loss?"

Thus our ancestors thought duelling, and the constant wearing of a sword, quite as necessary as many now consider war and military defences; but when people become *really* Christian, duelling and war will be equally regarded as barbarous and unchristian, and will be equally avoided. The generations who shall witness this blessed conformity to the precepts of Christ, will be astonished at the antiquated speeches and writings of those who undertook to be public instructors, such as the following: "Peace is the time to prepare for war." "I am the watch-dog, Tear 'm. Be you prepared; get your guns, get your ships ready, for depend upon it, the Emperor knows that Cherbourg is a standing menace."* "A state without military defences, is but the utopia of an immature benevolence. The sword of the avenger, ere it is sheathed, will drink deep of the rebel blood. Let England be prepared to say, Amen. to the sentence which her armies are prepared to execute."† The Christians of that day will scarcely believe, that a society existed in England which issued in one year nearly a million and a half copies of the New Testament, when they shall find that even teachers of the Christian religion said, "It is by the bravery of the noble soldier, that the minister of religion can prosecute his holy duties, that the arts and sciences can flourish, that commerce and education can extend their benefits"‡—"Remember that we fight for truth, and righteousness, and peace; that the wars of Christian nations are a final and awful appeal to the justice of the God of battles."§—W., in *London Herald*.

THE FEARFUL WASTE OF WAR.

In the short space of sixteen years—between 1797 and 1813—the French army absorbed 4,556,000. Napoleon obtained by the conscription 2,476,000 men. Those who set out were never freed from service! This is acknowledged by M. Daru in his report to the legislative body on the conscription. Spain was the tomb of most of the old soldiers; of those who remained, the greater part perished in the snows of Russia. The army of 1813, was composed of recruits from eighteen to twenty years of age. Illness, fatigue, and misery decimated them. Of 1,260,000 men raised in 1813,—what a multitude for a single year!—there remained in 1814, to defend the soil of France, only 100,000 men above the ground!

But the sacrifice of human life was not all. To four millions and a half of men, cut down by cannon balls and bullets, must be added 700 millions of francs, indemnity of war, paid by France to the Allied Powers, and 400 millions for the support of the foreign garrison, besides a multitude of various indemnities, the whole amounting to nearly two milliards. What a commentary this upon the policy of great standing armaments, and upon the terribly suicidal recoil of the war-system upon nations!

* See Speech of J. A. Roebuck, M. P., at Sheffield.

† *Christian Times Newspaper*. ‡ Bishop Wilson. § Archdeacon Wilberforce.

THE CHINESE WAR-SYSTEM:

A REVIEW BY TORCH-LIGHT.

THE Chinese army may be estimated at 1,000,000 men and more, including what may be called the reserve. The purely Chinese element may be counted among them for 600,000 or 700,000 men. The Mantchous, who are all compelled to serve in the army, are divided into nine bodies. The Mongols do not supply more than 300,000 men.

Just before the late war, there was a review of troops by torch-light on the plains of Yan-chen-ra, at the gates of Peking. The lights were attached to the horns of oxen. There were twenty-one divisions of the army, extending from east to west. Enormous lanterns were suspended in front of each division, which indicated the name by means of letters of rose-colored paper. The soldiers passed backwards and forwards in confusion, each endeavoring to find his place. An immense tent, painted blue, was placed on a hill, which commanded a view of the entire plain, and indicated the places allocated to the officers. The artillery, consisting of brass cannon, three feet in length, were placed in front of the tent. Each gun was mounted on a carriage with four wheels, by means of knotted ropes. Some of the guns were loaded, and some not, in consequence perhaps of their imperfect condition, indicated by the iron hoops with which they were held together. The morning dawned before the troops were formed in line. The lanterns were removed from the horns of the oxen, and shortly afterwards appeared the individuals commissioned by the Emperor to review the army. These singular personages descended from their palanquins, and entered the large blue tent. A few minutes afterwards all the trumpets sounded, and the cannon, fit for service, were fired.

The manner in which the Chinese charge their guns is worthy of remark. They first load with a large quantity of "day" (powder composed of charcoal, mixed with small portions of nitre and sulphur,) they then fill the touch-hole with a fine powder, and finally they set fire to it with a match of twisted paper. The cannon advances and recedes, and some seconds elapse before the explosion takes place. One may judge by that of the precision of the fire, and of the effect produced by the cannon balls—when they are balls, and not stones,—which are projected from such machines.

The firing of the infantry succeeded that of the artillery. The soldiers fired twenty at a time, commencing with the centre, and ending with the flanks; those who fired, advanced a few steps in the midst of a confused noise of drums beating. This species of manœuvre was repeated six times, and immediately afterwards the fire ceased along the entire line, the soldiers firing the last shots in the air, fearing no doubt to wound their comrades.

It is necessary to observe that their muskets are far from being supplied with the ingenious mechanism of ours. What they call a gun is nothing more than a large iron cylinder, about ten inches long, fixed to a stock without either lock or ram-rod. A small iron rod, to the end of which is applied a match steeped in saltpetre, serves as a lock, and sets fire to the powder placed in a cavity of the barrel, and which is uncovered.

After the infantry exercise came that of the cavalry, which was grouped around the large blue tent, and was charged with the guard of the principal colors. When the signal was given by bugles, the cavalry marched forward in the greatest disorder, and advanced as fast as their horses were able. The race, for it deserved no other name, concluded the review. The inspectors returned to their palanquins, the generals and officers quitted the ground, and the soldiers did the same, without order or object.—*Monit. de la Flotte.*

RUNNING THE GAUNTLET.

WHEN he was stripped of his coat and shirt, and placed at the entry of the terrible street through which he had to pass, the soldier became pale again. Two soldiers went ahead of him; they marched backward, with their bayonets presented to his breast, so as to force him to keep measure to a drum which brought up the rear. The drum was muffled; its slow and dismal beats sounded like the music of a funeral procession. When he received the first stroke, his features assumed an expression of pain, and his firm-set lips quivered slightly. This was, however, the only sign of sensation. Crossing his arms over his breast, and pressing his teeth close together, his proud face remained henceforth immovable. His merciless enemies enjoyed but an incomplete triumph after all; they might slash his body in pieces, but his proud and indomitable spirit they could not break.

The blows descended with a fearful violence upon him. After the first dozen, blood came; but never did he utter one single exclamation of pain; never, not even with a look, did he implore for mercy. An expression of scorn and disdain was deeply set on his face as pale as death. When he had reached at last the left wing of the company, his lacerated back presented a frightful appearance. Even his most exasperated enemies might well have been satisfied now; if it had but been possible, the commanding officer himself would have interceded in his behalf. But this was not even to be thought of; the law must have its course. They faced him right about; he had to make the same way back again.

There was one formality connected with this punishment, which was a cruel, barbarous and shameful mockery; the delinquent had to thank his executors for his tortures. When the victim had arrived at the file-leader of the right wing of his company, and the dreadful execution was over at last, he threw one last long look full of contempt at his tormentors. Then he was seen staggering like a drunken man towards the commanding officer. His eyes, swollen with blood, beamed with an unnatural brightness; his respiration was short and painful; touching his head with his right hand, in token of the military salute, he said in a voice that came out of his throat with a rattling sound, but that was nevertheless distinctly audible all over the place, "I have to—thank your honor for this exquisite punishment," and fell down dead. — *Dickens's Household Words.*

CHRISTIAN NATIONS.

From William Howitt's "Civilization and Christianity."

CHRISTIANITY has now been in the world upwards of *one thousand eight hundred years*. For more than a thousand years the European nations have arrogated to themselves the title of *Christian*; some of their monarchs, those of *Most Sacred and Most Christian Kings*! We have long laid to our souls the flattering unction that we are a civilized and a Christian people. We talk of all other nations in all other quarters of the world, as savages, barbarians, uncivilized. We talk of the ravages of the Huns, the irruptions of the Goths; of the terrible desolations of Timour, or Genghis Khan. We talk of Alaric and Attila, the sweeping carnage of Mahomet, or the cool cruelties of more modern Tippos and Alias. We shudder at the war-cries of naked Indians, and the ghastly feasts of cannibals, and bless our souls that we are redeemed from all these things, and made models of beneficence, and lights of God in the earth!

It is high time that we looked a little more rigidly into our pretences. It is high time that we examined, on the evidence of facts, whether we are quite so refined, quite so civilized, quite so Christian as we have assumed

to be. It is high time that we look boldly into the real state of the question, and learn actually whether the mighty distance between our goodness and the moral depravity of other people really exists. *Whether, in fact, we are Christian at all!* Have bloodshed and cruelty then ceased in Europe? After a thousand years of acquaintance with the most merciful and the most heavenly of religions, do the national characters of Europeans reflect the beauty and holiness of that religion? Are we distinguished by our peace, as the followers of the Prince of Peace? Are we renowned for our eagerness to seek and save, as the followers of the universal Saviour? Are our annals redolent of the delightful love and friendship which one would naturally think must, after a thousand years, distinguish those who pride themselves on being the peculiar and adopted children of Him who said "by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another?" These are very natural, but nevertheless very awkward questions. If ever there was a quarter of the globe distinguished by its quarrels, its jealousies, its everlasting wars and bloodshed, it is Europe. Since these *soi-disant* Christian nations have risen into any degree of strength, what single evidence of Christianity have they, as nations, exhibited? Eternal warfare!—is that Christianity? The most subtle or absurd pretences to seize upon each other's possessions, the contempt of faith in treaties, the basest policy, the most scandalous profligacy of public morals, the most abominable international laws!—are they Christianity? And yet they are the history of Europe. Nations of men selling themselves to do murder, that ruthless kings might ravish each other's crowns—nations of men, standing with jealous eyes on the perpetual watch on each, other wit arms in their hands, oaths in their mouths, and curses in their hearts—are those Christians? Yet there is not a man acquainted with the history of Europe that will even attempt to deny that *that* is the history of Europe. For what are all international boundaries, our lines of demarcation, our frontier fortresses and sentinels, our martello towers and guard ships; our walled and gated cities, our bastions and batteries, and our jealous passports? These are all barefaced and glaring testimonies, that our pretence of Christianity is a mere assumption; that after upwards of a thousand years of the boasted possession of Christianity, Europe has not yet learned to govern itself by its plainest precepts; and that her children have no claim to, or reliance on, that spirit of "love which casteth out all fear."

It is very well to vaunt the title of Christian one to another—every nation knows in its own soul it is a hollow pretence. While it boasts of the Christian name, it dare not for a moment throw itself upon a Christian faith in its neighbor. No; centuries of the most unremitted hatred, blood poured over every plain of Europe, and sprinkled on its very mountain-tops, cry out too dreadfully, that it is a dismal cheat. Wars the most savage and unprovoked; oppressions the most desparate; tyrannies the most ruthless; massacres the most horrible; death-fires and tortures the most exquisite, perpetrated one on another for the faith and in the very name of God; dungeons and inquisitions; the blood of the Vaudois, and the flaming homes of the Covenanters, are all in their memories, and give the lie to their professions. No; Poland rent in sunder; the iron heel of Austria on the prostrate neck of Italy; the invasions and aggressions without end, make Christian nations laugh with a hollow mockery in their hearts, in the very midst of their solemn professions of the Christian virtue and faith.

But I may be told that this character applies rather to past Europe than to the present. What! are all these things at an end? For what then are all these standing armies? What all these marching armies? What

these men-of-war on the ocean? What these atrocities going on from year to year in Spain? Has any age or nation seen such battles waged as we have witnessed in our time? How many Waterloos can the annals of the earth reckon? What Timour or Genghis Khan can be compared to the Napoleon of modern Europe? The greatest scourge of nations that ever arose on this planet; the most tremendous meteor that ever burnt along its surface! Have the multitudes of those who deem themselves the philosophical and refined, as well as the Christians of Europe, ceased to admire this modern Moloch, and to forget, in *his* individual and retributory sufferings at St. Helena, the countless agonies and the measureless ruin that he inflicted on innocent and even distant nations?

While we retain a blind admiration of martial genius, wilfully shutting our senses and our minds to the crimes and the pangs that constitute its shadow, it is laughable to say that we have progressed beyond our fathers in Christian knowledge. At this moment all Europe stands armed to the teeth. The peace of every individual nation is preserved, not by the moral probity and the mutual faith which are the natural growth of Christian knowledge, but by the jealous watch of armed bands, and the coarse and undisguised force of brute strength. To this moment not the slightest advance is made towards a regular system of settling national disputes by the head instead of the hand. To this moment the stupid practice of settling individual disputes between those who pride themselves on their superior education and knowledge, by putting bullets, instead of sound reason, into each other's heads, is as common as ever. If we really are philosophical, why do we not show it? It is a poor compliment to our learning, our moral and political philosophy, and, above all, to our religion, that at this time of day, if a dispute arise between us as nations or as men, we fall to blows, instead of rational inquiry and adjustment. Is Christianity then so abstruse? No; "He that runneth may read, and the wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot err therein." Then why, in the name of common sense, have we not learned it, seeing that it so closely concerns our peace, our security, and our happiness? Surely a thousand years is time enough to teach that which is so plain and of such immense importance! We call ourselves civilized; yet we are daily perpetrating the grossest outrages. We boast of our knowledge; yet we do not know how to live one with another half so peaceably as wolves. We term ourselves Christians; yet the plainest injunction of Christ, "to love our neighbor as ourselves," we have yet, one thousand and eight hundred years after his death, to adopt!

But most monstrous of all has been the moral blindness or the savage recklessness of ourselves as Englishmen.

Secure from actual warfare, we have loved
 To swell the war-whoop, passionate for war!
 Alas! for ages ignorant of all
 Its ghastlier workings (famine or blue plague,
 Battle or siege, or flight through wintry snows)
 We, this whole people, have been clamorous
 For war and bloodshed; animating sports,
 The which we pay for as a thing to talk of—
 Spectators and not combatants! Abroad,
 Stuffed out with big preamble, holy names
 And adjurations of the God in heaven,
 We send our mandates for the certain death
 Of thousands and ten thousands! Boys and girls
 And women, that would groan to see a child
Pull off an insect's leg, all read of war,

The best amusement for our morning's meal.
 The poor wretch who has learnt his only prayers
 From curses, who knows scarce words enough
 To ask a blessing from his heavenly Father,
 Becomes a fluent phraseman, absolute,
 Technical in victories and defeat,
And all our dainty terms for frutricide ;
 Terms which we trundle smoothly o'er our tongues,
 Like mere abstractions, empty sounds, to which
 We join no feeling, and attach no form !
 As if the soldier died without a wound ;
 As if the fibres of his godlike frame
 Were gored without a pang ; as if the wretch
 Who fell in battle, doing bloody deeds,
 Passed off to heaven, translated, not killed ;
 As though he had no wife to pine for him,
 No God to judge him ? Therefore evil days
 Are coming on us, O my countrymen !
 And what if all-avenging Providence,
 Strong and retributive, should make us know
 The meaning of our words, force us to feel
 The desolation and the agony
 Of our fierce doings ?

DANGER OF ARMED DEFENCE.

Two officers in Her Majesty's service, proceeding homewards recently about midnight, in the neighborhood of London, were violently assaulted by a drunken man, who, in the scuffle was stabbed to the heart with a sword-cane by one of the officers, and was left lying dead in the road. It appears by the evidence on the inquest, that the officer, Lieutenant Clavering, though apprehensive, as he said, that he might " have pricked the man," had no idea of the fatal injury his assailant had sustained, and immediately on seeing a report in the papers of the finding of the dead body, he at once gave information to the police authorities, and expressed the deepest concern at what had occurred.

We notice this unhappy case, because the comments upon it which have appeared in some of the daily papers, admit of a meaning and application much more important and significant than perhaps the writers intended. The practice of carrying deadly weapons of defence is condemned in the strongest terms, and a more stringent law, if necessary, is suggested, making it a penal offence for a person to carry any such weapon as that used with such fatal effect by Lieutenant Clavering. It is argued, that the practice of carrying deadly weapons conduces far more to the danger of society than to individual security. The possible death of a wretched drunken brawler in such a fray, is held of so much moment as to call for a prohibitory law, by which every citizen shall be forbidden to arm himself in his walks with weapons of defence dangerous to the lives of others.

We rejoice to see such a position taken by our journalists ; but surely the arguments thus employed to justify individual disarmament, apply with tenfold force to the necessity and duty of disarming states. ' Better,' thus runs the argument, ' that men should incur some personal danger, or be exposed to an occasional affront, than they should be entrusted with a weapon to strike their assailant dead at their feet.' By the same rule, better that nations should run some peril, or exercise mutual forbearance

under offence, than that they should seek defence at the cannon's mouth, or be always ready to do wholesale murder whenever a cry of vengeance rings through the land.

No government should be entrusted with the dangerous liberty to carry arms. The abuse of that liberty is the necessary consequence of its use. The sword may be drawn avowedly for the purpose of defence; it will speedily be wielded for purposes of aggression, of conquest or revenge. A people may rush to arms, with "Liberty" for their watchword; but in almost every war so commenced, it has been Liberty that has received its death-wound, and Despotism that has reaped the substantial fruits of the struggle.

Nations have too long dared the penalties of their great standing armaments, and those penalties attest the folly of such daring. It is time now that enlightened and Christian communities should begin to dare the policy of *disarmament*, to refuse to lift the sword one against another, and learn the art of war no more. The dangers of such a policy are imaginary; for it is enjoined by a lawgiver whose precepts are divine. Yet the very journals which have so judiciously and powerfully argued the necessity of individual disarmament, have been the foremost to cry out for the increase of England's war establishment. More soldiers! more ships! more batteries! It never occurs to these alarmists, that increase of armament means increase of danger, increase of blood, increase of taxation; and the final result no man can pretend to foretell. In the midst of this infatuation the words of the Psalmist occur to us: "Some trust in chariots, and some in horses; but we will remember the name of the Lord our God." — *E. F. in Lond. Her. of Peace.*

SCRAPS FROM CARLYLE AND SPURGEON.

CARLYLE'S DEFINITION OF A BATTLE. — A terrible conjugation of the verb to *kill* — I kill, thou killest, he kills; we kill, ye kill, they kill, all kill."

SPURGEON ON PEACE. — I cherish the fond hope that I may live to see the day when the monuments in Trafalgar-square, which now bear the statues of a Nelson and a Napier, great warriors though they were, shall have in their place a Whitefield and a Wesley. The day is coming when Peace shall triumph over War; and I hail the dawn of that happy time with delight.

HOW WAR EXPENSES ARE INCREASED:

OR THE USUAL PLEAS OF POLITICIANS FOR MORE EXPENDITURES ON THE ARMY AND NAVY.

THE Army and Navy, the great engines employed by despots to compass their ends, are also the chief tools of demagogues under a popular government for gaining their selfish purposes. A minute analysis of our own political history for the last fifty years would very clearly and strikingly show this; and from a late able article in the London Herald of Peace, we take some very pregnant facts and figures illustrating similar tricks of English politicians:—

"The cost of our naval and military establishments for the present year is £22,520,000. In the year 1835, under the government of the Duke of Wellington, it was £11,750,000, showing an increase in the sum now expended of very nearly one-half. What sound reason can be assigned for this enormous increase? It is not the war in India; for that is to be

defrayed out of the resources of India. So at least we are told ; and it is very certain that no part of the Indian expenditure is included in the twenty-two millions mentioned above. It is not the growth of our colonial possessions ; for so far as we know, no colony of any importance has been added to our empire since 1835. It is not the extension of our commerce ; for in those parts of the world where it has been most extended, it requires no protection whatever from our armed forces, and receives none. How, then, has this prodigious increase taken place ? Why, every two or three years within the period we have named, some convenient pretext or panic has been got up just before the voting of the annual estimates, under cover of which a considerable addition has been made to our military establishments, professedly only to meet and ride out that special temporary emergency, though, when the pretended emergency is past, the augmented war preparations, instead of being relinquished, are made permanent.

We will cite here a few facts illustrative of the manner in which the business is managed. In 1836, there was a great apprehension felt or feigned of a Russian invasion ; an apprehension which every body now can see was utterly groundless and ridiculous. Immediately, there was an addition of 5,000 seamen to the navy. That bugbear disappeared in a few months ; but the 5,000 men remained. In 1838, there was a rebellion in Canada, the result of our own gross misgovernment. That gave rise to an increase of 8,000 to our army. The rebellion has long subsided, and Canada is tranquil and happy in the enjoyment of the privileges of self-government ; but the 8,000 were not reduced. In 1839, there was a Chartist insurrection at Newport ; and straightway there was an addition to the army of 5,000 men rank and file. That domestic disturbance soon passed away, and the country has been for years in profound tranquility ; but the 5,000 men, called out to meet that emergency, were not diminished. In 1840 and 1841, there was a quarrel with France about Syria, and with America about the affair of M'Leod ; and there was an increase of 5,000 sailors made at that time. Those differences have long been settled and healed ; and yet the 5,000 additional sailors remain. In 1842, we had a dispute with America, about the Maine Boundary ; 4,000 men more were added to our marine. But Lord Ashburton went to America, and returned with a treaty, settling amicably the whole question about the Boundary ; but the 4,000 sailors were not reduced. In 1846, there was a panic of a French war about Mr. Prichard and Tahiti, which kept the two countries in a fever for many months, and was used, of course, as an irresistible plea for augmenting our armaments. In 1845, we had another dispute with America about the Oregon Boundary. Well, in that year we had an increase in the estimates of £1,700,000 in the army, navy and ordnance. But the Oregon question was satisfactorily adjusted by Sir Robert Peel's government in 1846 ; still the increased armament was not reduced. In 1846, we had a diplomatic quarrel with France about the Spanish marriages, which, together with the pamphlet of Prince de Joinville, led to an increase of our armaments that year by £1,200,000. In 1849, we had a tremendous panic—the Duke of Wellington, Lord Ellismere, and Mr. Pigou, the gunpowder-maker, persuading us that Louis Phillipe and the French were going to invade us. Well, we had another increase of the army and ordnance in that year of £1,000,000. But the revolution put an end to the possibility of Louis Phillipe invading England, except as a poor homeless fugitive exile. But then the revolution itself was going to invade us, and therefore our war establishments must be kept up ! Then came the elevation of Louis Napoleon to power, which was the signal for another terrible panic, which nothing but a dose of 80,000 militia men could allay. Notwithstanding, how-

ever, the embodiment of this 'brave domestic force,' the panic was still kept up, so that we had in the year 1852, 5,000 sailors and 1,500 marines added at an expense of £600,000.

Now, let it be observed, that every one of these panics, about invasion of war, ended in nothing; but the prodigious armaments they called forth were still kept up, until the expenses of the army and navy have, in less than twenty-five years, been about doubled, all resulting from these successive pleas of necessity about meeting, danger that in every case vanished in smoke.

Finally came the Russian War, upon which we expended £100,000,000, and 40,000 human lives, and which was undertaken, we are told, in order, by one great effort, to win security for ourselves and for Europe, against the irruption of the northern barbarians. It was concluded by a treaty of peace, in which it was supposed we had extorted 'a material guarantee' for that security from the power whom we professed to fear, to say nothing of solemn engagements of 'perpetual peace and friendship' with our late foe, and a most affectionate and eternal alliance with the other states that had fought with us in the war. And yet in spite of all these securities, covenants and friendships, bought by such fearful and costly sacrifices, when the war ended, instead of returning to our previous state, as regards our naval and military establishments, we found ourselves saddled with an increase in our estimates of between four and five millions sterling as compared with what they were before the war.

Well, but are we satisfied now? Is it felt, after all these prodigious augmentations going on from year to year, until they have been doubled in twenty-three years, that at last we are in a condition of adequate defence, and may enjoy some sense of security, as the fruit of the treasure we have lavished with so prodigal a hand? Security! So far otherwise, that if we may believe certain of our public oracles, we have never been, in the whole course of our history, in such imminent peril, in such an utterly helpless and defenceless plight! If we ask what then has become of all the money we have paid for purposes of defence, amounting, even apart from the Russian war expenditure, to some £730,000,000 since the peace of 1815, we are told that we are a set of impertinent, mean-spirited, sordid-minded fellows to ask such questions."

What enormous expenses! Here we have the military establishment of England increased in little over twenty years more than \$50,000,000 a year during a time of profound peace; more than the whole cost of even that aristocratic, expensive government would have been without this miserable suicidal, war-system. In forty-three years, she spent, besides the cost of her Crimean war, no less than \$3,650,000,000, an average of some eighty-five millions a year! Just try to conceive this vast sum of \$3,650,000,000 if you can. Why, it would take a man, at the rate of a hundred dollars a minute, ten hours a day to count it all no less than one hundred and ninety-five years! It is a marvel how England has so long borne such a load; and it proves the indomitable force and elasticity of her character, beyond that of any other people on earth.

It is more than time for us to take warning from such an example. We are going on in still more gigantic strides, considering our age; and, if our people do not hold back our politicians from their reckless schemes of expenditure chiefly for war purposes, we shall ere long equal, if we do not exceed, in this respect, even the monarchies of Europe.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT:

PAUL'S VIEW OF THE POWERS THAT BE.

IN reading the last Advocate, I find your worthy correspondent, L. C. R., laboring under what I regard an error, and a very common one; one which, as a misinterpretation of scripture, has done more perhaps than any other to keep back good men, especially the clergy, from active and efficient co-operation in the cause of peace. I speak of L. C. R. as a worthy correspondent, for he very happily expresses the views I have long entertained on his theme until you reach p. 235, sec. 3. What I regard his error is, that civil officers derive their official power directly from God, irrespective of the manner or agents of their appointment.

Now, I believe the true view, and that corroborated by scripture, is that man, as a rational being, is bound by the law of God, as well as by the law of his nature, to govern himself; that law and civil government, rightly understood and construed, is but a contribution and combination of the governmental powers of a great body of self-governing individuals to supply the lack of such among them as are too weak or too wicked to govern themselves. "The law is not made for the righteous man, but for the lawless." I regard it pertinent to a State to form its own organic law, ever keeping, however, within the purview of the Moral Law, and to require its agents to officiate in their several departments in accordance with it. An officer, in his acceptance of office, is equally bound to see that nothing is required of him in a constitution inconsistent with the Moral Law.

This, which is the *prima facie* view of the subject, is, I think also corroborated by scripture. See 1 Samuel, 8: 7--9. Luke 22: 25, 26, and Prov. 16: 32. But as a few expressions in the section to which I am replying, are taken from Romans 13, and as that scripture is often used to sanction government, abstractly considered, and clothe it with divine authority, and the power of binding men's consciences, I will give my views on the passage:—

I think it was designed for a concrete case. It was addressed to a church composed of Christian Jews, and those converted from paganism to the worship of the God of the Jews. Both classes had been brought up under the full persuasion that civil government, and its laws, derived their binding force from some invisible, superhuman power. Hence their scruples about rendering obedience to the Roman power, lest they should thereby pay worship to Jupiter. The apostle, after closing the doctrinal part of his letter, as in chapter 11, proceeds to practical applications and exhortations. Among other subjects, he speaks of allegiance thus, (as I think it may be rendered without violence to the true sense), 'Admit each individual to be subject to the authorities. For there is no power, but of God, (none of Jupiter.) The present existing power is by the providential arrangement of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth (not Jupiter) the providential arrangement of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves condemnation from the ruler. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but the evil. Wouldst thou, then, not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for by God's arrangement, he is a minister to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; because he beareth not penal power in vain, for he is, under God's providential arrangement, an avenger executing wrath upon every one that doeth evil. So ye see, as the good is enjoined, and the evil forbidden by him, ye are laid under the necessity of being subject not only for fear of wrath, but also for conscience sake. For like reason, pay ye tribute also, (tribute-paying to Roman authority being regarded as a

test of Jewish adherence) for the business occupies his time, and entitles him to pay.'

I do not pretend that the above is a correct literal rendering; but it presents my understanding of the passage, and is taking no more liberty than is just and common in understanding Paul in other passages, where he says, "Let no man judge you of meats or drink, or of a holy day, or of the sabbath days." "Every creature of God is good and nothing to be refused," &c. "If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." Who would profane these scriptures by attempting to make them justify the Sabbath-breaker, the inebriate and the cannibal? Or understand that the rite of circumcision placed the subject beyond the benefits of the gospel? Yet I could no sooner believe from Romans 13 : 1—8, that governments have power to bind men's consciences. But it is thought that the people cannot confer on government powers they do not possess. True; but to whom was the injunction given, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed?" Was it not to man? And cannot man, the community, delegate that duty to an executioner? But, if man confer governmental power, where is the sanction of law? I answer, in the Moral law. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Increase the sanction of this precept by the numerical aggregate of neighbors in a State, it will afford to any moral man sufficient motive to obey government in things lawful. And does not the designation of different duties to the judge and sheriff belong to those who form the organic law of a State? If we believe that the Bible enjoins on man the shedding of blood for murder, cannot man combine that power in officials?

This view, if just, I deem highly important to the cause of peace. I verily believe that a sort of veneration for civil government, derived from this and a few kindred passages, has done much to keep back many of our best ministers and churches from an independent, rational view of war. "Considering the mystic divinity hidden in civil government, can their great business, war, be wrong?" "Let us not speak evil of dignities." Something like this I too frequently meet in reply to peace pleading. I have no doubt that the church militant is God's appointed instrumentality for recovering the world from war, and that she is making some progress in this direction. Were the Protestant churches generally to bear a protest, strong and decided, against war, such as they have done against the hierarchial power claimed by the Pope, the practice of war, and the laws of war, would ere long disappear from among Christian nations. And I have as little doubt that, until this is done, little progress will be made in doing it away. War is a prime instrumentality of allied civil and ecclesiastical despotism; and they must stand or fall together.

S. W. B.

A SEA-FIGHT:

DESCRIBED BY A SAILOR ENGAGED IN IT.

THE firing, says Leech, commenced. The roaring of cannon could now be heard from all parts of our trembling ship, and, mingling with that of our foes, it made a most hideous noise. By and by, I heard the shot strike the side of our ship; the whole scene grew indistinguishably confused and horrible; it was like some awfully tremendous thunder-storm, carrying death in every flash, and strewing the ground with its victims; only in our case the scene was rendered more horrible by the torrents of blood on our decks.

The cries of the wounded now rang through all parts of the ship. These were carried to the cock-pit as fast as they fell, while those more fortunate

men who were killed outright, were immediately thrown overboard. A man had one of his hands cut off by a shot, and almost at the same moment he received another shot, which tore open his bowels in a terrible manner. As he fell, two or three men took him, and as he could not live, threw him overboard. The battle went on. Our men kept cheering with all their might. I cheered with them, though I confess I scarcely know for what. So terrible had been the work of destruction round us, it was termed the slaughter-house. We had several boys and men killed and wounded near us. The schoolmaster received a death-wound. The brave boatswain, who came from the sick bed to the din of battle, was fastening a stopper on a back-stay which had been shot away, when his head was smashed to pieces by a cannon-ball; another man going to complete the unfinished task, was also struck down. A fellow, named John, was carried past me, wounded; and I distinctly heard the large blood-drops fall pat, pat, on the deck; his wounds were mortal. Such was the terrible scene, amid which we kept on shouting and firing. Our men fought like tigers, some of them pulled off their jackets and vests; while some, with nothing but a handkerchief tied around the waistbands of their trowsers, fought like heroes.

The din of battle continued. Grape and canister shot were poured through our port-holes like leaden rain, carrying death in their trail. The large shot came against the ship's side like iron hail, shaking her to the very keel, or passing through her timbers, and scattering terrific splinters which did a more appalling work than even their own death-giving blows. What with splinters, cannon-balls, grape and canister, poured incessantly upon us, the reader may be assured that the work of death went on in a manner which must have been satisfactory even to the king of terrors himself.

Suddenly the rattling of the iron hail ceased. We were ordered to cease firing. A profound silence ensued, broken only by the stifled groans of the brave sufferers below. The enemy had shot ahead to repair damages, while we were so cut up that we lay utterly helpless. Our head-braces were shot away; the fore and main top-masts were gone; the mizzen mast hung over the stern, having carried several men over in its fall; we were a complete wreck. The officers held a council, and concluded to strike our colors.

I now went below to see how matters appeared there. The first object I met was a man bearing a limb which had just been detached from some suffering wretch. Pursuing my way to the ward room. I necessarily passed through the steerage, which was strewed with the wounded; it was a sad spectacle, made more appalling by the groans and cries which rent the air. Some were groaning, others were swearing most bitterly, a few were praying, while those last arrived were begging most piteously to have their wounds dressed next. The surgeon and his mate were smeared with blood from head to foot; they looked more like butchers than doctors. Having so many patients, they had once shifted their quarters from the cockpit to the steerage; they now removed to the ward-room, and the long table, round which the officers had sat over many a merry feast, was soon covered with the bleeding forms of maimed and mutilated seamen. Most of the poor fellows were stretched out on the gory deck, and it was with exceeding difficulty I moved through the steerage, it was so covered with mangled men, and so slippery with streams of blood.

GUNS RECOVERED IN INDIA.—Over a million of guns, including cannons and small arms, have been returned to the English by the vanquished Sepoys.

IMPROVED WEAPONS OF WAR.

THE highest degree of talent and science in the world has for ages past been put in requisition to perfect the art of human destruction in war. Had a tithe of the resources, enlisted in this work of hell, been consecrated to the god-like aim of insuring the permanent reign of peace among civilized nations—the sword of all Christendom would long ere this have been turned into implements of peaceful industry, and war would have lived only in the record of a by-gone barbarism. There seems just now a simultaneous competition in England, France and our own country, to bring into use an improved kind of cannon that will send a ball with much precision and accuracy from five to seven miles, and thus render forts and fleets well nigh superfluous and useless.

ARMSTRONG GUN.—This is an English invention by William Armstrong—now Sir William of course for aiding in the work of human destruction—to which he has devoted ten years, and for which the British Government were willing to give him any price he might choose. He asked merely \$10,000 a year for his ten years of labor upon it; and for \$100,000 he would give the nation all his patents and drawings. At this, we are told, “the House of Commons” to a man lustily cheered this most patriotic and disinterested offer; for, as General Peel observed, the government would have been justified in offering almost any sum for this magnificent invention! Sir William Armstrong has been directed to make a considerable number of these guns for the British army and navy. The difficulty is how to keep the secret; but it is said that the process of manufacture is so complicated that it is not likely to transpire.

“No fort, dockyard, or ship can escape destruction from projectiles so launched; for, the range being so immense, the object attacked may be destroyed at leisure, while the assailant cannot be touched. It fires either shot or shell, and is equally available in batteries or on board ship. Its durability may be inferred from actual trial, it having been fired thirteen hundred times without any appreciable injury or weakening. It weighs only one-third of an eighteen pounder, but will throw as heavy a shot; while a proportionately larger gun, on the Armstrong principle, with only a charge of five pounds of powder, will throw a thirty-two pounder shot *five miles!* The heavier the gun, the greater the range. The accuracy of the aim is the next important point. At the distance of three thousand yards, (nearly two miles), its accuracy is as seven to one compared with ordinary firing; at one thousand yards, the object was hit every time, while other guns only hit once in every five or six times.”

THE FRENCH CANNON.—It seems that the French are on the same scent of blood; for Louis Napoleon has also invented a gun on similar principles, called rifled cannon. He keeps its construction a secret, and its real effect will not be known until war breaks out. The French cannon loads at the muzzle, while the Armstrong gun is breech-loading.

We believe some Yankee genius claims to have gone even beyond these transatlantic improvements in the work of slaughter and destruction; but we have not yet seen a description of his invention, and shall wait till our three thousand presses make the land vocal with the praises of this new and marvelous patriotism! It is of course to be all in the interest of humanity, if not a handmaid of Christianity, a pioneer in spreading the gospel of peace among the heathen!

BURDENS OF WAR:

THE MILITARY ARMAMENTS OF EUROPE.

India is about to come into our market for five millions sterling above what she had already; the Russian government asks for twelve millions; Austria and Sardinia want each of them more than they are likely to get. At the same time, we learn that France is eight millions in arrear for the present year. This is the result of the ruinous system of excessive armaments which the great powers of Europe are alike carrying on. The wages of industry, the savings of self-denial, are all swallowed up in this ever yawning gulf. It may be said that the profits on the whole international trade of Europe do not defray the cost of the armies and fleets kept up within its limits. If the nations were to return to a state of barbarous isolation, they would hardly suffer a deeper commercial loss than this which they inflict on themselves by supporting three millions of men in arms. We can hardly ask the question, how long is this to last, "for the system seems to give no token of decay, nor the great sovereigns who support it of repentance." The levies are larger and larger every year; the materials of war are more elaborate, scientific and expensive; and over the whole of Europe there seems to be a disposition to acquiesce in the proceedings of military governments, as if all treaties were soon to be torn to pieces, and it were necessary to prepare for a conflict which should re-distribute Europe.

The English people have never ceased to remonstrate with the Continental States, and particularly with France, on the great armaments which make peace almost as burdensome as war, and the answer which was given to our appeals some years since is no longer applicable. It was then said that armies were kept up, not for defence from foreign States, but from internal enemies, more dangerous than any invader. The French government was obliged to keep half a million of men in arms to defend the lives and property of its citizens from the Communists of thirty infected departments, who looked forward to a speedy triumph of lawlessness and pillage. In the same way, Austria approached yearly nearer and nearer the verge of bankruptcy in order that the Emperor might hold down Hungary and Italy, and keep order in his capital. The democratic spirit which reigned all through Germany was an excuse for the armaments of Prussia and the minor powers. But now anarchy and sedition are thoroughly suppressed; the great Communist conspiracy, if it ever existed, is now destroyed; no party remains to question the rights of Emperors, whether hereditary or elected, and yet the armies remain.

Instead of diminishing with the security of the crowns which they protect, they are continually increased, until now they are so enormous that two of the chief powers in Europe are unable to support even their peace establishments without recourse to continual loans. The French debt has

risen rapidly in amount during the present reign; and now we find that the estimated deficiency of the Budget is eight millions sterling for the present year, a sum which, we may be sure, represents nothing like the real cost of the late armaments above the regular expenditure. As for Austria, war would be more welcome to her than a continuation of this state of wearisome expectation. But it is not the first-class States alone which are thus burdened. The Sardinian government, urged on by ambition, has incurred expenses which make necessary the loan it is now raising. Holland, Belgium, and the German States keep up armies and fortresses far beyond their means, and probably will be content to bear the burden of excessive taxation rather than relax in what they consider their necessary defences.

But the habit of reckless expenditure is not confined to Europe, nor to despotic governments. In our own conquest of India we see how war brings on war, and armament makes armament necessary, until we are able to understand the fatality which has urged on the great military empires to their present position. Good government may in a few years make India and the far East contributors to English prosperity, and the empire may be delivered from its present embarrassments. But for the continental nations we have no such hope. No amount of industry or progress in the mechanical arts, can relieve them from the crushing weight of their military burdens. Only in an entire change of system can they hope for salvation.—*London Times, March 29.*

HOPE OF PEACE SURE.—Peace shall at length grow her olives in every nation on the earth. Has not this been the burthen of prophecy for six thousand years? Was it not the characteristic of the Redeemer that he was the Prince of Peace? And shall we doubt the final coming of that morn which shall behold the cruel passions of War destroyed, and its ugly weapons beaten into the implements of peaceful industry, because War yet continues to break out in the world? That were but an infidel's faith. Knowing that the principles of Christianity condemn all war, and that an appeal to arms never settled any question of right, but only proved who was the stronger party, we are absolutely certain that the time will come when men shall condemn it as wrong, if long before they do not abandon it as impracticable and absurd, for a more practical and common sense method—arbitration. That day will come whenever men shall see what is sensible, perhaps long before Christ's law shall rule the nations.

But we do not expect to live to see the day. We can already behold indication of its coming. By general consent Christian nations are narrowing their conflicts. Methods that a few years ago were considered unobjectionable, are now not tolerated. This reform, like every other, must begin with Christians, and continue until all War will be condemned by them as thoroughly as several obsolete methods of fighting are now, and the reform will continue until it shall everywhere prevail, and

“ No War nor battle sound
Be heard the earth around—
No hostile chief to furious combat run.”

Gospel Banner.

INSENSIBILITY ABOUT WAR.—It is a most extraordinary spectacle we now see on the Continent. Nations and dynasties, whose interests, nay, whose very existences perhaps, are dependent upon the preservation of peace, are, against their wills, as if ordered by the voice of Fate, preparing

for battle. Still, even now on the very verge of actual hostilities, the people are scarcely able to believe that the whole thing is not a strange dream. They admit the crisis, and yet persistently refuse to credit it. Even the public journals, which speculate most about the war, do it with a coolness, a *sang froid*, which betokens anything but an actual realization of its horrid propinquity. And yet any month, indeed almost any week, may bring the whole continent into chaotic confusion.—*N. Y. Cour.*

FAILURE OF WAR MEANS.

Our land, if not the world, resounded not long ago with expectation of what was to be achieved by our fleet, a very large one for us, sent to chastise or intimidate Paraguay into acquiescence in our demands. What is the result? It seems that Lopez, the President of Paraguay, was quite ready to receive "any properly authorized and discreet commissioner" with favor, and that the chief difficulty in the way of a settlement arose from the very means we had thus employed to enforce it, from the fleet itself!

"It does not yet appear that our armed fleet, got together and equipped at great trouble, and costing in the whole not far from \$5,000,000, *has been of any use whatever*. The first thing which Mr. Bowlin (our Envoy) says he had to do, on arriving in the South American ports, was *to remove the reserve and enmity occasioned by the character of the fleet!* It was *only* when he had effected the impression that his designs were not hostile, that he began to make any headway in his mission. Next time we have any difficulty with foreign rulers, let us try a commissioner *without* a fleet."

Such is the wisdom of war means in settling national difficulties. Here are millions wasted, and *worse* than wasted, on a fleet that just *obstructed* the object it was sent to accomplish; and yet this feat will be shouted all over the land, and paraded in the President's next annual message to Congress, as a signal triumph of "our gallant navy." When will common sense be applied to the intercourse of nations, as it is that of individuals?

ENLISTMENT OF THE PRESS AND PULPIT ON BEHALF OF PEACE.

These are now the great moral forces of the world; and it has from the first been the aim of our cause to secure their *habitual* advocacy of its claims. Its chief reliance has been on them; and it is by this course that we have been able to accomplish so much with such very slender means as have been at our command.

We wish, however, to do vastly more in this way. There are in our country more than thirty thousand pulpits, and nearly three thousand periodicals; and all these we hope in time to see becoming steady, reliable co-workers with us on in the work of Peace. We have already secured some of them; and we now contemplate special efforts to enlist them all.

For this purpose our Committee hope to secure the means of sending our Advocate regularly, with some of our other most effective publications, to all the periodicals in our land, to all our higher seminaries of learning, and to leading ministers of religion in every denomination. This will require a large outlay for us, but will be worth vastly more than it can cost. Will not some intelligent, wealthy friends of our cause furnish from their abundance the funds requisite for this purpose?

GENERAL AGENT.—Rev. C. S. MACREADING, has entered the service of our Society, as Lecturer and General Agent. We would commend him in his work to the confidence and co-operation of the Christian community. His labors will be chiefly at the East and North for the present. We trust he will meet a cordial welcome, an open door, and cheerful, ready responses wherever he may go.

ANNIVERSARY.—The American Peace Society will hold its Thirty-first Anniversary in Boston, May 23, in Park Street Church, at half-past 7 P. M. The business meeting will be at 3 P. M. The public services will consist chiefly of an Eulogy on the Society's late President, Hon. WILLIAM JAY, by the Rev. GEO. B. CHEEVER, D. D.

WILLIAM C. BROWN, *Rec. Secretary.*

RECEIPTS.

Legacy in full from estate of the late Deacon TIMOTHY STILLMAN, Weathersfield, Ct. by George Stillman.....		\$100 00	
Legacy in part of the late Deacon BAALIS BULLARD, Uxbridge, by Ellis Bullard		801 00	
<i>Saco, Me.</i> —Tracy Hews,		1 00	
<i>Fitchburg,</i> Benj. Snow..		5 00	
Francis Perkins.....		3 00	
S. M. Dole.....		3 00	
Josiah Sheldon.....		2 00	
W. H. Vose.....		2 00	
T. R. Boutelle.....		2 00	
John Caldwell.....		2 00	
Others, smaller sums..		20 00	39 00
<i>Westminster</i> —			
Benj. Wood.....		2 00	
Aaron Wood.....		2 00	
Marcus Ames.....		2 00	
B. Bigelow.....		2 00	
Others.....		2 30	10 50
<i>Leominster</i> —			
L. Burrage.....		3 00	
Joel Smith.....		2 00	
Mrs. C. Strong.....		2 00	
Mrs. L. B. Walker..		2 00	
C. C. Field.....		2 00	
Solon Carter.....		3 00	
James Burdett.....		2 00	
Others.....		8 00	24 40
<i>Keene, N. H.</i> —			
Asa Duren.....		2 00	
W. P. Wheeler.....		3 00	
Simeon N. Perry.....		30 00	
Others.....		3 00	38 00
<i>Coldwater, Mich.</i>			8 00
<i>Jefferson,</i> ".....			7 00
<i>Noble,</i> ".....			3 56
<i>Wright,</i> ".....			4 15
<i>Waterloo,</i> ".....			2 46
<i>Onondaga,</i> ".....			5 90
<i>Lyon,</i> ".....			3 00
<i>Nankin,</i> ".....			7 00

Receipts.

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Kensington, Mich.	7 00	So. Berwick, Me.—	
So. Milford, "	5 02	J. Plummer	1 00
Individuals, "	3 22	Salmon Falls, N. H.	
Branford, Vt.—		V. A. Shield	3 00
B. Davenport.....	2 00	Durham, N. H.—	
Others	2 00	B. Thompson.....	5 00
Pittsford, Vt.—	4 00	W. P. Frost.....	2 00
J. Tottingham.....	2 00	Exeter, N. H.—	7 00
Stargis Penfield.....	2 00	Robert Shute.....	2 00
W. H. Manley.....	2 00	C. G. Odiorne.....	5 00
S. H. Kellogg.....	2 00	J. T. Gilman.....	1 00
Others	4 00	Ipswich	8 00
Cornwall, Vt.—	12 00	Forborough—	3 50
D. Warriner.....	2 00	D. Carpenter	3 00
M. O. Porter.....	2 00	Otis Carey.....	3 00
Jer. Brigham.....	2 00	James Daniels.....	2 00
Others	2 00	Spencer Hodges.....	1 50
Middleburg, Vt.—	8 00	Others	4 50
Ira Allen.....	2 00	Providence, R. I.—	14 00
Others	2 00	B. White.....	5 00
Vergennes, Vt.	4 00	J. W. King.....	5 00
Burlington, Vt.	5 00	A. C. Burstow.....	5 00
Montpelier, Vt.—	7 00	T. Salisbury.....	2 00
E. P. Walton.....	5 00	John Kingsbury.....	2 00
Charles Bowen.....	2 00	W. S. Greene.....	2 00
C. W. Storrs.....	2 00	S. S. Wardwell.....	2 00
Others	4 00	Others	2 00
St. Johnsbury, Vt.—	13 00	Uxbridge—W. C. Capron	25 00
H. Fairbanks.....	5 00	Others	6 00
W. W. Thayer.....	5 00	Milbury, Cyrus March	11 00
G. A. Merrill.....	3 00	T. Waters.....	2 00
Others	8 00	A. Wood & Sons	2 00
Bradford, Vt.	21 00	H. Armsby	2 00
Lyne, N. H.—	5 00	Others	11 00
David Culver.....	5 00	Beverly, O., E. Moore	19 00
D. C. Churchill.....	3 00	Marion, N. Y.—	1 00
E. Tenney.....	2 00	R. H. Lee.....	5 00
A. Southard.....	2 00	Gardner, Geo. Kelton	5 00
(4) Others	5 00	Braintree, A. Morrison	2 50
Windsor Vt.—	17 00	R. S. Storrs.....	2 00
A. Wardner.....	2 00	Holliston, Timothy Fiske ...	4 00
George B. Greene.....	5 00	Castleton, Vt.—	5 00
H. Harlow.....	2 00	By S. W. Boardman.....	26 00
Others	2 00	Amherst, Prof. Snell	2 00
Newport, N. H.—	11 00	Farmington, Vt.—	
Joseph Wilcox.....	2 00	A. Thompson.....	5 00
H. Cummings.....	2 00	New Milford, Ct.—	
D. B. Chapin.....	1 00	D. C. Sanford.....	5 00
Springfield, Vt.	5 00	Compton, N. H.—	
Jonathan Martin.....	5 00	Ephraim Cook.....	2 00
James Lovell.....	3 00	Penn Yan, N. Y.—	
Others	2 00	Charles C. Sheppard	2 00
Dover, N. H.—	11 00	Millettown, Ct.—	
A. A. Tufts	10 00	J. H. Sumner.....	2 00
A. Folsom.....	10 00	Hopkinton, N. H.—	
P. Cushing.....	5 00	M. B. Angier.....	2 00
W. Woodman.....	2 00	Enfield, Henry Fobes	2 00
J. Whitehouse.....	3 00	Bluchill, Me., Isaac Parker	2 00
Others	3 00	Phelps, N. H., G. W. Gates	1 00
Great Falls, N. H.—	33 00	Chicopee, Elias Carter	5 00
H. O. Lord.....	5 00	Winsted, Ct., Tho. Watson	2 00
Messrs. Tibbets	2 00	Lewiston, Me., A. C. Locke	1 00
D. I. Buffum.....	2 00	Buffalo, N. Y., W. R. Gwin	2 00
Others	2 00		

<i>Thetford, Vt.</i> —			
Mrs. A. Conant.....	2 00	Samuel Kidder.....	2 00
<i>Syracuse, N. Y., S. G. May.</i>	2 00	Others	2 50
<i>Elgin, Ill., O. Davidson...</i>	2 00	<i>Nashua, N. H.</i> —	
<i>Sudbury, Mrs. N. Thompson</i>	1 00	G. W. Underwood.....	3 00
<i>Castine, Me.</i> —		Others	5 00
Samuel Adams.....	5 00	<i>Townsend</i>	8 00
W. Wetherbee.....	5 00	<i>Lancaster, C. Humphrey</i>	2 00
<i>E. Wilson, N. Y.</i> —		C. T. Symmes.....	2 00
H. Halscy	5 00	<i>Clinton, J. B. Parker...</i>	2 00
<i>Seneca Castle, N. Y.</i> —		C. T. W. Parkhurst....	1 00
C. Whitney.....	2 00	<i>Cambridge</i> —	
H. W. Jones	1 00	J. E. Worcester	50 00
<i>Westminster, Ct.</i> —		C. Francis.....	3 00
A. K. Butts	1 00	<i>Galena, Ill., A. Kent</i>	2 00
<i>Knowlesville, N. Y.</i> —		<i>Waterbury, Ct., Isaac Cee..</i>	2 00
W. Knowles	2 00	<i>Perma, Mich., D. Landon ..</i>	1 00
<i>Waukegan, Ill.</i> —		<i>Putnam, Ct.</i> —	
Nathaniel Norton.....	1 00	By G. J. Tillotson.....	2 50
<i>Jackson, O., Samuel Miller..</i>	2 00	<i>Dorchester, Richard Clapp ..</i>	5 00
<i>Dedham</i> —		<i>Winchester</i> —	
Rev. Dr. Burgess	10 00	Stephen Cutter.....	3 00
James Downing.....	5 15 00	N. B. Johnson.....	1 00
<i>Ringwood, Ill.</i> —		<i>Woburn, T. Richardson.</i>	2 00
John Rockword.....	2 00	C. Richardson	2 00
<i>Meridian, N. Y., H. Haskins</i>	1 00	L. Thompson	2 00
<i>So. Merrimack, N. H.</i> —		Mary B. Bacon	2 00
D. Sawyer.....	2 00	B. Cutter.....	1 00
<i>W. Springfield, E. Eldredge</i>	2 00	<i>Medford, Samuel Train</i>	3 00
<i>Sunderland Falls, Vt.</i> —		Charles Brooks	2 00
W. Humphrey	2 00	<i>Southborough</i>	6 30
<i>North Hartland, Vt.</i> —		<i>Northborough</i> —	
Anna H. Cutts	1 00	Cyrus Gale.....	5 00
<i>Chicago, Ill., Tuthill King..</i>	2 00	A. W. Seaver	2 00
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Rev. R. S. Storrs, D.D.


THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE,

FOR

JULY AND AUGUST.

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1859.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JULY AND AUGUST, 1859.

THE SAFETY OF PEACE PRINCIPLES:

THEIR POWER OVER ALL CLASSES OF MEN.

THE principles of peace have a peculiar charm for the young. "One day," says a city missionary in Boston, "I visited one of the primary schools. Some fifty children, from four to eight years old, were present. A boy about seven years old, and his sister about five, sat near me; and, while I was talking to the school, George doubled up his fist, and struck his sister on the head. She was angry in a moment, and raised her hand to strike him back. The teacher, happening to see her at the instant, promptly said, 'Mary, you had better kiss your brother.' The girl dropped her hand, and looked up at her teacher as if she did not understand her. She had never been taught to return good for evil, but thought, if her brother struck her, she must strike him back. The teacher, looking very kindly both at her and at George, said again, 'My dear Mary, you had better kiss your brother. See how angry he looks!' Mary looked at her brother, who seemed very sullen and wretched; but, soon forgetting her resentment, she threw both her arms round his neck and kissed him. The poor boy, wholly unprepared for such a return, burst into a flood of tears. The gentle sister, taking the corner of her apron, and wiping away his tears, sought to comfort him by saying, 'don't cry, George, you didn't hurt me much;' but he only cried the harder."

Of the same tenor is the story of William Ladd and his neighbor. "I had," said he, "a fine field of grain growing upon an out-farm, at some distance from the homestead. Whenever I rode by, I saw my neighbor Pulsifer's sheep in the lot, destroying my hopes of a harvest. These sheep were of the gaunt, long-legged kind, active as spaniels; they could spring over the highest fence, and no partition-wall could keep them out. I complained to neighbor Pulsifer about them, and sent frequent messages, but all without avail. Perhaps they would be kept out for a day or two; but the legs of his sheep were long, and my grain rather more tempting than the adjoining pasture. I became angry, and told my men to set the dogs on them; and if that would not do, I would pay them if they would shoot the sheep.

"I rode away much agitated, for I was not so much of a peace man then as I am now, and I felt literally full of fight. All at once a light flashed in upon me. I asked myself, would it not be well for you to try in your own conduct the peace principle you are preaching to others? I thought it all over, and settled down my mind as to the best course to be pursued.

"The next day I rode over to see neighbor Pulsifer. I found him chopping wood at his door. 'Good morning, neighbor.' No answer. 'Good morning,' I repeated. He gave a kind of grunt like a hog, without looking up. 'I came,' continued I, 'to see about the sheep.' At this he threw down his axe, and exclaimed, in a most angry manner, 'now aren't you a pretty neighbor, to tell your men to kill my sheep? I heard of it—a rich man like you to shoot a poor man's sheep!'

"'I was wrong, neighbor,' said I; 'but it wont do to let your sheep eat up all that grain; so I came over to say that I would take your sheep to my homestead pasture, and put them in with mine, and in the fall you may take them back, and, if any one is missing, you may take your pick out of my whole flock.'

"Pulsifer looked confounded—he did not know how to take me. At last he stammered out, 'now, Squire, are you in earnest?' 'Certainly I am,' I answered; 'it is better for me to feed your sheep in my pasture on grass, than to feed them here on grain; and I see the fence can't keep them out.'

"After a moment's silence, 'the sheep shan't trouble you any more,' exclaimed Pulsifer. 'I will fether them all. But I'll let you know that when any man talks of shooting, I can shoot too,

and when they are kind and neighborly, I can be kind too.' The sheep never again trespassed on my lot. And my friends," he would continue, addressing the audience, "remember that when you talk of injuring your neighbors, they will talk of injuring you. When nations threaten to fight, other nations will be ready too. Love will beget love; a wish to be at peace, will keep you in peace. You can overcome evil only with good."

Even savages feel the charm of this principle. About the year 1812, Indiana was the scene of Indian hostilities; but the Shakers, though without forts or arms, lived in perfect safety, while the work of blood and fire was going on all around them. 'Why,' said the whites afterwards to one of the Indian chiefs, 'why did you not attack the Shakers as well as others?' "What!" exclaimed the savage, "we warriors attack a peaceable people! We fight those who wont fight us! Never; it would be a disgrace to hurt *such* a people."

A family of Quakers from Pennsylvania settled at the west in a remote place, then exposed to savage incursions. They had not been there long before a party of Indians, panting for blood, started on one of their terrible excursions against the whites, and passed in the direction of the Quaker's abode; but, though disposed at first to assail him and his family as enemies, they were received with such open-hearted confidence, and treated with such cordiality and kindness, as completely disarmed them of their purpose. They came forth, not against such persons, but against their enemies. They thirsted for the blood of those who had injured them; but these children of peace, unarmed and entirely defenceless, met them only with accents of love, and deeds of kindness. It was not in the heart even of a savage to harm them; and on leaving the Quaker's house, the Indians took a white feather, and stuck it over the door, to designate the place as a sanctuary not to be harmed by their brethren in arms. Nor was it harmed. The war raged all around it; the forest echoed often to the Indian's yell, and many a white man's hearth was drenched in his own blood; but over the Quaker's humble abode gently waved the white feather of peace, and beneath it his family slept without harm or fear.

The early history of America is replete with such instances of personal preservation. Most horrible was the Indian's mode of wreaking vengeance on his foes. By day he lurked in ambush along their path, and shot them down without warning; at night

he prowled around their pillow of repose, kindled the flames over their heads, and made their own dwelling their funeral pile. From such dangers most of the inhabitants sought safety by retiring to fortified places; and persons, when compelled to pass beyond the range of such protection, provided themselves with arms for their defence. Such was the general policy; but the Quakers, true to their pacific principles, would neither arm themselves, nor retire to the garrisons. While their neighbors were flying to forts for safety, they remained openly in the country, and pursued their ordinary occupations at home, or in the field, without a weapon for annoyance or defence. Were they butchered in cold blood? No; they *all* escaped unhurt except three. And how came these to fall victims? They abandoned their pacific principles, and then were killed, not as men of peace, but as men of blood. Two were men who had been wont to pursue their labors in the open field without weapons, in simple reliance on God; but, being seized with fear, they took weapons for their defence, and the Indians who had hitherto spared them as peace men, now regarded them as enemies, and shot them. The third victim was a widow who refused for a time the proffered shelter of a garrison, and continued with her children safe in her defenceless habitation; but, impelled at length by "a slavish fear," she took refuge by night in a fort not far from her dwelling, and soon after the Indians waylaid and killed her.

The efficacy of peace principles, however, is not restricted to Quakers, but extends to all of like faith and practice. A multitude of proofs might be gathered from Indian history; but we will content ourselves with a single one from the banks of the Piscataqua. Several villages early began to rise there as far up as what is now Dover, N. H. Their intercourse with the tawny sons of the forest was not always that of enemies; the latter often came forth to visit their white brethren on terms of friendship; and, on one of those occasions, a squaw, with her infant suddenly taken ill, sought a place for shelter and repose. A widow, alone with her family on the outskirts of the settlement, kindly welcomed them to her humble abode, nursed the sick babe as her own, and, when it was restored to health, sent them on their way with her blessing. That deed of kindness was not lost. Years rolled on; but the Indian did not forget his humble benefactor. Strife arose between the two races; and the Indians prepared to empty upon the place the vials of their wrath. They

surrounded it at dead of night ; but before striking a single blow, they sought the poor widow's house, and placed there a guard, lest some of the warriors should, in their ignorance or heedless rage, wreak upon their friend a vengeance aimed only at their foes. This done, they went to their work of fire and blood ; nor did they stay their hand until the settlement was in flames, and most of its inhabitants, save the widow and her children, were butchered or made captives.

Such is the influence of peace over savages ; can it be less influential over civilized men ? To this we might quote many an answer from the ferocious and terrible rebellion of 1798, in Ireland. Seldom has there been warfare more savage, passions more fierce, or the spirit of revenge more blood-thirsty and remorseless. It was a fiendish conflict, the death-struggle of neighbor against neighbor, of brother against brother. The gangrene prevailed the whole community ; every body was required to take sides, and none allowed in safety to remain neutral. Yet the Quakers, firm in their faith, did continue neutral and pacific, friends to all, enemies to none. Anticipating the storm, they had prepared to meet it by girding themselves anew with their principles, by destroying whatever weapons they chanced to have in their possession, and by exhorting each other to stand fast in their peaceful faith. The storm came, and Ireland was drenched in fraternal blood. The Quakers, in going to their places of worship, were sometimes obliged to pass over fields of dead bodies ; and repeatedly did each party in turn threaten to burn their meeting-houses over their heads, or butcher them in their own homes. The bloody strife raged week after week all around them and up to their very doors ; their own domestics were instigated to destroy them ; their houses were entered by exasperated soldiers on purpose to kill them ; and often did it seem well nigh impossible for them to escape a general massacre. Still the Quakers trusted in God and were safe. Persisting in their ordinary attendance on his worship, in their refusal to take any part in the contest, and in their habits of equal kindness to sufferers from both factions, they came ere long to be respected, trusted and loved by all, and their houses became places of refuge to fugitives from each party. Their faith made them at length the mediators, the guardian angels, of a warring community ; and the badge of a Quaker, regarded at first as a sure precursor of death or violence, came in the end to be a sort of talisman, a

passport to safety and universal confidence. Their principles proved, under God, a far better protection than the sword ; for they lost only one of their number, and that one a victim, not to his principles of peace, but to his own folly in renouncing them. Losing his confidence in their power to protect, he dressed himself in regimentals for safety ; and then he was shot, not as a peace-man, but as a man of blood. How strongly does such an exception confirm the general rule !

. The same principles insured equal protection to others during the Irish Rebellion. The rebels, who had long meditated an attack upon the Moravian settlement at Grace Hill, marched at length a large body of men into the town ; but the Moravians, true to their principles, offered no resistance, and no means of violent defence. God was their trust. Assembled in their chapel, they besought him to be their shield in that hour of their danger ; and he gave at once a most signal answer to their prayers. The infuriated soldiers were astonished at a sight so contrary to their expectations ; they paused and listened to the devotions of their intended victims ; they heard the Moravians imploring mercy for their expected murderers ; such an exhibition of the Christian spirit, of the peace principle, disarmed their rage ; and, after lingering in the streets a day and a night, they turned and marched off without killing or injuring a single individual.

The principle, too, is just as safe for communities as for individuals. " I have read," says Mrs. L. M. Child, " of a certain regiment ordered to march into a small town, (in the Tyrol, I think,) and take it. It chanced that the place was settled by a colony who believed the gospel of Christ, and proved their faith by works. A courier from a neighboring village informed them that troops were advancing to take the town. They quietly answered, ' if they *will* take it, they must.' Soldiers soon came riding in with colors flying, and fifes piping their shrill defiance. They looked round for an enemy, and saw the farmer at his plough, the blacksmith at his anvil, and the women at their churns and spinning-wheels. Babies crowed to hear the music, and boys ran out to see the pretty trainers with feathers and bright buttons, ' the harlequins of the nineteenth century.' Of course none of these were in a proper position to be shot at. ' Where are your soldiers ? ' they asked. ' We have none,' was the brief reply. ' But we have come to take the town,' ' Well,

friends, it lies before you.' 'But is there nobody here to fight?' 'No we are all Christians.' Here was an emergency altogether unprovided for by the military schools. This was a sort of resistance which no bullet could hit; a fortress perfectly bomb-proof. The commander was perplexed. 'If there is nobody to fight with, of course we can't fight,' said he. 'It is impossible to take such a town as this.' So he ordered the horses' heads to be turned about, and they carried the human animals out of the village as guiltless as they entered, and perchance somewhat wiser. This experiment on a small scale indicates how easy it would be to dispense with armies and navies, if men only had faith in the religion they profess to believe."

THE ITALIAN WAR.

We do not wish to dwell now on the rise, progress or probable results of this great conflict between nearly a hundred millions of men calling themselves Christians; but the mere fact of its occurrence in the heart of Christendom, and beneath the meridian blaze of the nineteenth century, is pregnant with most important lessons of wisdom and warning. Of all these lessons we would call attention for a moment to only a single one — the obvious and pressing *necessity of far more effort in the cause of Peace.*

To us, indeed, it seems strange that there should be any occasion to enforce a point so plain. This cause has been in progress more than forty years; but in all this time how very little has been attempted in comparison with the magnitude of the work to be done, or of the object to be gained! It is no exaggeration to say that there *ought* to have been spent in this great Christian Reform a hundred, if not a thousand times more effort than has been; and, if there had been used from the first, means at all adequate to the exigencies of the case, they would, with moral certainty, have averted the deluge of crimes and woes sure to flow from the present war.

Look at a few patent facts. In less than two months from the commencement of this war, there were marshalled, for deadly strife in northern Italy, three quarters of a million of troops, at a daily expense to the parties of perhaps two million dollars a day, and an incidental loss of still more in the destruction of property, as well as life, and in the suspension or derangement of

all kinds of business. Had a single week's cost and waste of this conflict been spent with a wise economy in efforts, during the last forty years, to enlighten in season the general mind of Europe on the subject of peace, the present deplorable spectacle could never have been witnessed, but in its place we might have seen assured peace and prosperity all over the Old World, and such a reduction of standing armaments as would have saved ere this thousands on thousands of millions of treasure. One million a year, spent in season and aright, in the cause of peace, might have done all this. When will good men wake to the claims of this cause?

It may perhaps be said, that it is now too late for such arguments. To the millions involved in this struggle, it may be; but to the spectators of the scene, the world at large looking on the bloody strife, now is just the time to reflect on its suicidal folly, and devise means to avert like crimes and calamities from themselves. Used aright, it would be a very effective argument against the whole practice of nations appealing to the blind and brutal arbitraments of the sword; and the friends of God and man will be quite inexcusable if they do not at once turn it to such account in pressing the claims of peace. Such arguments it is every day working out at a terrible rate; and, though the immediate combatants are too hot and furious in the work of mutual slaughter to pause for reflection, outsiders may and should use them with greatly increased effect in dissuading from the custom of war.

Such *ought* to be the use made of the present war; but how is it in fact treated? Does the press or even the pulpit denounce or much deplore it as a fearful crime or calamity? No; they nearly all speculate upon it as a problem, whose character is to be determined by the results, good or evil, to which it may in time lead. On this contingency they suspend their verdict, and wait to see whether they shall praise or blame, rejoice or mourn. If a better state of things in Italy, or in Europe at large shall result from this vast and fearful accumulation of crimes now perpetrated before earth and heaven by the armies representing a hundred million of nominally Christian people, they will laud deeds that outrage every principle of the gospel, and every instinct of an enlightened humanity. Strange perversion and infatuation! If fifty or a hundred thousand men, well organized and drilled for their informal work, were, in spite of law and its

officers, to pass, with a sword in one hand, and a torch in the other, through the streets of London or New York, spreading on every side indiscriminate slaughter and conflagration, what should we think if the press and the pulpit should unite in a chorus of exultation at the prospect or hope of ultimate good from such wholesale villainies, and prepare chaplets of immortal renown for the triumphant leaders? It seems to us that presses and pulpits are treating very much in this way the war now raging in Italy; presses and pulpits that claim to advocate a pure Christianity, and really believe that the gospel, as received and taught by themselves, will one day put an end to all war!

Alas! how slow we all are to learn the wisdom taught by God in his word and his providence! Most devoutly do we hope that the present war, in every view so inexcusable, and fraught with so many evils, may open the eyes of Christians at least to the folly and wickedness of the custom, and rally them to a hundred fold greater efforts than they have yet made for its abolition. Outside of the combatants, there never was a better time to work in this cause; and shall we not promptly seize the occasion, and turn it to the best account possible? In England our co-workers are doing so; and we would earnestly commend their example to our friends here.

SOME PROGRESS IN PEACE:

AS SHOWN BY FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE PRESENT WAR.

1. THE first is the stand taken by England against any complicity, direct or indirect, with the pending struggle. On this point both her people and her rulers seem now to be united and firm. How different from her course for centuries! Scarcely a war, certainly not one of any considerable note, has occurred on the Continent for ages, but she plunged into it, or mixed herself with it by diplomacy, and poured out her treasures and blood like water. Hundreds and even thousands of millions has she, within the last century alone, spent in sustaining such wars. It is a change in her policy as strange as it is auspicious, and due chiefly to the wise, able and persistent efforts made by the associated friends of peace to enlighten the public mind there on the subject.

2. Another significant and hopeful fact is found in the endeavors of the British Government to have the dispute between

the belligerents settled by amicable reference. They made apparently sincere and strenuous efforts for this purpose, by mediating first alone, and then in concert with other friendly powers. They seem to have adopted in good faith the principle of arbitration recommended to all governments by the Peace Congress of Paris in 1856, and made an honest effort to secure their adoption by the parties in the present war.

3. There is no little encouragement, moreover, "in the fact — a fact which certainly cannot be paralleled in any former period of European history — that the contending parties were restrained for nearly three months from actual conflict by the anxious endeavors of other friendly states to find a pacific solution for the difficulty without having recourse to the bloody wager of battle. When we remember that the disputes of nations have been for so many ages, and by almost universal consent submitted, to the arbitration of "violence and sword-law," it is hardly to be expected that this sinister supremacy can be overthrown in a day. It is only gradually, and after many efforts and failures, that we can hope to see the dominion of reason and justice substituted for that of brute-force, in the regulation of international affairs. But every honest attempt of that nature tends in the right direction, and contributes to the ultimate triumph of a principle which is more and more felt, not only to be right in the abstract, but in harmony with the requirements and aspirations of the age, and in fact absolutely necessary to save civilization from being swamped by material and military predominance."

4. There is still another fact of very emphatic significance connected with this war, viz.: that "it has been entered into not only without the concurrence, but against the earnest and loudly expressed protests of the people in every country, with the exception of Sardinia, where the popular passions have been sedulously excited by the government. In France, especially, despite of all restrictions placed upon press and tribune, public opinion has pronounced in most unmistakeable tones against war. In a remarkable pamphlet published in Paris at the commencement of the Italian discussions, the writer, adverting to the state of public opinion on this subject, says: — 'Go, no matter where, and get information. Penetrate into the garret of the poor man, into the workshops, the farm-yards, the petty shops and larger warehouses, in every spot, on all sides, you hear but one voice, and that voice raised in favor of general tranquility. On every

side you will be assured that France not only does not believe in the reasonableness of war, but that she is profoundly hostile to intervention abroad; that she reprobates beforehand all that would be done in that way; and, if the government took a step in this direction, she would lose, with pain and sorrow, her faith in the sincerity of the speech at Bordeaux; France will no longer believe that the empire means peace. . . . Be under no delusion — have no doubt on the matter; out of 36,000,000 of people, there are more than 35,000,000 who offer up prayers for peace.'

It is quite true, and not at all inconsistent with this testimony, that the people, when their passions are awakened by the progress of events, and by every kind of artful appeal to their pugnacity and pride, may be lashed into a sort of artificial enthusiasm for the very thing they have most deprecated. But the fact stands on record, and will no doubt be yet remembered when the day of reckoning comes, that the potentates have plunged the nations into the guilt and misery of war, at the time when all Europe was longing and passionately pleading for peace."

Here certainly are omens, of hope and peace. Such facts, so rare in past ages, prove beyond all reasonable doubt such a wide and deep-seated aversion of the public mind to war, as has very seldom preceded an appeal to arms. It indicates an altered tone of popular feeling on the subject, and promises in future a more peaceful order of things.

WAR SELDOM SUCCESSFUL.—The last war with England, waged for the very purpose of establishing the freedom of the seas, and abrogating this right of search, failed entirely of its object. We were ready and glad to agree to terms of peace which wholly ignored the question. Another attempt might be similarly unsuccessful. Wars seldom accomplish the precise object for which they are waged. Circumstances change, and the aims and ends of belligerents change during a war, so that often the negotiations for peace do not recognize the original cause of quarrel. A war between powers equally matched, like those of England and America, seldom attains what cannot be acquired by negotiation.

MOBILIZATION.—This word means, in military parlance, calling troops into active service; and a terrible significance it is, not only to the army, but to society at large. By the Prussian law, every man is a soldier up to the age of 40; and consequently, from the moment the mobilization takes place, all business is at an end, and every thing sucked into the vortex of the war movement. The tribunals, work-shops, railways, and administrations of all kinds, are forced to give up to the army their most able hands; there remain only women, children, and old men.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

THIRTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY.

THE Society met, pursuant to due notice, May 23, at 3 P. M., in the vestry of the Park Street Church, Boston. On motion of Rev. J. Sanger, D. D., the Rev. FRANCIS WAYLAND, D. D., one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the chair.

The records of the Society's last Annual Meeting were read and approved. An abstract of the Treasurer's Report was laid before the Society, and adopted. The Corresponding Secretary, on behalf of the Board of the Directors, read their Annual Report, which, after discussion, and some slight modification, was adopted, and the Secretary directed to present a brief abstract at the public exercises in the evening.

On nomination by a committee previously appointed, the following list of officers for the ensuing year was unanimously chosen:—(See page 320.)

Benj. Greenleaf, Esq., suggested the expediency of publishing a *PEACE ALMANAC*, and kindly offered to furnish gratuitously the astronomical calculations for it; whereupon it was

Voted, That the question and mode of publishing a *Peace Almanac* for 1860, be referred to the Executive Committee.

Adjourned to the public services in the Church at 7 1-2 o'clock. FRANCIS WAYLAND, D.D., LL.D., in the chair. The exercises were opened in the evening with prayer by Rev. JOHN WADDINGTON, of London. The newly elected President, after brief appropriate remarks on the progress and hopeful prospects of the cause, introduced the Rev. GEO. B. CHEEVER, D.D., who had been appointed to deliver a Eulogy on the late President of the Society, Hon. WILLIAM JAY. On the conclusion of the discourse, which was listened to by a large audience, a vote of thanks was passed to the Speaker "for his able and interesting Address, and a copy requested for the press."

ANNUAL REPORT.

The Society has been called the past year to mourn the loss of some of its most distinguished members. In October last its beloved and venerated President, Hon. WILLIAM JAY, was taken to his rest and his reward; and our Directors, at a special meeting summoned on the occasion, say, "while acknowledging the hand of God in this event, we desire to record our high estimate of his distinguished and manifold excellencies as a man, a Christian, and a model Christian Patriot, Philanthropist and Reformer, but more especially our grateful sense of the important services he long rendered to the cause of Peace. As our President for the last ten years of his life, his well-known and universally respected name has been a tower of strength; and besides the liberal contributions of his purse, we have been indebted to his polished and powerful pen for three Annual Ad-

dresses before our Society, for his unanswerable *Review of the Mexican War* as waged in the interest of Slavery, and for his brief but admirable *Essay on Peace and War*, embodying the practical idea of Stipulated Arbitration as a substitute for the sword. His interest in our great work, though slow in its rise, steadily increased to the last. We thank God that we have been permitted so long to enjoy his leadership in the cause of Peace, and now to embalm in our hearts so precious a memory of his worth and his services."

Among other prominent friends of our cause, death has not been so busy the past year as in the preceding one; but we have lost several whom we shall long and seriously miss. HON. ROBERT RANTOUL, a much honored Vice-President of our Society, and for many years a personal friend of its Founder, William Ladd, has died since our last anniversary in a ripe old age. Another venerable and highly esteemed friend, Rev. ALVAN UNDERWOOD, has passed to the peace-maker's reward. Up to the age of nearly eighty, he retained a fresh and active interest in our cause; and not long before his death he subscribed, from his small resources, a hundred dollars towards our thirty-thousand dollar fund, with the hope, if his life should be spared, of increasing his subscription.

THE FINANCES OF THE SOCIETY, — though far less favorable than the friends of God and man ought to have made them, have been much better than our fears. We have kept the balance on the right side of the ledger, and still have continued, even in these trying times, nearly our ordinary scale of operations, and in some departments have done considerably more than usual. Our income from all sources, including a small balance from last year, has been \$4,783.38, and our expenditures, \$4,619.43, leaving in our treasury a balance of \$163.95.

Requests. — We observe with pleasure a growing disposition among our friends to remember this cause in the final distribution of their property. Several illustrations of this have come to light the last year; and we trust their number will steadily and widely increase. The Founder of our Society, whose memory is destined to be sweetly fragrant long after that of warriors shall have rotted with their bones, set in this respect an example worthy of all praise, by devoting his property, as he had his life, to an enterprise identified, as ours ever must be, with the highest welfare of our whole race. The bulk of his estate was reserved for the support of his widow; but on her decease, which occurred more than three years ago, it was all to be consecrated to the cause of Peace. The will was contested by the heirs at law; but the final decision of the case, recently made by the Supreme Court of the State of Maine, awards all that remains of his property to our Society as residuary legatee. How much that may turn out to be, it is quite impossible now to foresee; but nothing has yet come, or is likely to come for some time, into our hands, or those of Mr. Ladd's trustees. It is clear we cannot rely on this resource for the means of sustaining our cause, but must hereafter, as heretofore, look to the liberality and zeal of its living friends for its successful prosecution.

OUR AGENCIES—have been somewhat less than usual. Our Secretary has continued the same services as heretofore; and, besides nine Local Agents selected to look after our cause each in his respective vicinity, and perform such labor in its behalf as they can consistently with their duties as pastors, and without charge to the Society, we have commissioned during the year four Lecturing Agents. Two of these have recently entered our service, one as our General Agent; and the other two have labored only a part of the time.

OUR PUBLICATIONS—have been considerably increased. We have issued the usual number of our periodical, a new edition of one of our stereotyped volumes, and a number of our stereotyped tracts larger than for several years before. We have stereotyped only one new work, a tract of twenty-four pages by HON. AMASA WALKER; and we are glad to see that the London Peace Society has already published the same popular and effective argument against the folly of military armaments. In various ways, we have, by our own publications, or by the use of our funds, put before the public an amount of matter on the subject of Peace, equivalent to more than twelve million tract pages, or an average of more than three thousand such pages for every dollar we have expended during the year in our entire operations. All this besides the current expenses of our office, and what we have done by our lecturing agents.

In such ways we have contrived, with our very slender means, to keep the subject more or less before the public mind. We have sent our periodicals to a somewhat large number of preachers in different denominations, to all our leading religious newspapers, and to the best of our secular papers, in the hope of stimulating them to co-operate with us in this great Christian Reform. How much light we may have spread by these means on the subject through the community, it is of course impossible to estimate; but we think the incidental influences thus silently diffused will be found in time to act like leaven on the general mind, and contribute largely towards forming the christianized public opinion that shall at length undermine and sweep away the whole war-system forever.

Such a consummation is most devoutly to be wished. Every year, every day, has from time immemorial been proving how urgently it is needed. It is the great want of our age, and of all ages. Patriotism, Philanthropy, Religion, all are sighing for the relief of some expedient whereby nations can be rescued from the enormous evils inseparable from the war-system; a system requiring for its support even in a time of peace more than thrice as much treasure, talent and life as would suffice to evangelize the whole pagan world. The present state of Europe ought to be an irresistible argument in favor of increasing efforts in this cause a hundred fold. Had there been from the first such efforts on its behalf as its vast importance demanded, they would ere this have effected a change in the opinion and policy of Christendom that must have arrested all serious danger of such a conflict as now threatens the Old World.

PROGRESS ALREADY MADE IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

THERE can be no doubt that progress has been made in the cause of Peace; but precisely how much, it is impossible to say with entire confidence. The common, popular tests of success are not fully applicable to the case. It tells not, as in kindred enterprises, of so many missionaries sent forth, of so many churches gathered, or of so many Bibles or tracts put in circulation. Such indices of progress we cannot expect in a cause like this. Like leaven, it vanishes from view in the very act of gaining its purpose by absorption in the general mind; and if we would learn how much has actually been accomplished, we must trace, with patient care, the change that has been gradually, almost imperceptibly, taking place in men's minds on the subject through a series of years, and observe the agencies set permanently at work to recast, in a new, more Christian mould, the general sentiments and practices of the civilized world.

There is, indeed, no small gain involved in the simple fact, that the question has been brought distinctly before the public mind. Such a fact draws a great deal after it. It teems with far-reaching, world-wide results. It sets the ball in motion. It starts inquiry, and puts men upon asking why a custom, fraught with such a multitude of acknowledged evils, is still continued. It loosens the hold which war has so long had upon the support of mankind, and thus compels an examination of its claims. For more than fifty centuries had these claims been admitted without serious protest or question; and a great deal has been won for this reform by merely bringing and keeping the subject before the public. It is the first step and entering wedge for the overthrow of all hoary, deep-rooted, inveterate abuses. It is John the Baptist pioneering the way for the promised Messiah.

Few are fully aware how much has already been gained in this respect. Time was, not very long ago, when warriors received, with little challenge of their claims, the admiration of the world; when the idea of abolishing war was scouted as the wildest of Utopian dreams; when no press, hardly a pulpit, denounced this trade of blood as at all incompatible with our religion of peace; when the sword, as arbiter of disputes between nations, was considered no less necessary and proper than courts of law between individuals; and when ministers of the gospel, otherwise excellent, preached in favor of war as zealously as any now do in support of civil government, and, like the pious and eloquent Davies, urged their hearers to 'cherish a *war-spirit* as derived from God, as a sacred, heaven-born fire.'

Such used to be the general tone; but how much is it already altered for the better! The evidences of such change meet us on every hand. Pass over this land, or any other in Christendom; converse with any and every class of men; listen to the utterances of the pulpit, or read the issues of the press; and at every turn will you find views far more pacific than formerly prevailed. How wide the response now to Jeremy Bentham, when he said, "Nothing can be worse than the general feeling on the

subject of war. The church, the state, the ruling few, the subject many, all seem in this case to have combined to patronize vice and crime in their widest sphere. The period will assuredly arrive when better instructed generations will require all the evidence of history to credit, that in times deeming themselves enlightened human beings should have been honored in the very proportion of the misery they caused, and the mischiefs they perpetrated; that men there were, men deemed worthy of popular recompense, who, for some pecuniary retribution, hired themselves out to do any deeds of pillage, devastation and murder which might be demanded of them, and that such men-destroyers were marked out as the eminent and illustrious, as the worthy of laurels and monuments, of eloquence and poetry." So said Lord Brougham, "I abominate war as unchristian. I hold it to be the greatest of all crimes. I deem it to include all others—violence, blood, rapine, fraud, everything that can deform the character, and debase the name of man."

Such views as these, once so rare, are now becoming common, and must in time undermine the whole war-system. It cannot live long under the general frown of mankind; and it is certain that the current of popular opinion is setting strongly against it, and even now tolerates it only as an alleged necessity. War is clearly at a large discount; and national competition is fast passing from the field of battle to those departments of science, art and industry which procure wealth, and promote social refinement and happiness. It is a doomed institution; its overthrow, sooner or later, is inevitable; and the only question is, when and how?

This depends of course on public opinion; and many are the agencies already at work to recast that opinion in the right mould. Good men, in various countries, have been since 1815 combining in this work; and these associations, embracing some of the purest and most gifted minds in Christendom, have begun to put in operation a variety of simple yet effective means. They employ the living voice, and are sending forth popular lecturers. They wield the press, and are circulating far and wide periodicals, pamphlets and tracts. They have also published thousands and tens of thousands of volumes on the subject; and some of these, written with singular ability, have gone to the libraries of the learned, to the halls of legislation, and the palaces of kings. Millions of pages have been, from year to year, scattered over the most enlightened portions of Christendom, and sent occasionally into the four quarters of the globe. The power of the press is proverbial; and, if continued thus in behalf of this cause, must it not in time work out the change of public opinion requisite for our purpose?

There are other agencies, scarcely less powerful, conspiring to the same result. The pulpit is at length awaked somewhat to its duty on this subject; and, though most ministers may still sleep over it, yet not a few are now preaching peace as no less a part of the gospel than repentance or faith. The periodical press, that engine of such ubiquitous power over public opinion, is beginning to discuss in earnest this grand question of

the age and the world. It is stirring more and more the conscience of the Christian community; and not only individual churches, but ecclesiastical bodies representing almost every considerable denomination, have passed strong resolves in favor of its claims. The subject has likewise been brought before not a few seminaries of learning; and in these great nurseries of opinion and character, it is attracting attention, calling forth discussion, and thus raising up youthful friends destined one day to become its powerful and triumphant champions.

Still more, we have gone to the very seat of political power, appealed to the men who decide every question of peace or war, and remonstrated with them, in some cases with success, against a threatened resort to arms. In the name of religion, humanity and common sense, we have protested against such a brutal, insane, suicidal method of settling national disputes. We have shown them a far more excellent way. We have demonstrated the possibility of superseding war by rational, peaceful means, and urged them to adopt such substitutes in place of the cannon and the sword. Especially have we petitioned them to obviate all necessity for war, either by incorporating in treaties a pledge to settle their disputes in the last resort by reference to umpires mutually chosen, or by calling a congress of nations to frame an authoritative code of international law, and establish an international tribunal for the interpretation of such law, and for the peaceful adjustment of all difficulties between nations as now between individuals.

Thus is the heaven slowly yet surely working; and already does public opinion begin to prevent the return of actual war, and to put the system itself under ban. Step by step, it is yielding to the will of the people, as the real ruler under every form of government. It is in truth their voice that even now decides virtually every question of peace or war; nor is there in all Christendom a despot that would venture to draw the sword without first feeling in some way the popular pulse. Here is a most salutary check, a great safety-valve; and just as fast as the people become enlightened on the subject, will rulers find it difficult, and ultimately impossible, to play this fearful game of blood. Such light the people are slowly yet surely obtaining. The question is coming more and more before them; and already is it discussed by high and low, by old and young, by the farmer, the mechanic and the merchant, in the pulpit, the senate and the forum, in literary societies, popular lyceums, and seminaries of learning, in volumes and pamphlets, in quarterlies and monthlies, in weekly and daily newspapers.

What, then, is the natural result of all this? Peace is becoming a paramount, stereotyped demand. Public opinion is calling louder than ever for other means than the sword for the settlement of all national disputes. Such substitutes are clearly possible; and already are difficulties which would once have plunged nations in fierce, protracted wars, coming to be adjusted with scarce a thought of appealing to arms. Negotiation, arbitration, and other pacific measures, are actually taking the place of the sword

in nine cases out of ten where it was formerly used. War is ceasing to be regarded as the only abiter of national disputes; the leading cabinets of Christendom are gradually adopting for this purpose pacific expedients as their established policy; and should this policy continue, it will ere long suffice, far better than fleets and armies, to keep its nations in assured, permanent peace.

Is here no progress? It is impossible to say precisely how much has been accomplished by such means; but we may with confidence refer to some results of vast importance about which nobody can doubt. From 1815 to 1854, from the battle of Waterloo to the war in the Crimea, Europe for a wonder remained in general peace, in all, nearly forty years; a longer period of rest from war than Christendom had ever known before. So with our own country on a smaller scale. Besides our exposure to war with France in 1835, we have, in not less than three marked instances, been on the very brink of a war with England, and in each case our escape was owing very much to the altered tone of popular sentiment created by special efforts in the cause of peace. Provocations not half as great, had often led to long and bloody wars; and had public opinion been what it was fifty years before, nothing could have averted that most deplorable of all calamities.

Here we might, if we chose, rest our argument. If such facts do not prove, beyond cavil or doubt, actual, though not full success in this cause, we should like to know what can ever prove it. On any other subject such proof would be deemed ample and decisive. Had no duel been fought in all our Southern States for a quarter of a century, would not this alone, in contrast with their previous history, have shown a steady and sure decline of that practice? Had there been no case of actual intoxication in our whole country for forty years, would not that single fact have proved the cause of temperance signally successful? Why then should we not regard the general peace of Christendom for forty years, as equally decisive of the success of the Peace Cause?

But we have done more than merely prevent actual war; we have begun the process of abolishing the custom itself. Here is the surest and most hopeful index of progress in this reform. We are gradually reaching the very hinges on which the whole thing turns. We might stop a hundred duels, or save a thousand drunkards from a fit of intoxication, without making any perceptible or effective impression on the general practice of duelling or of intemperance. We must break up the usage or custom; for nothing short of this will suffice. Just so on the subject of peace. We must change the general, permanent habits, and train nations, like individuals, to settle their disputes, and regulate their whole intercourse, without resort to arms. All this we are doing, not indeed at once, for that would be impossible, but faster than could have been reasonably expected.

Observe how far the sword is coming in fact to be superseded by peaceful expedients. A dispute between ourselves and Great Britain was refer-

red in 1822, to the Emperor in Russia, a similar one between the same parties to the King of the Netherlands in 1827, and matters in controversy between us and Mexico, to the King of Prussia in 1838, in each case preventing thereby a resort to arms. This practice is widely extending; and the friends of peace have been making special efforts, with fair prospects of full success in time, to bring nations into the habit of settling all their disputes by reference to umpires, instead of an appeal to the sword. The principle is received with marked favor. So long ago as 1849, Richard Cobden, at the call of more than 200,000 petitioners in England, moved in the House of Commons a resolution in favor of this scheme, and obtained for it more votes than had ever been given by that body to any new measure at its start. In our own country, quite a number of our State legislatures have passed unanimous resolutions in its favor; and in Congress it was recommended, "that our government, whenever practicable, should secure, in its treaties with other nations, a provision for referring to the decision of umpires all future misunderstandings that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiations." Already have we begun to form treaties on this principle; and the Paris Congress, which in April, 1856, terminated the Crimean war, gave it their full and decided endorsement. Here was in effect the voice of all Europe; and "the Plenipotentiaries did not hesitate to express, in the name of their governments, the wish that states, between which any serious misunderstanding may arise, should have recourse to the good offices of a friendly power." Thus is arbitration gradually taking the place of the sword; nor is the hope at all unreasonable, that it may in time render war as unnecessary between nations as duels are between individuals.

Such a result, however, is not to be reached at once; and meanwhile the influences, set at work chiefly by the friends of peace, are mitigating in many ways the evils of war. When we began our labors, privateering was everywhere recognized as no less a part of the custom than its sieges or its battles; but the Crimean war opened with a proclamation, that no letters of marque would be issued to privateers, and at its close the Paris Congress, April, 1856, unanimously decreed its perpetual abolition. Such a degree of success the friends of peace could hardly have expected so soon; and had they never done anything more, this alone would have compensated them, a thousand times over, for all their efforts. Yet this is only one of the meliorations secured by their influence in the law of nations; for the same Congress decided, that there should be no blockade without a fleet sufficient to enforce it, that all neutrals shall pass unmolested in war as in peace, that the flag of every country shall protect whatever it covers, and that nothing shall be liable to capture but articles strictly contraband of war.

Now, we are far from supposing that all these proofs of progress in the direction of peace can insure any part of Christendom against the occasional return of war; but they certainly do prove that this great reform is already started with fair prospects of success, and is even now doing not a

little to prevent or mitigate war, to supersede its alleged necessity, and thus pave the way in time for its entire and perpetual disuse. It is indeed a slow and a hard process; but, with God, his providence and his gospel on our side, we cannot fail of ultimate success. It is only a question of time. Such a huge folly, crime and curse as war, cannot continue forever in a world given in God's promise to the Prince of Peace. It is a burning shame that his followers have allowed it to continue so long in the very shade of his own sanctuaries; and it is for them to say how much longer this libel of blood shall remain upon a religion of peace. If they would all do their whole duty on the subject, not another war could ever sweep over any part of Christendom its besom of fire and blood. With them rests the question; and God will hold them responsible for the result. With the gospel in their hand, they can, if they will, put an end to war in every Christian land. Will they do it? Are they doing it now, or seriously trying to do it? The war-system of Christendom is costing professed Christians alone perhaps five hundred million dollars a year; but meanwhile how much are they giving for its abolition, for the Cause of Peace? Not fifteen thousand dollars a year even now, and during the last forty years an average of little more than half this sum. With such a beggarly pittance of means, have they a right to expect any decisive or signal success? Let them contribute to this cause half a million dollars a year, only a thousandth part for peace that they alone now do for war; and the next generation, if not the present, shall see an end put in fact, if not in form, to the war-system of Christendom, and all its nations reposing henceforth in perpetual peace.

RESOLVES ON DISARMAMENT.

1. *Resolved*, That we regard the present iniquitous war in Italy, as a legitimate fruit of the great European system of standing armies, and war-like preparations in time of Peace.

2. *Resolved*, That military armaments not only furnish the means by which alone wars now become possible, but greatly increase the probability of their recurrence; and, so long as the absurd maxim, "In time of peace prepare for war," is received and acted upon, so long will tyrants be furnished with the power of oppressing their subjects, and stifling all aspirations for freedom; and so long will the burdens, miseries and crimes of war be perpetuated.

3. *Resolved*, That since it is demonstrably certain that, under the present system, the more any one nation prepares for war, the more every other will; that while one increases its army or navy, others are sure to do the same; and that to whatever extent this policy is carried, the peace of nations, so far from being secured, is more and more put in peril; it becomes the dictate of common sense that all who would secure their own safety, or the peace of the world, should insist on a GENERAL DISARMAMENT.

4. *Resolved*, That the time has now come when the friends of peace throughout the world should unite their efforts for the accomplishment of this specific object, and, whatever their difference of opinion on other ques-

tions, should concentrate their influence and energies to create such a public sentiment as will banish from the earth a policy alike repugnant to reason, and destructive of the best interests of mankind.

5. *Resolved*, That, since the greatest part of the immense revenues of all Christendom is now expended in preparations for war in time of peace, the policy of cessation from such glaring folly cannot fail of commending itself to the immediate interest of the people, in relieving them from the chief source of taxation, and in securing to commerce and every branch of productive industry all the blessings of peace, we have every reason to believe that vigorous and well directed efforts for the attainment of such an object, will receive the cordial approbation and support of the mass of intelligent minds in every country and clime.

6. *Resolved*, That the measures already taken by the London Peace Society to bring the question of DISARMAMENT before the people of England, both by public address and through the press, meet our warmest approbation; and, hoping that such efforts will be continued with unabated zeal, and largely increased, we pledge them all the co-operation and aid in our power.

JOSEPH STURGE.

On learning the decease of this distinguished friend and ornament of our cause, our Executive Committee passed the following resolves:

Resolved, That we have heard of the death of JOSEPH STURGE, late President of the London Peace Society, with the deepest sorrow. His earnest and life-long devotion to the cause of Peace; his eminent services in its behalf, not only in Europe, but in this country; his untiring zeal and liberal contributions; his enterprising spirit, and judicious counsels, all conspired to make him a most valuable and efficient co-laborer in the great work in which we are engaged; and his sudden and lamented death leaves a chasm in our ranks not easy to be filled.

Resolved, That we would embalm the memory of JOSEPH STURGE, not only as a sincere, persistent friend of Peace, but as an active promoter of every good work; a philanthropist "whose country was the world, and whose countrymen were all mankind;" ever ready to labor for the emancipation of the slave, for the promotion of temperance, for the relief of the suffering, for the elevation of the masses, and for the rights of every human being.

Resolved, That we tender to the family of our deceased friend our warmest sympathy in their bereavement, and request our friend, HON. AMASA WALKER, now on the eve of visiting England, to present them with a copy of the foregoing resolutions.

EXCUSES FOR MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

It is really amusing to remark how each power, while violently accusing its neighbors as designing mischief by warlike preparations, solemnly deprecates on its own account any other intention than what is most amiable and pacific. Count Cavour, in his circular note, after broadly charging Austria with hostile and aggressive designs against his country in adding to her forces in Italy, tells the world that the military measures Sardinia has taken, or is preparing to take, "have an exclusively defensive object, and, far from containing any menace to the tranquility of Europe, are intended to calm agitation. Austria, on the other hand, solemnly declares,

"that she is not an aggressive Power, and that it is an evident fact that the military preparations made by her in her Italian possessions, have only a defensive object in view; that they were in fact intended to repel an attack openly and loudly announced from the other side of the Ticino." On the other hand, the French pamphlet ascribes the increased Austrian armaments in Italy to a secret purpose to retain and extend unjust conquest, while the Emperor's Speech protests that France is solicitous only "to inaugurate a system of peace which could not be disturbed." Austria reiterates her denial, and gently insinuates that, if the French Government is so anxious for peace, "she may expect the news of the cessation of the armaments of France." And so they go on with reciprocal accusations, disclaimers, and protestations in an indefinite series, each ascribing the other's military preparations to a guilty desire for war, and its own to a pure and passionate love of peace."

In the midst of all this, however, there is a dim but constantly increasing recognition, which is very gratifying to us, of the necessity, importance and practicability of deciding the differences of nations by moral influence rather than by an appeal to brute force. The words of Count de Morny in addressing the French Legislative body, were very significant in this sense. After exhorting them to repose confidence in that memorable declaration of the Emperor, *L'Empire c'est la paix*, he proceeds, "How many other considerations are there, also, which ought to dispel our anxiety! Religion, philosophy, civilization, credit, manufactures, have made peace the first necessity of modern times; the blood of people can no longer be lightly shed—war is the last resort of injured right or wounded honor. Almost all difficulties are now solved by diplomacy or pacific arbitration. Rapid international communications and publicity have created a new European power with which all governments are obliged to reckon—this power is opinion." It certainly is no little gain to the cause of reason and humanity, that the masters of the world are obliged to acknowledge the superiority of public opinion, and to appear and plead their own cause before its sovereign tribunal. It is still more gain, to find that they acknowledge that almost all disputed questions can and ought now to be settled by pacific arbitration.—*Herald of Peace*.

COURT OF ARBITRATION.

THE events leading to the present war in Europe, drew forth in Paris, as elsewhere, a variety of publications on the question of Peace; and, among others, one arguing with much force that the Italian controversy should have been referred to the Paris Congress which terminated the Crimean war, and unanimously adopted principles fitted and designed to meet just such a case. He goes indeed so far as to say that its principles afford ground for erecting it into something like a permanent Court of Arbitration for examining and deciding *all* disputes between the Powers represented in that Congress:

"The Congress of Peace did what it could; but what it could not do, ought we now to accomplish by means of arms, or by way of diplomatic negotiation? Must war come again to oppress the ledgers of nations with overwhelming charges, to interrupt productive labor and international relations? Or shall we continue in the path opened to us by the Congress of Paris? Shall we submit to a European tribunal the adjustment of the differences which produce so much agitation around us? Is there at this moment a nation in Europe which has a real interest in making war?"

But this pacific instrument (Congress of Paris) dates only, as it were, from yesterday; we are not yet familiarised with it; the idea of submitting international differences to a high court of diplomacy and arbitration, just as individuals submit to civil tribunals their contending claims, that idea has not yet entered into the minds of any large number even of able and distinguished men. But what happened after the Eastern war ought, nevertheless, to enlighten even the least clear-sighted. The Congress of Paris was certainly something more than an accidental and fortuitous meeting; it had all the characteristics of a great institution. The actual circumstances are favorable to the practical use (*au fonctionnement*) of this eminently civilizing institution. Why not make the experiment, as to what may be expected from it, on an occasion so decisive and so grave as that in which we now find ourselves? Since all good men are at present agreed in regarding war, even the most legitimate, as a ruinous proceeding, to which recourse ought to be had only in the extremest cases, why should we not first exhaust all means of conciliation and arrangement?

Since time has improved the means of peace, as well as perfected the implements of war; since the Crimean war had for its result to unite around the same table all the representatives of European nations; since there exists to-day something analogous to a family council, a high court of arbitration, which in 1856, proclaimed with common accord certain great principles, it follows that Europe has at present at her disposal, an instrument of peace, which it had not when the Crimean war broke forth.

It is quite evident that if the Emperor of the French, for example, in accord with one or more of his allies, were to appeal to all the sovereigns who had ratified the different treaties, conventions, and declarations of 1856, and, in the name of these same treaties, were to submit this question, if it is right, if it is moral, if it is for the public good, to leave existing in the midst of Europe, a permanent menace of trouble and insurrection, a volcano which may at any moment burst forth, and ravage everything that stands in its course, the great probability is, that such an appeal would be listened to, that the situation of Italy would be peaceably regulated, and that Austria, Rome and Naples would, under such a moral pressure which would have force for its sanction, make important concessions.

It is not possible that the European sovereigns who agreed to declare that privateering is abolished, that the neutral flag covers all merchandise, except contraband of war, that neutral merchandise, excepting contraband of war, is not seizable under an enemy's flag, that blockades in order to be binding, must be effectual, that is, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to an enemy's shores—it is not possible, we say, that sovereigns united by principles so advanced and so humane, should not feel that war is an extreme proceeding, to which they ought not to have recourse, until all means of conciliation have been exhausted, and that the wisest policy, as well as that most conducive to international interests, consists in preventing an explosion."

EFFECT OF WAR ON FINANCES.

THE idea that the war now raging in Europe would prove to our gain, is being belied by the events of every successive day. There is no feeling so demoralizing, or so much to be condemned on moral grounds, as the exultation of delight at the prospect of turning the troubles of others to our own profitable account. But the derangements and disasters arising out of the war are not confined to the actual belligerents, or even to those supposed likely to be drawn into the war. They extend to us across the broad Atlantic. The belt of commerce encircles the commercial world;

that belt or circle disturbed in any one point, is made to vibrate the world through.

All the advices from the great European Continent are full of gloom and evil forebodings. The contractions of credit and the currency are having the effect of collapsing trade and commerce, by reducing everything to cash prices. The demand for specie everywhere is the effect of this war, which is bringing disaster on our mercantile relations, and a heavy depreciation on the value of our cotton. The difference to the owners of the cotton on hand, and coming forward, is to be counted by millions of dollars. The losses have already produced serious trouble. The Charleston banks have, it is said, come forward to the assistance of one large house in that city having connections in New York and Liverpool. In Germany, as well as in Italy, an entire want of confidence prevails throughout the whole community. But what is still more serious to us in the United States, as affecting the absorption of specie, this want of confidence has spread throughout the masses of the people. The savings banks in Germany are being run upon. The working classes are stipulating for payment of their wages in specie, before they consent to work. The forced loans by Austria on their own subjects, and the plunder and rapine she inflicts on Sardinia, have aroused a revolutionary feeling for revenge, and filled all Central Europe with alarm. The damage of the Austrian inroad on Piedmont, destined happily to be but temporary, it is stated *already amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars*. France and Sardinia, it is hoped, will not retaliate in like manner on Austria. The point, however, which troubles us, is that all classes are grasping at specie, which is the only property that is really safe, or in their power to *secrete and hoard*.

Already securities are being forwarded to great centres, and this forcing of specie forward at any cost involves a contraction of trade, and realization of assets, which point steadily and gloomily to a coming convulsion only paralleled by the wars of the French Revolution, or those of the first French Empire. Historical parallels are instructive. The wars arising out of the French Revolution occasioned such a heavy drain of specie from England, from 1792 to 1797, under similar want of confidence and hoarding as is taking place now, that in the year 1797 there was a suspension of specie payments, which, though voted to be for only *four months* by the British Parliament, lasted for twenty-two years, indeed, until in the year 1819, by the act known as Sir Robert Peel's, specie payments were resumed, the violent reaction of which brought, in 1825, ruin and bankruptcy in its train.—*N. Y. Independent*.

GLIMPSES OF WAR ON THE SPOT.

EVERY war, whatever may be its aim, *must* be, from first to last, a tissue of crimes and woes, a vast aggregation of guilt and suffering. We copy a few illustrations:—

AUSTRIAN EXACTIONS IN PIEDMONT.—The march of Gen. Gyulai into Piedmont, and his marchings and counter-marchings in that twenty-five miles of space between the Ticino and his advanced posts, seem to have had no other design than that of plunder. The opinion generally promulgated in Europe before the war, that Austria would be obliged to commence hostilities in spite of the Congress, in order to give its army something to eat and an instalment on arrear pay, is now more than doubly confirmed. The whole country has been despoiled by such a rate of exorbitant and cruel exactions as would have disgraced the barbarous ages of warfare. In

certain localities, it is said that all men between 21 and 45 years of age, have been enrolled by force in the Austrian army, and sent back to the Russian frontier of Austria, whence escape is impossible. The exactions in money and rations are so enormous on each village or town occupied, that if the Austrian occupation were to cease to-day, the country would require a generation to recover from its prostration. The King, Victor Emmanuel, deeply grieved at the sufferings of his subjects, has sent a protest to the Count Gyulai, not as King, but as Commander-in-Chief of the Sardinian forces, desiring to know how the Austrian army intends to make war—whether as soldiers or as brigands. It would seem, in fact, from present indications, that Austria only invaded Piedmont in order to replenish her army stores, and then to fall back under the protection of the strongholds of Lombardy.—*Cor. N. Y. Times.*

POPULAR SUFFERINGS AND VENGEANCE.—A correspondent of the *N. Y. Post*, from the seat of the war in Italy, says, "In passing along the route, one of those scenes that make an indelible impression, occurred at one of the stopping places between Turin and Alessandria, called Asti. There were collected a number of women whose husbands were killed by the Austrians in some of the skirmishes that have already taken place. The train in which I was, contained a regiment of French soldiers with their officers. Arrived at Asti, men and officers got out to stretch their limbs. As soon as the women saw the French, they rushed towards them, throwing themselves at their feet, crying out, 'kill them, kill them—avenge our husbands—kill, kill the Austrians.' Frantic with hatred and desire of revenge, these women were terrible to behold; their eyes glared, and they convulsively clutched the officers, shrieking, 'kill them! kill them!' I cannot find words to describe to you the terrible reality of this painful scene. The officers, moved and excited, could only shake the hands of the weeping women, promising them that their turn would come, and that the Austrians would pay dearly for the blood they had spilled, and the desolation and misery they had brought upon an unoffending people. As for the soldiers, they were most profoundly impressed, and one old fellow, slapping his musket most energetically, said to a woman near him that was weeping bitterly, 'Don't cry, Saprissi, they shall soon make acquaintance with this bijou, and then *gare la dessous*.' He walked off, rubbing his eyes, and cursing and swearing in the most horrible manner. He was moved, and knew of no other method of soothing his feelings."

HOW FRENCH SOLDIERS LIVE.—The allowance for the keep of a French soldier is six sous for two meals a day. Some of our friends in England seem to think that these gallant fellows are fed on *pate de foie gras*, or, at any rate, that the barrack cooking is quite artistic and delicious. Now the fact is simply this—French soldiers in garrison have, every day of their lives, two basins of soup with the strings in it, which they call meat, and perhaps a few bits of onion or vegetable by way of giving a flavor; besides this, each man has 1½ lb. of coarse bread, nothing more. When on service they have a little wine; but otherwise, except on grand occasions, such as reviews, they have none, nor any spirits, beer or coffee.—*Letter from Paris.*

DRUNKENNESS OF FRENCH SOLDIERS.—Drunkenness is universal in Paris just now, and encouraged by the government, because it makes the soldier and conscript forget every thing at a moment when memory is prone to be so busy, and remembrances so painful. The discipline in this particular is entirely relaxed. I have seen company after company move along so drunk they could scarcely walk. As their guns are taken away from them, and will be given them only when they reach Genoa, there is no danger of their doing damage with their weapons.

A SOLDIERS' PARTING.—The strangest thing I saw was at the Lyons railway station, where the troops took their departure huddled together. Each had a well filled knapsack, on the back of which was strapped a flat cake of brown bread, a foot wide and four inches thick. The sergeants were busily engaged calling the roll, and leading their men into the cars. There were drunken fellows cramming all their pockets with hard-boiled Easter eggs. Many groups were formed by weeping mothers and sisters, and fathers and brothers, bidding farewell to the loved ones. How many of these I have seen depart will return here again? No scene of all those I saw, touched me so near as the parting between a brother and sister. The girl was a seamstress, and wore no bonnet, but a neat muslin cap decked with cherry ribbons, which set off her embrowned face with great advantage. I do not think she could have been more than eighteen. Tears streamed down her cheeks. She filled every pocket he had with something or another, she had bought from the peddlers that hawked eatables around, and when his pockets were full, she took a little silk apron she wore, and, packing it to its utmost capacity, tied it securely and placed it under his arm. When the parting moment came,—1,000 men were sent off every hour,—the poor child hung to her brother as if she would have that second eternal, and, bowing her head on his breast, wept silently and bitterly. His lip quivered, and tears stood in his eyes. "*He la bas! 97! 97! de peche—toi donc!*" cried the sergeant. The brother kissed the girl on both cheeks, and in a moment was hid by the great door, behind which none but soldiers can go.—*Cor. Boston Traveller.*

EVILS ON THE SEAT OF WAR.

SARDINIA is undergoing the full rigors of war, being obliged not only to maintain an army out of an empty treasury, but also to extend a burdensome hospitality to an invading and to an auxiliary force, numbering in all well nigh three hundred thousand men, as well as to furnish the battle fields on which these armies may fight. A more unhappy fate cannot well be conceived. The advantages ought indeed to be great, which can make amends for all that she now has to endure. Besides the loss of men and money which befall the Austrians and French as well, she has to look also upon the pillaging of her towns, and the devastation of her fields by a hostile force, upon the suspension of all useful and regular employments, and the draining of the scanty resources of her citizens.

Not only wealth itself, but the very sources of wealth, are drained off in the process to which she is subjected. No wonder that the Austrians would fain adhere like vampires to the region where they have fastened, or that the allies should strive to shift the seat of war across the Austrian border. Certainly all the more obvious horrors of war visit especially the country which becomes the theatre of its actual conflicts, even where that country is not, like Sardinia, a party to them.

But in this case, as in others, not all, perhaps not the greatest, misfortunes belong to the party upon whom injury is inflicted. A deeper and more permanent harm is wrought upon the men and the governments who do the fighting and pillaging, and commit the innumerable barbarities of war. It has been justly observed by Mr. Hallam, that "predominant habits of warfare are totally irreconcilable with those of industry, not merely by the immediate works of destruction which render its efforts unavailing, but through that contempt of peaceful occupations which they produce." After no long time, the inexhaustible bounty of nature restores to the farmer his plundered harvests, and industry will renew its

peaceful round, and all the orderly movements of society will begin again. But who shall soon restore to the rulers and the men that have plunged themselves actively into the carnage and robbery of war, the respect for human life, and property, and rights which they have lost?

History bears witness that war is the great demoralizer of kings and subjects alike. The personal outrages, the pillage and injustice which they practice upon enemies, are easily and indeed unconsciously continued at home. Use breeds a habit, and it is unfortunately a habit which is at war with all that human laws and human society are laboring to establish. Governments find always excuses for their most arbitrary acts in the real or pretended necessities of war; the people learn the lessons of abject submission, in deference to these same necessities; and thus the way is smoothed by encouraging in the government a disposition to encroach, and in the people a willingness to submit, for the free play of those fatal tendencies into which the rulers and the military classes have been falling in the active prosecution of war. All this is of course forgotten when once the rage of military ambition takes possession of a nation, or when a real necessity summons it to war.—*Boston Advertiser.*

THE COMMERCIAL ARGUMENT FOR WAR-LIKE PREPARATIONS.

It is said that the money spent on such preparations is like that paid to an Insurance Company for protection against loss by fire or other contingency. But the analogy totally fails in several respects. In the first place, the incessant augmentation of armed forces, so far from diminishing, only increases the risk of that very calamity against which it professes to be an insurance. It accumulates the materials out of which danger is to be apprehended, seeing, as all history attests, that the possession of large military armaments has ever been a temptation to states, to indulge in a temper, and to follow a policy tending directly to bring them into collision with other powers. In the next place, a nation by constantly adding to these warlike appliances without any intelligible cause, excites to jealousy, and provokes to emulation in the same path of extravagance and folly, the rulers of other nations. We wonder what insurance society in London or New York, would issue a policy to two tradesmen living on opposite sides of the street, who, though engaged in doing a large trade with each other, were nevertheless keeping huge stores of blunderbusses and gunpowder in their respective cellars, to protect them against attacks they apprehended from each other! Or would any insurance society exact a smaller or larger premium for insuring the life of a man who should tell him that he always went about with a brace of pistols charged to the muzzle in his pockets, a bowie-knife at his girdle, and a sword-stick in his hand?

But suppose the analogy were correct, and that the sums expended on military establishments resembled what we pay for insuring our property, even on that showing, it must surely be admitted that the amount is absurdly and ruinously high. What is the nature of the risk against which the English are insuring? Have invasions of England been so common, as to warrant very high premiums being demanded for an insurance against them? Let us consult the testimony of history, and it will tell us she has never been invaded by a foreign army since the Norman Conquest, about 1000 years ago. And what should we say to the common sense of that man, who would pay about one-third of his entire income to insure his property against a foreign invasion?

The same illustration applies to America. Massachusetts has never been invaded by a foreign power, her skirmishes at Concord, Lexing-

ton and Bunker Hill having been with those who had been up to that time her rulers; but she has kept up during her whole existence, a military organization, for which there has been little or no occasion. She might, even on the principle of avowed defence, have been as well guarded against external danger without the millions on millions she has worse than wasted upon her militia system; a mode of defence exceedingly cheap, we grant, in comparison with standing armies, yet costing in the aggregate a vast amount of money for a state so small.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORTS.

LECTURES.—The Society has, during the past year, diligently employed its ordinary agencies for the diffusion of the principles of peace by means of lectures, public meetings, and the distribution of pamphlets, tracts and other publications.

The principal lecturers have been the Secretary, Rev. Arthur O'Neil, Rev. William Stokes, and Edmund Fry, who are reported as having visited with much acceptance a large number of the chief towns.

PUBLICATIONS.—There has been a continued issue of publications from the press, which have been put into circulation by every means that the Committee had at their disposal. Several new tracts have been issued during the year, among which may be enumerated *War and Taxation*; *The Demand for more Armaments*; *War opposed to the Christian Idea of Man*; *Le Monde, or, In Time of Peace prepare for War*, an admirable little apologue, exposing the folly of that oft-repeated axiom, from the pen of our esteemed friend and correspondent in America, the Hon. Amasa Walker. The Society's periodical, the *Herald of Peace*, besides its regular circulation, has been sent gratuitously to nearly 500 ministers of the gospel, of various denominations, from many of whom communications have been received, expressing in the kindest terms their sense of its value and importance. Altogether the publications of all kinds issued during the year, amount to nearly 200,000 copies.

AUXILIARIES.—At the last Annual Meeting of the members of this society, a general feeling was expressed in favor of visiting some of the Auxiliaries in the country, with a view to revise and re-organise the Peace cause, and especially to enlist the sympathy and active co-operation of the young, so as to replenish the breaches produced in our ranks by the removal of many of the early friends of the institution. Pursuant to this resolution, deputations from the Parent Committee have during the past year been engaged to a considerable extent in this work. In the month of July, a Conference of the Friends of Peace was called at Manchester, at which the London Society was represented by Mr. Joseph Sturge, Mr. Edward Smith, Mr. Joseph Barrett, and the Secretary. At this conference, which was attended by a considerable body of persons, it was resolved to form a new association in that city, under the name of the *Peace Conference and Arbitration Society*, the programme of whose principles and modes of operation was soon after published, and signed by a large number of respectable and influential gentlemen, not only in Manchester, but in many of the surrounding towns. The Committee hope that this is a body destined, in process of time, to render good service by its vigilance and activity to the interests of international peace. Later in the year Messrs. Sturge, Smith, and Richard visited, on a similar mission, Liverpool, Leeds, Ackworth, Wakefield, Rawdon, Bradford, York, Darlington, Newcastle-on-

Tyne, and Scarboro'. Everywhere they met with a most kind and cordial reception; and in most of the places mentioned many young persons came forward, at the close of the meetings, to unite with the societies already existing, and to render such service as lay in their power for the general promotion of the cause. It is intended to continue this mode of action during the coming year, and it is confidently hoped, that with the earnest co-operation of the friends of the Society in the several localities, both before and after the visits of the deputations, much may be done to revive and to extend the influence of peace principles throughout the community.

EFFORTS IN FAVOR OF NON-INTERVENTION.—When it became known that a general election was to take place, the Committee lost no time in preparing and sending out in large quantities circulars, bills, and placards, entreating the electors not to lose sight, at so eventful a crisis, of those questions that bear on the preservation of international peace. Special stress was laid on the portentous and ever-growing evil of that ruinous rivalry in armaments, beneath the crushing weight of which all Christendom is groaning, and all but suffocated, which leads, as it is estimated, to the maintenance, even during a time of peace, of at least four millions of armed men in Europe. Above all, the constituencies of this country were emphatically besought to declare unequivocally their sentiments against England being involved on any pretext in that war of despots then looming in Italy. It is believed that these appeals were not without their effect in helping to elicit that decisive utterance of public opinion in favor of a policy of non-intervention which was everywhere observable during the election.

Since then, however, and after the commencement of actual hostilities, the Committee felt that they were called upon to make another and a distinct effort for the same object. Remembering how frequently in our past history England has been embroiled, without any necessity whatever, in continental wars, the only lasting results of which have been to entail oppressive and everlasting burdens upon the nation; and remembering, moreover, how easily we might be entangled in the present strife by secret engagements and alliances contracted by our rulers without the knowledge of the people, it was thought most desirable that there should be as generally as possible throughout the country a timely and formal declaration against all such meddling on the part of whatever government may be in power. With this view, the Committee addressed an earnest appeal to all their correspondents, encouraging them to obtain memorials to the ministers, signed by as large a number as possible of their fellow-citizens, praying that England may preserve an attitude of strict neutrality. Already, and in some cases before our appeal was known, this duty seems to have taken strong hold of the public mind. Leeds, Darlington, Kendal, Newcastle, Sunderland, Marylebone, Woolwich, Coventry, Leicester, and other towns and boroughs have spoken out boldly, and it is to be hoped that the movement will spread until not a county or borough in the kingdom shall be found, which has not uttered its protest in favor of non-intervention. One of the most satisfactory incidents connected with this movement is the fact, that the Congregational Union of England and Wales—a body representing a large number of ministers and churches belonging to the Independent denomination in England and Wales—at its annual meeting held in London, in May, passed an admirable resolution, deprecating in the most earnest terms all interference on the part of this country in the deplorable war. It is gratifying to be able to add, that within a few days a Royal Proclamation has been issued, declaring that her Majesty is “firmly purposed and determined to abstain altogether from taking part, either directly or indirectly, in the war, and to maintain a strict and impartial neutrality in the hostilities now existing” between some of the

other sovereigns of Europe. But even this authoritative assurance does not absolve the people of this country from the duty of giving emphatic utterance to their own opinions, were it only to strengthen the hands of Her Majesty in the wise and patriotic cause she has avowed her determination to pursue."

Here is patent and decisive proof of the power which the friends of peace have already acquired over the people and the government of England. From time immemorial she has been a most notorious intermeddler in the quarrels on the Continent; and this public announcement of a new and far wiser policy is chiefly traceable to the persistent efforts of our co-workers there on the subject. If they had never done anything more, this alone, in its far reaching results, would be worth, a thousand times over, all the labor and money thus far expended in our cause. It is clear that the leaven of our views is slowly yet surely working even underneath the war system of the Old World.

THE WAR SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLE STILL AT WORK.—But, while it is thus gratifying to find so general a concurrence as to the duty of England to follow the strict policy of non-intervention, the Committee cannot but regard, with the deepest regret and apprehension, the efforts that are made by exaggerated alarms and increased military preparations, to foment a warlike temper among the people of this country. General declarations of neutrality will be of little avail, if at the very moment they are uttered, we are sedulously cultivating the spirit and assuming the attitude of hostility towards other nations. The Committee must in an especial manner express their unfeigned sorrow at the notice lately issued by the Government of its intention to encourage the formation of Rifle-clubs, a measure which in their judgment cannot fail to exercise a disastrous influence in many ways, diffusing through the community a love of arms, to which, happily, our countrymen have been hitherto strangers; luring the young into habits of idleness and dissipation which, as all experience proves, almost invariably attend these forms of amateur soldiery; fostering warlike tastes, and feelings of national arrogance and emulation, that will be found most perilous to the interests of peace, and encouraging the still further development of those military institutions, the enormous over-growth of which already constitutes the greatest curse and calamity of Europe.

PROGRESS OF PEACE VIEWS.—In conclusion, the Committee would repeat their solemn belief, which everything they witness around them tends only to confirm, that the principles they hold are not only most in accordance with the spirit of Christianity, but with the dictates of reason, the claims of justice, the instinct of natural conscience, the interests of humanity, and the progress of civilization. It is impossible, indeed, not to feel that a slow perception of this truth is gradually forcing itself upon some of those who have been wont to point at us, and our labors, the slow, unmoving finger of scorn. The world has been astonished of late to find not only the doctrines, but the arguments, the illustrations, the very language of the Peace Society, flowing from the lips of its bitterest revilers. Those measures which we have so long advocated, amid every kind of obloquy and insult, of stipulated arbitration, an international congress, a simultaneous reduction of armaments, and non-intervention in the affairs of other states, are beginning to be admitted into good society. It is impossible indeed not to regret that these powerful organs of public opinion did not earlier receive the light that is now tardily dawning upon them. If the statesmen and publicists of Europe, those who mould the character and direct the destinies of an age, had forty years ago, instead of frowning upon them in cold disdain, or assailing them with cavil and

invective, calmly inquired into the reasonableness of those views propounded by the Peace Society, and then united their influence to give effect to such of them as were thought practical in the customs of states and the constitution of political society, how much of misery might have been spared to mankind; how much sacrifice of life; how much waste of wealth; how much agony of human hearts; how much of mutual suspicion, terror and hatred to the nations of Christendom; how much of demoralization to society; how much of scandal to religion; how much of irreparable damage done to the progress of truth, liberty and civilization. It is very probable that these late converts may still continue to cast reproach and ridicule upon those who were the earliest and most consistent advocates of the principles which they are now disposed to adopt. Be it so. That is of very small moment as compared with the progress of the principles. It matters little who gains the honor, so the work be accomplished.

The little insects that build up the beautiful islands which stud the face of the Southern seas work for ages, we are told, in the "dark unfathomed caves of ocean," myriads of them perishing in obscurity long before their graceful architecture even begins to peep above the surface of the waters, but each content to contribute its tiny labors to hasten on the final consummation, when its isle of beauty shall stand complete, glittering like a gem on the bosom of the deep, crowned with verdure and fertility, and teeming with life and abundance. So it is with those who labor, under the guidance of Providence, for the accomplishment of some remote good. They may be destined to work on for generations in obscurity and contempt, conscious only that they are working in harmony with the plans of God, and that they are helping, in however feeble a degree, in bringing to pass those scenes of blessedness and peace, upon which humanity, even in its darkest moments, has loved to repose in hope;

"Those scenes surpassing fable, and yet true,
Scenes of accomplished bliss, which who can see,
Though but in distant prospects, and not feel
His soul refresh'd with foretaste of the joy!"

RESOLUTIONS.

1. That this meeting cannot but regard the war that has just broken forth in the south of Europe, between three professedly Christian nations, as a reproach to civilization, and a scandal to Christianity; and, while acknowledging with gratitude the strenuous and prolonged efforts of our own Government to adjust the matter in dispute by mediation, records its solemn conviction, in accordance with that already so generally expressed by the country, that it is both the interest and duty of England to observe a strict policy of non-intervention, and to abstain, not merely from overt and immediate acts of war, but from all entangling engagements and alliances which may endanger our being ultimately involved in the conflict, and from such menacing demonstrations of force as must tend, by stimulating warlike passions at home, and exciting suspicion and animosity abroad, to bring about the very evil which the nation so earnestly, and unanimously deprecates.

2. That this meeting cannot fail to recognise in the deplorable events by which Europe is now distracted, a solemn and instructive illustration and confirmation of the views always held and promulgated by the Peace Society, as to the impolicy and danger of great standing armaments, the maintenance of which has grown into a system of chronic rivalry between the professedly Christian Powers of Europe. This meeting is of opinion that the peace of Europe has been sacrificed, and the nations exposed to all the horrors of a desolating and sanguinary war, not because of political difficulties incapable of pacific solution, but because of the existence of these vast armaments continually thrust forward by rival dynasties to threaten and coerce each other, to obstruct and counteract diplomacy, and to claim ultimately for the umpirage of brute force, a result which could only be satisfactorily obtained under the guidance of reason, forbearance and conscience.

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ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S REPORT.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY in account with JOHN FIELD, Treasurer.

RECEIPTS —	
Balance from last account.....	\$ 93 18
Receipts acknowledged at sundry times in the Advocate of Peace.....	4,600 20
Interest on Investments.....	90 00
	<hr/> \$4,783 38
PAYMENTS —	
For meetings, postage, stationery, office rent, &c.....	\$ 267 44
" paper, printing, binding, stereotyping, editing, and other expenses relative to publications.....	1,836 29
" services of agents, and their travelling expenses.....	1,463 70
" interest on loan.....	60 00
Investment of the Ward Legacy.....	1,000 00
Balance to next account.....	163 95
	<hr/> \$4,783 38

I have this day examined the above account of JOHN FIELD, Treasurer of the American Peace Society, and find the same well vouched and correctly cast.

JULIUS A. PALMER, Auditor.

Boston, May 23, 1859.

Rev. R. P. Stone


THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE,

FOR

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

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1859.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1859.

HOW TO DO AWAY WAR.

THE Cause of Peace is eminently practical, and proposes to accomplish its great and glorious purpose by means clearly feasible and rational. It aims to supersede war by putting something far better in its place. The War-system is now upheld only as a matter of supposed necessity for the settlement of disputes between nations, for the redress of their wrongs, and for the security of their respective rights and interests. These objects, we admit, must be attained in some way; and the chief question is, whether better means than the sword cannot be devised for securing them. Nations will of course retain their war-system until it is actually superseded by preferable methods of international justice; and this demand would be fairly met by Substitutes for War that should accomplish all its legitimate ends more effectually than the sword ever did or ever can. Here is the substance of our plan in few words — *War superseded by better means of international justice and safety.* We propose in its place a rational, peaceful, Christian process of justice between nations, analogous to what every civilized society has provided not only for individuals, but for all minor communities.

Such, in substance, is our principle; and we contend that it may be applied to nations, as well as to individuals, with reasonable prospects of success. There are in the nature of the case no insuperable obstacles to such an application. Nations, regarded by all writers on international law as moral persons, are

confessedly under the same general obligations to each other as individuals in society ; and we simply ask the former to settle their disputes in essentially the same way that the latter do theirs. How do individuals adjust their difficulties ? Always in one of two ways — either by amicable agreement between themselves, or by reference to a third party as umpire. There is no other way possible ; and hence, if nations cannot or will not adjust their own difficulties, they must of necessity resort to some form of reference.

Here is no really new idea, but one as old as government or society itself. Common sense, the world over, has ever decided, that no man should be allowed to judge in his own case ; and this principle is just as applicable to communities as to individuals. It underlies and pervades every process of justice in our courts of law. Every trial there is a reference ; and no litigant is allowed to decide in his own case, but must submit to the judgment of impartial peers. Ought not governments to adjust their own differences in the same way ? We ask them merely to adopt for themselves this simple, elementary principle of justice, with such modifications in the mode of applying it as their circumstances may require. It would be far better if they would settle every dispute by themselves ; but, if they cannot, then let them submit the points in issue to arbiters. We urge them to make this their established method of adjustment, and to provide for it in their treaties by express agreement in advance. We would fain have them *stipulate* for it ; and hence we call it *Stipulated Arbitration*. We propose that they incorporate in every treaty a clause binding the parties to settle whatever disputes may ever arise between them, by reference to umpires mutually chosen.

Now, what objection can there be to such an expedient ? It relinquishes no right ; it neither sacrifices nor endangers any interest ; it contradicts no important principle in morals or politics ; it requires no great or essential change in public opinion, but is well adapted to the present state of the world, and consistent alike with the precepts of Christianity, and the dictates of sound policy ; it is level to the comprehension of all, and commends itself strongly to their good sense as safe and just, as clearly feasible, and likely to prove successful.

Nor would such an experiment be entirely novel ; for the principles has for ages been occasionally tried with the best re-

sults. "When sovereigns," says Vattel, a high authority on international law, "cannot agree, they sometimes trust the decision of their disputes to arbitrators. This method is very reasonable, and very conformable to the law of nations." He quotes a variety of examples, but dwells especially on that of Switzerland, and says, "the Swiss have had the precaution in all their alliances among themselves, and even in those they have contracted with the neighboring powers, *to agree beforehand on the manner in which their disputes were to be submitted to arbitrators, in case they could not themselves adjust them in an amicable way.* This wise precaution has not a little contributed to maintain the Helvetic Republic in that flourishing state which secures its liberty, and renders it respectable throughout Europe."

Occasional arbitration has ever been a part of our own foreign policy. A question of boundary between us and Great Britain we united in referring to the Emperor of Russia in 1822, a similar one between the same parties to the King of the Netherlands in 1827, and matters in controversy with Mexico to the King of Prussia in 1838, with success in each case to the extent of preventing an appeal to arms. Such is coming to be the usage of civilized nations; and we ask that this principle be made the ordinary method of settling all such disputes as cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by negotiation.

To such a measure we cannot well conceive any serious objection, but a host of arguments in its favor. Its general adoption would work a new and most glorious era in the world's progress; and fain would we ask the earnest attention, especially of the conductors of the Press, to the subject, and solicit their aid in forming such a public opinion as shall in time, perhaps ere long, constrain the more enlightened and influential nations of Christendom, like England, France, and the United States, to provide for the settlement of all difficulties in the last resort by some form of reference, and thus pave the way for a safe, gradual, entire abandonment of their present war-system, by the introduction of peaceful substitutes that shall, in the long run, far more effectually secure all its legitimate ends.

SAFETY OF PEACE PRINCIPLES.

THE efficacy of pacific principles is not confined to Christians. Even paganism has furnished occasional illustrations of their beauty and power. The Island of Loo-Choo in the Chinese sea, was visited in 1816 by the two war-ships which took Lord Amherst to China as ambassador from England. In order to procure supplies, and make some repairs, they anchored in a harbor of the island; and many of the natives immediately came on board, to whom the Captain, through an interpreter, stated whence the ships came, on what embassy sent, and why they had anchored there. Learning what things were wanted, they began forthwith to furnish them in great abundance, which they continued for six weeks, and then refused the slightest compensation.

Some of the crew being sick, were taken ashore to a temple as a temporary hospital, and there treated with the utmost tenderness. "Nothing," says Capt. Hall, "could be more interesting than to observe the care which the natives took of our sick men. They crowded round to assist them out of the boats, carried those confined to their beds all the way from the beach to the hospital, and gently supported those who had strength barely to walk; and when safely lodged, they were immediately supplied with eggs, milk, fowls and vegetables already cooked.

I was absent awhile on a survey of the coast; and on my return I was glad to find the sick men much recovered, and very grateful for the kindness of the natives. The best provisions had been brought to them every day; and when disposed to take exercise, they were sure to be accompanied by some of the natives, who helped them up the steep side of the hill behind the hospital, to a grassy spot on the summit, and having lighted pipes for them, remained patiently till the invalids wished to return. Never were sailors so caressed; and it was pleasing to observe our hardy seamen so much softened, that they laid aside for the time all the habitual roughness of their manners, and without any interference of the officers, treated the natives with the greatest consideration. Indeed, from the first hour of our visit, their amiable disposition and gentle manners won the good will of all; and, by a sort of tacit, spontaneous understanding, every one of our men treated them not only with kindness, but with entire confidence. The proud, haughty feeling of national superiority, so common

among British seamen, was here completely subdued by the kind and gentle manners of this pacific people. Though continually intermingled, no quarrel or complaint occurred during all our stay ; but each succeeding day seemed to increase our mutual cordiality and friendship.

‘We also inquired into their government ; and while partaking of the general mildness, we deemed it highly efficient from the great order always maintained. The chiefs, though quite decided in giving their commands, were mild in manner and expression ; and the people always obeyed them with the greatest alacrity and cheerfulness. Crimes were said to be very unfrequent ; the people went entirely unarmed ; and they always declared that they had no military weapons. We looked sharply for them, but could find none. Their behavior on seeing a musket fired, showed their ignorance of fire arms ; and they invariably denied having any knowledge of war by experience or tradition.

The case of William Penn, however, is perhaps the fullest and fairest illustration of pacific principles in their bearing on the intercourse of nations. His colony, though an appendage to England, was to the Indians an independent State. They knew no power above or beyond that of Penn himself ; and they treated his colony as another tribe or nation. Their king had himself expressly abandoned these Quakers entirely to their own resources. “What !” said Charles II. to Penn on the eve of his departure, “venture yourself among the savages of North America ! Why, man, what security have you, that you will not be in their war-kettle within two hours after setting your foot on their shores ?” ‘The best security in the world,’ replied the man of peace. ‘I doubt that, friend William ; I have no idea of any security against those cannibals, but a regiment of good soldiers with their muskets and bayonets ; and I tell you beforehand, that, with all my good will for you and your family, to whom I am under obligations, I will not send a single soldier with you.’ ‘I want none of thy soldiers ; I depend on something better.’ “Better !” on what ?” ‘On the Indians themselves ; on their moral sense, and the promised protection of God.’

Such was the policy of Penn. He resolved to treat the Indians as the Gospel requires, and then rely for safety on the better principles of their nature, and the promises of God. He brought

no cannon; he built no forts; nor was there at his command a single musket or sword to assail or repulse an enemy. He treated none as enemies, but all as friends, and threw himself, with open-hearted confidence, upon the red man's generosity and justice. He met the rude sons of the forest as brethren; his kindness disarmed their enmity, and lulled their suspicions and fears asleep; he won their perfect confidence in his friendship; and, sitting down with them on the banks of the Delaware, they smoked together the calumet of peace and love.

Now, what was the result of such a policy? In the midst of the most warlike tribes on this continent, the Quakers lived in safety; while all the other colonies, acting on the war-policy of armed defence, were involved almost incessantly in bloody conflicts with the Indians. Shall we ascribe this to the personal tact of William Penn? Shrewd he doubtless was; but the success of his policy was owing mainly, if not entirely, to its pacific character. Penn was only an embodiment of his principles, and the efficacy of these is strikingly exhibited in the fact that Pennsylvania, during all the seventy years of her peace policy, remained without harm from the Indians, but suffered, as soon as she changed that policy, the same calamities with the other colonies.

Such, then, is the efficacy of pacific principles. Not that they, or anything else, can prevent *all* evil in a world like ours; but, when *rightly* applied, they are a far surer protection than the sword. We doubt whether they have ever been put to a fair test without proving successful; and any people who shall dare to trust these principles, will find them safe. Who seemed less likely than American Indians to feel their power? Yet how readily did they lay their tomahawks and scalping-knives at the feet of Penn, and humbly apologize for killing the only Quakers they ever attacked. 'The men carried arms,' said they; 'we supposed them to be fighters, and thought they pretended to be Quakers, merely because they were cowards.' So said the murderers of Lyman and Munson. 'They came with arms in their hands, and we took them for enemies. Had we *known* they were men of God, come to do us good, we would have done them no harm.' There is no policy so safe as that of peace. Let any people abjure all war, and proclaim to the world that they will never fight under any provocation, but will be ready to settle all difficulties with other nations by umpires mutually chosen; and would any nation attack *such* a people? No sooner than a duel-

list will now fight a woman or a child. Would not any nation be ashamed of an act so mean, and the whole world cry shame upon them, and brand them as the basest of paltrons and assassins?

‘But experience pleads for the war-principle; all nations have hitherto acted upon it; and does not this prove its necessity?’ No more than the extent and long continuance of paganism prove that to be necessary. Men have tried war more than five thousand years; and what is the result? A world covered with crime, and drenched in blood and tears. Could any policy of peace have led to worse results?

‘But would you have *no* means of defence?’ — Yes the best in the world; such as God himself has prescribed; such as Penn used with perfect, glorious success; such as every fair trial has shown to be far more effectual than any weapons of war. We plead for the strictest principles of peace, not only because they are true, but also because they are the best security both for individuals and for nations.

‘But what security do these principles afford for our liberties and rights?’ — The best possible; incomparably better than the sword can give. Search all history, and you will find war to have been the deadliest foe to popular freedom and rights. True, it has been alleged to have secured them both; but far more truly has it ever trampled them under its iron hoof. Peace is the best, if not the only soil for the sure and steady growth of free institutions; and one century of universal, unbroken peace would accomplish wonders for the liberty and rights of mankind.

‘But *will* nations ever act on the *strict* principles of peace?’ — Individuals have, and nations may; but whether they will or not, time alone can determine. We believe they one day will, for God has promised they shall; but until they do, surely these principles cannot be held responsible for their safety, any more than a medicine can cure those who do not take it. If *all* nations would adopt them, there would of course be an end to war, and the fear of its evils. We cannot flatter ourselves that the great national brotherhood of Christendom, or any of its members, will *soon* come fully into these views, discarding the sword as the arbiter of international disputes, and ceasing from all war, and all preparations for war; but already the whole civilized world are gradually approaching this policy; and, just as fast as they do, will their safety, as well as their general prosperity and hap-

piness, be correspondingly increased. No fair-minded man will now deny that a pacific policy is in every respect the best ; and, if we cannot bring all nations, or any one of them, up to the high standard of the gospel, we would fain bring them as near to it as we can. Our utmost efforts will doubtless leave them much below that standard ; but every approximation to it will strongly tend to insure their peace, and to promote their general and permanent welfare.

CARNIVAL OF BLOOD :

REMARKS IN ANTICIPATION OF THE ITALIAN WAR.*

If anything could testify to the semi-barbarism of the nineteenth century civilization, it is the coolness with which professedly Christian cabinets trade in the stupendous game of blood. If anything could testify to the dulled edge and semi-worldly tone even of the professed Christian church, it is the almost unanimous silence upon its guilt, its enormity and its folly, with which the religious press and pulpit of Europe and America greet the impending carnival of murder, usually called a general war. Statesmen, with the wisdom of the children of this world, seem incapable of being taught the uselessness and the idiocy of the bloody arbitrament of the sword ; and divines, with their supposed wisdom of the children of light, have apparently, with all their zeal for a strict construction of the Bible, and a fearless application of its principles, forgotten the law of Moses that says, *Thou shalt not kill* ; and the law of Christ, that commands us to *Love our enemies*. Frigid calculators of markets and prices may augur well for our commerce, if the rest of the world are engaged in cutting one another's throats ; for then we shall supply them with wheat and corn. But the philosopher, not to say the philanthropist, knows full well that when one member suffers, all the members suffer with it ; and that a social chaos, and descent from the functions of men to those of bears, tigers and wolves, cannot involve the ancient, beautiful seats of civilization and faith, without dragging us, half round the world, sooner or later, into a partnership in the wide-spread crime and calamity. A war in Europe, no matter for what pretences fought, becomes a vital question in America.

The first sophistry which needs to be scattered and annihilated on this subject is, that such a war as now impends, prophecies freedom to the down-trodden masses of Europe. This humbug has long enough cheated the friends of Humanity. Rare are the cases in which the sword has not cloven the fair form of Liberty to the earth, rather than smitten off her chains. The few cases, as the Grecian resistance to the Persian invasion, the American Revolution, and some others, have turned the heads of sanguine patriots. But by an examination of the processes and results of war, we see how utterly vain is the hope in this way of hastening the progress of the people's emancipation. War consumes the athletic and most enterprising young men of a country. It arrests the occupation of industry,

* Selected for our last number ; but, though a little out of time, the article deserves to be preserved.

destroys the results of human skill and labor, loads both parties with debts of almost fabulous figure, reverses all the civilizing, enlightening and moralizing operations of society, and wastes the attention, thought and manly courage of a country or a continent, in the often futile attempt to repel physical evil, instead of pouring them as mighty spirit-streams into the channels of positive improvement.

The march of armies is the signal to stop the clock that strikes the hours of the world's most beneficent victories. Smiting down human life, and the value of life, war demoralizes the conscience, and brutalizes the manners of mankind. The disaster, too, befalls not the princes, but the populace. They who set in motion the bloody engineering that will sweep myriads into untimely graves, tie other myriads to wounded and suffering bodies, and consume the fruits of many years of honest and happy peace in a few years of frenzied and diabolical conflict, are not the ones who expose their own delicately nurtured bodies to the iron hail of the battle-field. Now they sit far and safe from the Golgotha, and plot mischief and ruin for the human family, on a scale seemingly too gigantic for man's puny arm and scanty intelligence. What care they for the widow's only son, conscripted to the horrors and vices of camp-life, fights, marches and sieges? What care they for the poor laborer's last penny, eaten up by the omnivorous war-tax, and orphans cast by the hundred of thousands upon the bleak world? They never hear the besieging tempest of human sighs, and yells, and groans, that rises in awful chorus from every battle-field, and howls through that visible hell, a war-hospital.

One pretty sure evidence that war is not favorable to human rights is, that it is almost invariably waged by the kings and princes, who are the enemies of popular freedom, and resolutely bent on retaining their ill-gotten and abused power at every risk. With profuse professions of patriotism, and love of their people on their lips, they would sacrifice any number of their fellow-men rather than abate one jot or tittle of their haughty pretensions, or yield an imaginary point of honor or ambition for the pacification of a whole continent.

In the contest apparently just ready to crimson anew the hills of fair Italy and Germany, the Kossuths and Mazzinis of a forlorn hope no doubt fondly imagine that the sound of the trumpet is the signal to emancipate fallen nationalities. It is, we believe, a vain delusion. Did the elder Napoleon restore Poland? Will an inferior prince of the same line do any better for Hungary? Once the conqueror of Italy had honors and banquets rained upon him, as her Deliverer; but did the sword hew out the road for freedom then, and has it acquired any new magic by which it can better do it now? Must the Tree of Liberty be enriched with human blood?

War is the life and cause of standing armies and navies. Europe has about three millions of soldiers and marines under arms on land and sea at this time. The prospect of a general war drains the farms and workshops, by a new conscription of enormous size. Is the despotism, too, of military rule a favorite school in which to train the sons of liberty? Will the peasantry of Italy, France and Germany, not now distinguished for their general intelligence, or preparation for self-government and the ballot-box, be advanced in their education by the martinet and the drum-major? Are the lotteries of war, the stunning cries of defeat or victory, a good opiate for headlong passions, and a wholesale discipline to temper the selfishness of the masses, to respect others' rights, while they vindicate their own? Who is dupe enough to believe that the professed preservation of the balance of power is sincerely meant for the steady uplifting of the great body of the people, or that war entered upon, with whatever

honeyed accents of love of popular advancement, or nationality, or Italian independence, means anything else than a change of masters?

No; sorry as we are to say it, and sad as we feel at the prospect, we must avow the most earnest conviction, which we believe events will justify, that freedom has everything to fear, and little or nothing to hope from a general war in Europe. It will load her heavier with chains, thrust her into a deeper dungeon, and put off still longer the day of her jubilee.

Were not the conscience of the world sophisticated and palsied by the idle common-places of politics, and the mouth of the church struck dumb against the most gigantic of Antichrists, there would arise, not from one humble sect alone, but from consolidated Christendom, such a remonstrance against plunging into another Red Sea of slaughter, which would reach the loftiest throne or the most secret cabinet. — *Ch. Register.*

THE WAR AND THE PEACE IN ITALY.

ONCE more have the nations of Europe had an opportunity of witnessing what war can do to promote the liberty, civilization and happiness of mankind. The experiment has been made on a large scale, and the most unlimited supply of all the means and agencies which the war-system can furnish. Blood and money have been squandered without stint. Upper Italy has been converted into one vast human shambles. In little more than two months, five sanguinary battles have been fought—Montebello, Palestro, Magenta, Malegnano, and Solferino. Taking into account those who perished on the battle-field, those who were swept away by disease, those who died in excruciating agony in the hospitals, and those who are even now pining away into premature graves through wounds and injuries received in the war, it will probably be no exaggeration to say that 100,000 men, "full of hearty life," have been swept out of life in three months before this mad tornado of human passion. If we affirm that a hundred millions of money, (\$500,000,000,) have been wasted, we believe we shall greatly understate the case; for we must include in our estimate not only the sums spent by the three belligerent states,—France, Austria and Sardinia—in the actual conflict, but the enormous expenditure it occasioned to the neutral nations, England, Prussia, the minor German States, Belgium, Switzerland, and more or less to all the countries of Europe. But by what gauge shall we measure the wide-spread miseries it has spread among the habitations of humanity, or the inconceivable moral mischiefs it has inflicted upon all Christendom?

Now, what has been the result of this portentous outbreak of wickedness and suffering? What good is it likely to do? There are certain profound philosophers among us, who pretend to find in war ample "compensations" which suffice to reconcile them to all the sacrifices, moral and material, it involves. What, then, are the "compensations" in the present case? The professed, and perhaps the real, object of the war was the liberation of Italy. Italy was to be free of the foreigner from the Alps to the Adriatic. And what has been the result? First of all, Sardinia, by whose invitation Italy was converted into a battle-field for two of the great military monarchies of Europe, had, as a preliminary, to surrender its form of constitutional government, and submit to a dictatorship. Whether it will revert to the former, remains to be seen. But what is unquestionable is this, that Count Cavour, to whose restless and ambitious intrigues this war was owing more than to any other cause, horror-struck, and, let us hope, conscience-struck, at the awful miseries which he was the instrument of bringing upon

his own country to no purpose, has flung up his office in disgust. Lombardy, without any pretence of consulting its own will, is given by Francis Joseph to Louis Napoleon, and by Louis Napoleon is tossed contemptuously into the lap of Victor Emmanuel. Venetia, with Peschiera, Mantua and Borgoforte, remain in the hands of Austria. The princes of Tuscany and Modena return to their States. Italy is to be formed into a Confederation, under the nominal headship of the Pope, but probably under the real authority of Austria. Here you see the whole. This is all that has been gained by the sacrifice of 100,000 lives, 100 millions of money, and the convulsion of all Europe with alarm.

We do not blame the Emperor of the French for concluding this peace. Far from it. Any peace is better than a continuance of the brutal butchery that was going on in Italy; and those who imagine that any better result could have ensued from pushing the war to the uttermost, until all Europe had been drawn into the eddy, must have read history to no purpose. To begin the war, was an act of folly and crime of the first magnitude; but to finish it was, under the circumstances, courageous and honourable, and gives us a better opinion than we had of the Emperor of the French. Let us hope that the spectacles of horror he witnessed on the battle-fields, and in the hospitals, appealed to his better feelings, and made him shrink from the responsibility of perpetuating so much misery. He has stated his reasons for withdrawing from the conflict, with a candour that is rare on the part of crowned heads. He acknowledges that he was fighting against the public opinion of Europe; that, if the war proceeded, it must have assumed still more formidable dimensions, and that he shrunk from a course which would have rendered it necessary "to go on shedding precious blood, and to risk that which a sovereign should only stake for the independence of his country."

But the most important question is, will the nations of the earth see and learn the lesson with which this event is pregnant? Will they profit by the moral, for the second time within three years inscribed as it were across the heavens in letters of blood and flame, as to the abortive issues for all good purposes of this appeal to the sword? Will the friends of liberty at length allow themselves to be convinced that it is as vain to attempt to destroy despotism and to establish freedom by war, as it is to cast out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils? Will the friends of Christianity cease from the fatuous hope that a system which sanctions and evokes all forms of "hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revilings, and such-like," will tend to the furtherance of a religion whose fruits are "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance?" Or must the earth be again drenched with blood, and the heavens filled with blasphemy, before man will consent to relinquish these insane delusions?—*Herald of Peace.*

HOW WAR VIOLATES THE SCRIPTURES,

EVEN the Old Testament does not sanction war *as a custom*. In each case, there mentioned, of lawful war, it was entered upon by the express command of God. If *such* authority were now given, we might worthily resort to arms. But without such authority, how dare we violate the genius of Christianity, and set at naught the example of Christ? The wars sanctioned in olden times were not appointed to decide doubtful questions, or to settle quarrels. They were to inflict national punishment, and were intended, as are pestilence and famine, to chastise guilty nations.

As to the New Testament, a multitude of its precepts might be quoted expressly against all fighting. "Ye have heard, &c., an eye for an eye ; but I say unto you *resist not evil.*" "Follow peace with all men." "Love one another." "Do justice, love mercy." "Love your enemies." "Follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace." "Return good for evil." "Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil speaking be put away from you, and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you." "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight ! " "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither," &c. "Be ye not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." "If thine enemy hunger, feed him, if he thirst, give him drink." "Render not evil for evil, but contrariwise, blessing." Such passages might be indefinitely multiplied. They abound in the New Testament. How shall they be disposed of? No interpretation can nullify their force, or change their application. Take *any* sense the words will bear, and they forbid war. They especially forbid *retaliation*, which is always advanced as the best pretext for war.

Such texts as have been quoted, relate to the single matter of retaliation and fighting. But belligerent nations violate *every* precept of the gospel. It enjoins every man to be meek, lowly, peaceable, easy to be entreated, gentle, thinking no evil, merciful, slow to anger, quiet, studious, patient, temperate. Let a man rehearse, one by one, the whole catalogue of Christian graces, and he will see that war repudiates them all.

Examine that superlative epitome of Christianity, our Lord's sermon on the mount. Its nine benedictions are upon so many classes of persons—the poor in spirit, mourners, the meek, the merciful, the peace-makers, the persecuted, the reviled, those who hunger after righteousness, and the pure in heart. In which of these classes can the professed warrior place himself? Alas, he shuts himself out from all the benedictions of heaven.

The discourse proceeds to teach, that not only killing, but anger is murder. It expressly rebukes the law of retaliation ; and exploding the traditional rule of loving our neighbor, and hating our enemy, it requires us to love our enemies, and do good to those that despitefully use us. Afterward, in presenting a form of prayer, it not only teaches us to say, "Forgive our trespasses *as* we forgive those that trespass against us," but adds, "if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you." What a peace sermon is here ! What modern peace society goes further, or could be more explicit ?

But let us take a few of the Christian graces more in detail. The Christian is required to cherish a sense of direct and supreme responsibility to God. The *irresponsible* feelings of a soldier are a necessary part of his profession, as Lord Wellington once said ; "A man who has a nice sense of religion, should not be a soldier." The soldier makes war a *profession*, and must be ready to fight any nation, or any part of his own nation, as he is ordered. He must have no mind of his own. He must march, wheel, load, fire, charge, or retreat, as he is bidden, and because he is bidden. In the language of THOMAS JEFFERSON, "The breaking of men

to military discipline, is breaking their spirits to principles of passive obedience." The nearer a soldier comes to a mere machine, the better soldier he makes. Is this right for a Christian? Is it compatible with his duty to "examine all things, and hold fast that which is good?"

Nor is there a Christian grace which does not tend to diminish the value of a professed soldier. Some graces are, it is true, useful in camp; where a man may be called to act as a servant, or laborer. It is then desirable that he be honest, meek, faithful, that he may properly attend to a horse, or a wardrobe. But such qualities spoil him for the field. He must there cast away meekness, and fight; he must cast away honesty, and forage; must cast away forgiveness, and revenge his country; he must not return good for evil, but two blows for one.—*Dr. Malcom.*

PEACE AND MISSIONS.

THE Peace Reform is needed to remove obstacles to the spread of the Gospel. A multitude of these have been scattered, age after age, over the whole earth by the martial character of Christendom. Its wars, however unjust the charge, are actually charged by the heathen upon our religion as one of its *supposed* fruits; and thus have they reared all round the whole unevangelized world a barrier of prejudice very like the wall of China. Their ports, their ears, their hearts have been closed fast against us. Christians are regarded with terror; and Christianity itself, though an angel of peace and love, has thus become, all over the earth, a hissing and a scorn.

You cannot well conceive how far the wars of Christendom have set the great mass of unevangelized minds sternly against the religion of the cross. Not only does the infidel cast them in our teeth, and the Jew insist that the Messiah, promised as the Prince of Peace, cannot have come, since nations, reputedly Christian, have been almost incessantly engaged in war; but even the follower of the false prophet, calls us "Christian dogs," and taunts us for our glaring hypocrisy.

The result is inevitable in checking the spread of Christianity. How came the gospel to meet in the Sandwich and South Sea Islands, a reception comparatively so cordial, and a degree of success so glorious? Other causes of course conspired; but a principal one was found in the fact, that the wars of Christendom were little known to the natives, and they saw Christianity exhibited before them first in the lives of its humble peaceful missionaries. On the other hand, why were the Jesuit missionaries so indignantly expelled from China? Whence such rancorous hatred of the gospel in Japan, that every man, woman and child was for ages required to go once a year through the ceremony of publicly trampling in scorn on the cross, and no Christian even now can put his foot on the shores of that island, without first renouncing his religion? They had heard of Christian nations crimsoning their path by sea and land with blood; and they very naturally suspected those Jesuits of having come to involve them, some how or other, in the same calamities that nominal Christians had so often inflicted upon one another. The

countries all round the Mediterranean, traversed by Apostles, and covered with primitive Churches, have been for ages filled, mainly in consequence of fierce, bloody wars so long waged between Mohammedans and reputed Christians, with such deep and bitter prejudices as centuries can hardly suffice to remove. Such prejudices more or less overspread the globe, and *must* be removed before its myriads can be evangelized.

RUIN OF SOULS BY WAR.

How vast and fearful the havoc of immortal souls directly occasioned by war! The thought is appalling beyond expression; and it is high time for the truth on this point, if on no other, to be rung aloud in the ear of every Christian community. Too long has the poor soldier been permitted, partly through our own connivance or neglect, to dream of wading through all the atrocities and horrors of war up to the throne of an immaculate, merciful God. Far be it from us to say, that none have ever gone even from the field of blood to the realms of glory; but, if war is so notorious a hot-bed of vice and irreligion; if it breathes a spirit, forms a character, and absolutely enjoins atrocities, so utterly inconsistent with the gospel of Christ; if the field of battle is such a theatre for the worst passions that ever rage in the bosom of man; if fleets and camps are, the world over, such proverbial reservoirs of impiety, pollution and crime, I dare not suppose that *such* masses of moral putrefaction are borne up into the immediate presence of Him in whose sight the very heavens are not clean.

What a destroyer, then, of immortal souls! Scarce a war that does not slay its thousands, its scores of thousands; and how often have there fallen upon a single field of battle, ten thousand, twenty, thirty, fifty thousand, a hundred, two hundred, three hundred thousand! No uncommon number this in ancient warfare; and since the dawn of the present century, there perished, in less than six months of the Russian campaign, half a million of the *French alone*; in the wars of Alexander and Cæsar, some three millions each; in the wars of Napoleon, six millions; in the wars of Jenghiz-Khan some thirty-two millions; in the wars of the Turks and Saracens, sixty millions each; and the lowest estimate I have ever seen, (Dr. Dick) puts the sum total of its ravages from the first at *fourteen thousand millions*, eighteen times as many as all the present population of our globe!

Will the church of Christ never awake to a subject so immensely important? Believers in the gospel of peace, followers of the Prince of Peace, sons and daughters of the God of Peace, *can* you still fold your hands in apathy or despair, and let such a fell destroyer of mankind for two worlds continue his work of death and perdition, unchecked, unresisted by any efforts or even prayers from you?

LETTER FROM TITUS COAN.

HILO, HAWAII, APRIL 26, '59.

G. C. BECKWITH, D. D., *Sec'y of Am. Peace Society*:

MY EVER DEAR BROTHER. — I received, a few weeks ago, your good box of olive leaves. I waited a little for the arrival of the box, before answering your letters. It was longer in coming, because the ship passed Hilo, and landed the box at Honolulu, whence it came to me in a packet. I was very happy to get the publications, as ships were in at the time, and I distributed many at once. They are all acceptable, and will all be useful through the blessing of the Lord. I should have been glad of a number of volumes of the Peace Book, but you may not have been well supplied with it. For every ship which visits Hilo, I endeavor to prepare a generous package of reading matter, composed of religious books, tracts of the American Tract, Peace, Temperance, and other Societies, together with Bibles and Testaments in various languages which may be spoken by sailors.

In this work, and in preaching to seamen and conversing with them, I spend such snatches of time as I can redeem from the more abundant labors of pastor to the natives. I am just now hard pressed with cares, and cannot write you so fully and freely as I would. We have just finished and dedicated our new church edifice, and hung the largest bell at the Islands, in its tower. I am also engaged in touring some two hundred miles, over and around my rough parish, and in a few weeks our general meeting commences at Honolulu, so that in journeying, in directing, in preparing reports, and in attending to the thousand details, secular, social, moral and ecclesiastical, of my position, I am kept at the top of my speed, with danger of a trip and a stumble now and then.

But you will rest assured of one thing; while this heart beats, it must beat in the cause of peace. Never can I forsake that cause unless I forsake with it every good cause, and cease to sympathise with the Lord Jesus in his work of mercy on earth. The object for which our Redeemer came to earth is so distinct, and the spirit and agencies by which he carries on his purposes of love are so dear, that, to me, not to be an advocate for peace, would be simply, not to be a Christian. This is the rule by which I judge myself; but I assume to be judge of no other man. Every minister and every professed follower of the Lamb must stand or fall "to his own Master."

Philosophy speaks of latent heat and of free caloric. Is there not something analogous to this in love? Do not many Christians possess a latent or inert principle of love to the cause of peace, while they fail to give free expression to this principle in word and action? The time with them may not have come, or some of the conditions are wanting to develop that active state of interest which we love to see, and which we may feel is the normal state of the friends of Christ.

There are hard questions connected with the state of the church, questions which we cannot settle, and our relief is, that "the Lord reigns,"

and that darkness and sin and sorrow will yet flee before him, and in due time He will say, "Behold ! I make *all things new*."

I know not when we shall be able to send you another mite. Our new church has cost us more than we anticipated, yea, twice as much. Our bills are not yet all brought in ; but we think the building, bell, and other appurtenances, have cost some \$15,000. Our people have given nobly, and out of what Americans would call deep poverty. This work has, of course, diverted a large share of their funds, and still many out-stations are unprovided with substantial meeting-houses. So long, however, as my counsels shall prevail, your Society will not be the first to be neglected. It gives us great pleasure to co-operate according to the small ability God gives us, in your work of faith and love, and we do pray the God of all grace to comfort and strengthen you, and all your fellow-laborers, to hear your prayers, and to crown your toils with glorious success. We shall soon pass from this earthly theatre of action, and should God in infinite mercy grant that we may reach a world beyond the reach of base and earth-born passions, we shall never regret the little toil and care he has enabled us to bestow on this blessed cause. In fraternal sympathy and Christian love,

T. COAN.

LETTER FROM HON. AMASA WALKER.

London, July 27th, 1859.

Dear Sir, — Agreeably to my promise I write, to give you some account of my observations in regard to the Peace cause in England. On my way to this place, I passed through Birmingham, intending to present the Resolutions of Condolence which were sent by my hands, from the American Peace Society, to the family of the late lamented Joseph Sturge. I was prevented from doing so by the absence of the family from town ; but I left them in charge of Charles Sturge, brother of the deceased, by whom they will be duly conveyed to Mrs. Sturge. There is one uniform and heartfelt expression of regret at the death of Joseph Sturge. He undoubtedly occupied the highest position as a philanthropist, of any man living ; and his loss is deeply felt. He was not only a life-long peace man, but he was an equally devoted temperance and anti-slavery man, and engaged, to the day of his death, in the most active measures to promote the education and moral and social elevation of the working classes.

On my arrival at this place, I visited our good old friend and faithful co-laborer, Rev. Henry Richards, Secretary of the London Peace Society, and found him at his post, actively engaged in the duties of his position. Upon laying the Resolutions of the American Peace Society on the subject of mutual and simultaneous disarmament before him, he proposed at once to call together the friends of the cause in London and its neighborhood, to take those Resolutions into consideration, and upon the 18th of July, I had the pleasure of meeting them at the office of the London Society.

The resolutions were read and considered, and met the hearty approval of all present. They were cordially responded to in a series of resolutions, a copy of which I presume you will find in the next number of the *Herald of Peace*. Our meeting was an interesting and encouraging one. A few days afterwards I met, by invitation, a large number of the friends of Peace at a very pleasant soiree, at the charming residence of John Morley, Esq., at Heath Lodge, near Croyden, about ten miles from London. The English people know how to get up re-unions of this kind in a very agreeable and effective manner. Amongst the guests were Charles Gilpin, Esq., M. P., and now a member of the ministry, and several other persons well known as devoted friends of Peace. I had, by request of the company assembled, a good opportunity of giving a statement respecting the Peace cause in America, and our feelings in regard to the propriety of uniting and concentrating all efforts of the friends of the cause in favor of **DISARMAMENT**. In this all seemed to concur. Indeed, in all the circles to which I have since been introduced, and with all the individuals with whom I have conversed, the proposition meets with approval. It is thought to be the most promising and effective measure that can be adopted, especially at this time, when public attention is being called to the subject by the leading statesmen of the day.

In the debate which took place in the House of Commons (on 23d, I think) the idea of general and simultaneous *disarmament* was brought forward by Lord John Russell, Mr. D'Iraelli and Mr. Bright; and it is a theme of general discussion in all the newspapers. This is a novel state of things. A few years since, when Mr. Cobden introduced the proposition into Parliament, it was scouted; and no one thing contributed more to the defeat of that distinguished man at the next election, than this attempt to turn public attention in the right direction.

But his efforts were not lost, the idea was inaugurated, Mr. Cobden has been triumphantly returned to Parliament, and offered a place in the Queen's Cabinet! Such is the reward which this honest and faithful public servant has received, and his position to-day, as the man of the people, is stronger than any other statesman in England, if we except the noble John Bright, who seems to stand on an equally elevated and popular platform.

The change which has come over public sentiment in regard to the necessity of putting a stop to the wasteful and idle system of insane and cowardly preparations for war in time of peace, is certainly very gratifying; and although we cannot reasonably hope, such is the strength of the military element in this country, that that system will be at once abolished, I do think that we may regard it as doomed, and that its accomplishment is only a question of time.

You will have learned, before this reaches you, that the people of England are suffering from one of their periodical attacks of fear of "a French Invasion." Nothing can be more absurd, yet it is real. The aristocracy whose interest it always is to promote the most extravagant expenditures for war-

like purposes, aided and abetted by its great organ the *Times*, are laboring but too successfully in creating a war panic; and although the knowing ones understand the game, the common people are frightened out of their senses; and Parliament, the present session, votes about one hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars for military and naval purposes; a great increase over previous appropriations. Very fortunately the government has determined to lay an additional income tax of four pence on the pound to meet this increase of expenditure. This brings the matter home to the pockets of the people, and causes them to grumble badly. The effect of this measure, however, is good, for it leads men to reflect more seriously than they would otherwise do, on the *occasion* for such increased taxation; and they listen more attentively to any proposition which will relieve them of such a necessity in future.

With one thing I have really been much amused since I came here, and that is, that almost everybody I have conversed with on public affairs, has said to me, 'if France was to attempt the subjugation of England, would not the United States help us?' It is really laughable, but nevertheless a fact, that the common people who are much frightened about a French invasion, do turn their eyes across the Atlantic with the strong hope that, in any great emergency, we should assist them; that we, who have never exhausted our energies and expended our resources, to any great extent, in preparations for war in time of peace; that we, whose standing army is not a tenth, or perhaps twentieth part of that of Great Britain, should afford assistance to her in her hour of need! That we could do so effectually, there is no doubt; that our sympathies are with England is equally true; but that we shall ever be called upon for such a service is entirely improbable. But if the great cause of constitutional freedom were endangered, there can be no question on which side the influence of the United States would be thrown.

I have now an invitation to attend the annual Peace and Temperance Festival, at the baronial residence of our mutual friend, Doctor Lee, at Hartwell Park. Should I be able to be present on that occasion, I shall give you an account of it hereafter.

I am very truly yours,

AMASA WALKER.

WAR PREEMINENTLY DEPLORABLE IN SUCH AN AGE AS THIS.—War is at any time, and under any circumstances, an infinite calamity; but it may be confidently affirmed that in no age since the world began could it have inflicted such wide-spread ruin and misery on mankind as it would, if it broke forth at such a time as this in the midst of Europe, with its wonderful system of industry, commerce and credit, binding the nations together, and with the unparalleled progress it has made within the last fifty years in all the arts of civilization and peace. Even the bare apprehension of war is found, in such a state of society, to be pregnant with incalculable mischief, exciting dangerous passions, deranging all relations of trade, and still further aggravating the evil, already so oppressive, arising from that fatal rivalry in military preparations during peace, by which all the governments of Christendom are involving themselves in manifold and endless embarrassments.

COMMON-SENSE STATESMANSHIP.

BAYARD TAYLOR's sketch of the *Farmer-Legislature* of Norway, contains not a little food for useful thought :—

"I was indebted," he says, "to Professor Munck for a sight of the *Storthing*, or National Legislative Assembly, which is at present in session. The appearance and conduct of the body strikingly reminded me of one of our State Legislatures. The members were plain, practical looking men, chosen from all classes, and without any distinguishing mark of dress. The Speaker was quite a young man, with a moustache. Schweigaard, the first jurist in Norway, was speaking as we entered. The Norwegian Constitution has been in operation forty-three years, and its provisions, in most respects so just and liberal, have been most thoroughly and satisfactorily tested. The Swedes, and a small conservative party in Norway, would willingly see the powers of the *Storthing* curtailed a little; but the people know now what they have got, and are further than ever from yielding any part of it. In the house of almost every Norwegian farmer, one sees the Constitution, with the fac simile autographs of its signers, framed and conspicuously hung up. The reproach has been made that it is not an original instrument—that it is merely a translation of the Spanish Constitution of 1812, a copy of the French Constitution of 1791, &c.—but it is none the worse for that. Its framers at least had the wisdom to produce the right thing at the right time, and, by their resolute and determined attitude, to change the subject province into a free and independent State; for, carefully guarded as it is, the union with Sweden is a source of strength and security."

One peculiarity of the *Storthing* is, that a majority of its members are, and must necessarily be, farmers, whence Norway is sometimes nicknamed the *Farmer State*. Naturally, they take very good care of their own interests, one of their first steps being to abolish all taxes on *landed* property; but in other respects I cannot learn that their rule is not as equitable as that of most legislative bodies. Mugge, in his recently published *Northern Picture-Book*, gives an account of a conversation which he had with a Swedish Statesman on this subject. The latter was complaining of the stubbornness and ignorance of the Norwegian farmers. Mugge asked:

The *Storthing*, then, consists of a majority of coarse and ignorant people?

Statesman.—"I will not assert that. A certain practical understanding cannot be denied to most of these farmers, and they often give their sons a good education before giving them the charge of the paternal fields. One therefore finds in the country many accomplished men. How could there be 700 students in Christiania, if there were not many farmers' sons among them?"

Author.—But does this majority of farmers in the *Storthing* commit absurdities? Does it govern the country badly, burden it with debts or enact unjust laws?

Statesman.—"That cannot exactly be admitted, although this majority naturally gives its own interests the preference, and shapes the government accordingly. The State has no debts; on the contrary, its treasury is full, an abundance of silver, its bank-notes in demand, order everywhere, and, as you see, an increase of prosperity, with a flourishing commerce. Here lies a statement before me, according to which, in the last six months alone, more than a hundred vessels have been launched at the different ports."

Author.—The *Farmer-Legislature*, then, takes care of itself, but is niggardly and avaricious when its own interests are not concerned?

Statesman.—"It is a peculiar state of affairs. In very many respects,

this reproach cannot be made against the farmers. If anything is to be done for science, or for so-called utilitarian objects, they are always ready to give money. If a deserving man is to be assisted, if means are wanted for beneficial purposes, Insane Asylums, Hospitals, Schools, and such-like Institutions, the Council of State are always sure that they will encounter no opposition. On other occasions, however, these lords of the land are as hard and tough as Norwegian pines, and button up their pockets so tight that not a dollar drops out.

Author.—On what occasions ?

Statesman.—‘Why, you see, (shrugging his shoulders,) these farmers have not the least comprehension of statesmanship! As soon as there is any talk of appropriations for increasing the army, or the number of officers, or the pay of foreign ministers, or the salaries of high official persons, or anything of that sort, you can’t do anything with them!’

Author, (to himself.)—God keep them a long time without a comprehension of statesmanship! If I were a member of the Storting, I would have as thick a head as the rest of them.

ARMIES FATAL TO FREEDOM.

ARE we resolutely to shut our eyes to the lessons of history on this subject? How were the liberties of Rome destroyed? Precisely in this way—the extent of her conquests compelled her to maintain immense armies in her remote provinces; and these, when summoned back, became the willing instruments of tyranny at home. “The decline of Rome,” says Gibbon, “was the natural and inevitable effect of immoderate greatness. Prosperity ripened the principle of decay; the causes of destruction multiplied with the extent of conquest; and as soon as time or accident had removed the artificial supports, the stupendous fabric yielded to the pressure of its own weight. The story of its ruin is simple and obvious; and, instead of inquiring *why* the Roman Empire was destroyed, we should rather be surprised that it had subsisted so long. *The victorious legions, who in distant wars acquired the vices of strangers and mercenaries, first oppressed the freedom of the republic, and afterwards violated the majesty of the purple.*”

But, much more recently, and much nearer home, we have had a warning example, which it would be the height of infatuation to overlook. There can be but one sentiment, and that of deep execration, at the atrocious and dastardly attempt lately (1858) made upon the life of the Emperor of the French; but amid all our horror and indignation of that crime, we must not forget that the state of things in that country is such as no friend of freedom can look upon without bitter regret. Every trace of liberty has vanished. The noblest minds of France are either in exile, or so fettered, gagged and humiliated, that they dare not give any utterance to their thoughts. And by what means has a country of thirty-six millions of souls, certainly among the most intelligent and civilised on the face of the earth, been brought to this condition of abject political servitude? What was the instrument of their enslavement and degradation? We entreat our readers to mark this answer—the *Army of Algeria*. It will be found that this is strictly correct. The officers who were the ready implements for suppressing every trace of liberal institutions in France—your Bugeauds and St. Arnauts,—were men who had been trained in that school of African conquest. The men who had fleshed their swords upon the Arabs, were equally ready, when occasion came, to strangle the liberties of their own country, and to sweep the streets and boulevards of Paris with their dastardly and deadly fusillades.—*Herald of Peace.*

PROGRESS OF PEACE VIEWS IN ENGLAND.

It is sometimes doubted, though only by persons not well informed on the subject, whether the efforts in the cause of peace have really produced as yet any change in public opinion, or had any effect in either preventing war, or altering the policy of rulers. On this question, so far as respects England, we see from a late French paper, the *Journal des Debts*, how intelligent minds in France, and all over the continent, view the matter :—

“ England has just caused a strange surprise, not to Europe only, but to those statesmen who fancied they knew her best, to those among her own great citizens who thought they were perfectly certain to lead her. For the first time perhaps in her history she has allowed a great war to commence and continue, a re-arrangement of territory to be announced and accomplished, not only without taking part in it, but with the firm resolution of having nothing to do with it. She has imposed this resolution on her statesmen; she has watched with jealous attention, lest they might be tempted to disobey her; she has forbidden them to entertain the slightest intention of mixing up with this conflict the name and arms of the English people; and so well has she succeeded in this difficult design, that the war was brought to a close, and peace re-established in Europe, without England's taking any greater part in it than Portugal or Denmark.

The ministers who, true to the tradition of their country, formed a different idea of her interests and duties, no more succeeded in moving her than Don Quixote did in carrying off that celebrated wooden horse on which he fancied he could travel through the vast fields of air. It was in vain they let off crackers near the ears of the peaceful animal, and put squibs under his tail; nothing stirred his inflexible immobility, and, after all this alarm, he found himself in the same place as at first. But the question is, whether England finds herself, at the end of this episode, in the same place as at the beginning, and whether she comes out of this trial as intact as Don Quixote's steed.

First of all, let us inquire what were the chief causes of England's taking so new and decided an attitude in the great crisis we have just passed through. Above all, it was that increasing disgust of war, which, in the nineteenth century, is both the glory and the weakness of civilized communities. It must be admitted that England never manifested greater repugnance to war, or greater attachment to peace, than during the first months of this year. It is not only, as people are too fond of saying, the immense development of material interests, that makes nations, when they have the control of their own destinies, so slow as to have recourse to arms; it is a general sentiment of humanity; it is a greater respect for human life, a livelier consciousness of the manifold evils brought by war, and of the responsibility attaching to those who let loose such a scourge upon the world without absolute necessity. If these ideas exercise at the present day a great influence upon the Continent itself; if the most warlike nation in the world has felt their constraining power, what action must they not have upon England, laden, as she indeed is, with the most genial blessings of modern civilization, accustomed more and more to internal peace, to labour, order and liberty, and the peaceful enjoyment of the greatest blessings that nations can desire?

Not only are the English inclined in these days to consider war barbarous, but a considerable part of the English public, deeply imbued with Christian ideas, regard it as a sin. They hesitate long, they weigh all the circumstances, before admitting this right of drawing the sword, which a

short time back gave so little trouble to the conscience of nations or sovereigns. This tolerably numerous portion of the public have come by degrees to apply to the conduct of nations those absolute maxims that constitute the ideal of the Christian life. They do not go so far as to say that the duty of a people, like that of a martyr, is to suffer itself to be immolated, nor even to turn the cheek to the smiter; but they concede to a people nothing beyond the right of defending its existence, and they deny its right of raising itself as formerly, or maintaining itself by arms amidst the recurring conflicts that agitate the world. They have thus invented a sort of catechism for the use of nations that was utterly unknown to Elizabeth, Cromwell, and Pitt, and which Louis XIV. and Napoleon, if they take an interest about such things in the other world, must bitterly regret not to have seen disseminated and put in practice earlier among the English people."

This we take to be a pretty fair and just statement of the change which the friends of peace in England have already effected in her sentiments and her policy. The change is clearly due to their influence; and it is a signal achievement. When there in 1843 and again in 1851, we found them assailed with obliquay and reproach for their bold, earnest, persistent advocacy of the policy which has at length won a triumph so complete and decisive as to be adopted by all parties, and proclaimed from the throne itself. It is thus that the cause of peace is silently and slowly, yet surely working itself, first into the minds of the people, and finally into the views and policy of governments. The victory cost many years of strenuous effort; but its present and prospective results will be worth a thousandfold more than all it has cost.

It is, however, amazing to observe how little credit the friends of peace get for all this. The very men and presses in England that have come so fully into these new views, the views they had so long scouted and scorned, continue still to misrepresent and abuse the friends of peace almost as much as ever. We care little, however, for the credit, except that it would increase our power to promote this great cause, and may well be content if we can see our principles thus prevail among both rulers and people. How very few among ourselves dream, because they stop not to inquire, how much it has already accomplished.

THE WAGES OF WAR.

There is a well-known picture by one of our most eminent American painters, entitled 'The Wages of War,' in which, amid much garniture of ruin, a soldier-hero lies prone in death, his brow yet helmeted, and his hand clutching the hilt of his broken sword, while near by a widowed form, with disheveled hair and streaming eyes, leans against a mausoleum, where lies buried her bosom companion, her light of life, stricken down in his prime on the field of blood. The picture is eloquent of desolation. A charred and gory field, cottages smouldering in fiery ruin, women and children flying in terror, men and horses piled in mangled masses, the air dun and sulphurous—these are the awful shadows flitting athwart the scene, giving a glimpse of the horrors and woes of war.

Yet, suggestive as the picture is, it fails, like every limning of pencil or pen, infinitely short of portraying the tremendous ruin everywhere hovering on the track of battle—of cities sacked, of hamlets razed, of innocence smitten down with guilt, of ages and sexes confounded, and for its

thousand years the earth made one wide human slaughter-house. What picture — what fancy, even, can take in this awful spectacle, paramount among all peoples and through all the ages? What figures can measure the crime, the sorrow, the wretchedness, which have gone to make up the total wages of war? Reckon a single great conquest or conflict; and while the product shocks the soul, multiply it by thousands and tens of thousands, upon public calamity heap private misery, to wasted treasures add desolated homes, to the patient grief of the orator, who bewails the chiefs, add the myriad sighs and cries of widows and orphans bewailing the dead fathers, husbands, brothers, sons, given forth to the kites, and to manure the earth; and the length and breadth of the empire of Mars begins to dawn.

Still in spite of all this palpable ruin — the trillionth part of which, wrought on a private scale, would brand man a murderer and fiend — in spite, too, of the peaceful dispensation which has been proclaimed these eighteen centuries past, the spirit of which is claimed to lie at the basis of the ruling nations of the earth, the throat-cutting soldier is the dominant hero, and war the uppermost concern of the world. Historian and bard hasten first to record and sing the story and the glory of battle. God is invoked to smile on either and every side of the conflict; in His name sound the trumpets to the carnage, and in His name are the nameless dead huddled into their unmarked graves. And of every hundred who feed this holocaust of War, ninety-nine have no quarrel, or care to quarrel, with the ninety-nine against whom they are set. Dragged from quiet homes, from all they treasure or love, they are forced into a strife that beggars the ferocity of wild beasts, all in the name of honor, or to sate the pride or pique of kings.

Even now, with the blood shed in the Crimean War scarcely dried, and while the grief of widowhood and orphanage is fresh in tens of thousands of homes made desolate by that awful struggle, another cloud of battle rises over Europe, possibly to be dissipated by diplomacy, but as possibly to break in torrents of blood. And who that knows of the provocations to this threatened disaster, believes for a moment that it could happen if only the greatest good of the greatest number were consulted—if no ambition or caprice of despotism was to be served, no matter what millions of people perish, or live on but to suffer and weep. O, it is horrible in this century of Christian enlightenment, amid all this progress of science and art, that great Christian nations can be plunged into war for any cause short of absolute self-defence. When life or liberty is at stake, war may be tolerable, but never else. War for other causes is but murder, rapine, ruin! for one surge of which not all the heads of all the rulers on earth could atone."

The above article, and two others of like drift, we lately found on a single page of the *N. Y. Ledger*, a paper that has a circulation of 450,000 copies, and perhaps thrice or five times as many readers. Let all our papers just unite to spread light on this subject, and how surely and speedily must war cease. Let the friends of peace enlist so mighty an engine as the press far more than ever in our cause. They easily can, if they will.

A GRAND SCHEME OF PEACE BY NAPOLEON THE GREAT. — We find, that in a conversation which took place in the latter period of his life, referring to the designs he nourished if the Peace of Amiens had not been broken, he gave utterance to these memorable words: 'For me I meant to devote myself to the administration of affairs in France, and I believe that I should have accomplished wonders. I should have lost nothing on the side of glory, and gained how much on the side of happiness! I should have made the moral conquest of Europe, as I was on the eve of doing it

by arms. Of what lustre am I deprived ! I had a project for general peace by drawing all the powers to agree to an immense reduction of their standing armies. And then, perhaps, as intelligence became universally diffused, one might be permitted to dream of the application to the great European family of an institution like the American Congress, or that of the Amphictyons in Greece ; and then what a perspective before us of greatness, of happiness, of prosperity ! what a grand and magnificent spectacle !"

SKETCHES OF THE ITALIAN WAR.

This war has been, in its general features, very like all preceding wars ; but we think it well to cull from it a few illustrations of the custom in this meridian of the nineteenth century.

BOTH PARTIES ACTING ONLY IN SELF-DEFENCE !

AUSTRIAN MANIFESTO.—I have, says the Emperor, ordered my faithful and gallant army to put a stop to the inimical acts which for a series of years have been committed by the neighboring State of Sardinia against the indisputable rights of my Crown, and against the integrity of the realm placed by God under my care, which acts have lately attained the very highest point. By so doing I have fulfilled the painful but unavoidable duty of a Sovereign. *My conscience being at rest*, I can look up to an omnipotent God, and patiently await His award. With confidence I leave my decision to the impartial judgment of contemporaneous and future generations.

I have ordered my army to enter Sardinia. I am aware of the vast importance of the measure ; and if ever my duties as a Monarch weighed heavily upon me, it is at this moment. War is the scourge of mankind. I see with sorrow that the lives and property of thousands of my subjects are imperiled, and deeply feel what a severe trial war is for my realm, which being occupied with its internal development, greatly requires the continuance of peace. But the heart of the Monarch must be silent at the command of honor and duty. * * * The sword which I have been forced to draw, is sanctified as a defence for the honor and rights of all people and states. * * * Our struggle is a just one ; and we begin it with courage and confidence.

SARDINIAN PROCLAMATION.--Soldiers ! Austria, who is increasing her armies on our frontier, and threatens to invade our territory because here liberty reigns with order, because not might, but concord and affection between the people and the Sovereign, here govern the State, because the groans of oppressed Italy here find an echo,—Austria dares to ask us, *who are armed only in self defence*, to lay down our arms and submit to her clemency. That insulting demand received the reply it deserved. I rejected it with contempt. Soldiers, I tell it to you, convinced that you will take an insult to your King and to your nation, as an insult to yourselves. The announcement I make to you is the announcement of war ! Soldiers, to arms !

You will have to face an enemy not new to you ; but, if brave and disciplined, you need not fear the comparison. I will lead you. I am sure that on the field of honor and of glory, you will maintain, even add to, your reputation for bravery. March, then, confident in victory, and twine new laurels round your flag, that tricolor under the folds of which the elite of the youth of Italy is collected, and which indicates to you that the task before you is the independence of Italy, that *just and holy work* which will be your battle-cry.

APOLOGIES FOR MAKING PEACE.

NAPOLÉON.—When, after a successful campaign of two months, the French and Sardinian armies pitched their camp before the walls of Verona, the struggle was evidently on the point of undergoing a change in a military as well as in a political point of view, I was fatally obliged to attack in front an enemy entrenched behind great fortresses, protected against any diversion on his flanks by the neutrality of the territories which surrounded him; and in commencing a long and sterile war of sieges, I found in the presence of me Europe in arms, ready either to dispute our success or to aggravate our reverses. It was necessary to resolve boldly to break through the barriers raised by neutral territories, and then to accept the struggle on the Rhine as well as on Adige. It came to this: to accept everywhere the support of revolution. More precious blood must have been shed, and enough has been shed already; in a word, to succeed, it was necessary to stake what no sovereign ought to stake, unless the independence of his country in danger. If, then, I stopped short, it was not from weariness or exhaustion, nor from abandonment of the noble cause I wished to serve, but because a louder voice spoke within my heart, "The interests of France!"

EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.—Under the conditions in which I was placed, it was my duty as a sovereign to take into serious consideration the propositions of peace which had been made to me. The consequences of the continuance of the war would have been so much the heavier, because I should have been obliged to demand from the faithful people of my dominions new sacrifices of blood and of money, much more considerable even than those which had been made up to that time. And notwithstanding success would have remained doubtful, since I have been so bitterly deceived in my well-founded hopes that this contest, not having been entered into for the defence of the rights of Austria only, I should not be left alone in it.

In spite of the ardent sympathy, worthy of acknowledgment, which the justice of our cause has inspired, for the most part, in the governments and peoples of Germany, our natural allies, most ancient allies, have obstinately refused to recognize the great importance of the grand question of the day. Consequently Austria would have been obliged all alone to face the events which were being prepared for, and which every day might have rendered more grave.

The honor of Austria coming intact out of this war, thanks to the heroic efforts of her valiant army, I have resolved, yielding to political considerations, to make a sacrifice for the re-establishment of peace, and to accept the preliminaries which ought to lead to its conclusion; for I have acquired the conviction that I should obtain in any event conditions less unfavorable in coming to a direct understanding with the Emperor of the French, without the blending of any third party whatsoever, than in causing to participate in the negotiations the three great powers which have taken no part in the struggle.

AFTER-SCENES OF BATTLE.

The two Emperors needed no excuse, besides the horrors which their own eyes must have witnessed, for putting so sudden an end to the war. We will sketch none of the battles, but will record a few specimens of the sufferings immediately consequent upon them.

HOW THE WOUNDED WERE CARRIED FROM THE FIELD.—The army allies seems not to be provided with any means of removing the wounded, but relies entirely upon the conveyances they can procure from the surrounding peasantry. Everything for miles around had been called into requisition. For the most part, they consisted of the rude, heavy ox-carts of the far-

mers, made to carry stone or other ponderous articles over the fields. Each of them had a flat platform six or eight feet wide, and twelve or fifteen long. Some hay was spread upon this, and upon that the wounded soldiers were placed as thickly as they could be laid, without shelter of any kind, or pillows for their heads, or blankets for their limbs, except such as they might happen to have upon them. The weather has been excessively warm, the storm on the day of the battle being the last rain that has fallen, and yesterday and to-day the sky has been perfectly clear, and the air heated with the warmest rays of an Italian sun. The roads are perfectly hard and very dusty, and it was utterly impossible for well persons to travel along them with any comfort without protection of some kind from the heat. You can judge, then, of the intense suffering which these thousands of maimed and mutilated creatures must have endured during that fearful journey of ten or fifteen miles, performed at the slowest pace of heaven oxen, and compelled constantly to stop by some interruption of the procession.

It was enough to melt the most obdurate heart to see the state in which they arrived. The peasants who drove them seemed not to have the slightest sense of their condition, or to take the least pains to alleviate their agony. Some of the soldiers themselves, whose wounds were less serious and permitted them to move about, had cut branches from the willows and other trees that border the road, and made of them a slight shade for some of those who could only lie upon their backs; their faces turned to the brazen and burning sky. As far as the eye could see, a dense cloud of white dust marked the approach of the advancing train. As the carts came into the town, many of the poor wretches stretched out their hands, piteously crying for water, or for wine, as they were perishing of thirst. The people of the village had prepared, so far as possible, for their reception. Committees had been appointed, a quantity of soup had been prepared, and the young women and men of the place went to work to supply the most pressing necessities of the poor creatures who were suffering on their behalf. They went about from cart to cart, asking what each needed, and provided for them to the best of their ability. Austrians and French were mingled indiscriminately, and were treated with precisely the same kindness and attention.

As a general thing, the Austrians were very badly wounded, and seemed to suffer terribly. They were, so far as had been convenient, placed upon the same carts, and frequently six or eight carts would arrive with none but Austrians upon them; but still more frequently there would be three or four Austrians upon a cart with twice as many French. In many cases I have seen a French soldier assisting the Austrian, who lay by his side, into some easier position, or endeavoring to procure for him water or something else of which he seemed to be in need. All differences of nationality were submerged in the intense and overmastering agonies of their common fate. Upon one cart which came up, lay an Austrian who had died on the road; and close by his side was a French soldier just able to raise himself from his place and beg for water. As he raised his head, he looked over at his companion, and said, as if envying his lot, 'Poor fellow! he needs nothing now.' The Austrian lay at full length upon the cart, his hands crossed upon his breast, and his face, which was turned directly upward to the sun, wearing an expression of intense suffering. Five or six others, less severely wounded, were sitting in front.

Upon another cart lay a poor fellow entirely naked above his waist, except a broad bandage which had been passed around his body to protect a frightful wound received from a musket ball in his side—the ball seemed to have passed entirely through his body—his face was pale and inexpressibly sad; and he had just strength enough left to lift himself up and beg for water. It was immediately brought; and as soon as his condition was perceived, he was lifted off the cart in the blanket on which he was lying, and

placed in the hall of the hospital ; but he lived only a few minutes longer. As they were lifting him out, the blanket was drawn from under the feet of another poor fellow lying in the same cart, and the motion extorted from him a cry of anguish more intense than I ever heard before.

But it is utterly useless to multiply notices of individual cases of suffering. Indeed, it would be impossible to mention a hundredth part of the instances of dreadful agony which attracted my special attention at the time ; and if each one of them could be described in writing, not even a faint impression would be given of the fearful horrors of the scene as it met the eyes of a spectator.

BATTLE OF MAGENTA—THE WOUNDED AMONG THE VICTORS.—The Milanese, immediately after the Austrian evacuation, sent up a train to fetch the wounded. As they were found, they were brought in succession to the station by the soldiers, a detachment of two companies of the first Fusiliers of the Guard. At the station, the surgeons were in attendance to apply the first dressing, and the trains from Milan went to and fro to carry them off. The trains consisted of nothing but third-class carriages and good wagons, partly covered, partly open. Those who were only slightly wounded, and could walk, were put into the carriages, while the others were laid in the good wagons, which were made as soft as the circumstances admitted by putting straw and hay at the bottom. To these the unfortunate wretches were carried in agonies of pain caused by the movement. A large barrel of cooling drink, made of water and syrup, was near, as well as another filled with wine, with which to assuage the fiery thirst caused by their wounds. Boughs were cut to make an awning, so as to protect the miserable inmates from the rays of a real Italian sun.

This station, and the railway train itself, were certainly the most shocking scenes of misery which one can possibly conceive. It was the darkest side of a brilliant victory, looking behind the scenes by daylight ; the wounded in all stages of agony and pain, only half-clad, torn dusty, and muddy, in their own blood. The priests walking about with the viaticum to administer the last sacrament to the dying ; the glazed eye of death in some showing that they had ceased to suffer ; the working eyes of others and the kneeling priest before them, showing that they were on the point of sighing their last. Near them were others whom you would have thought dead, had it not been for the imperceptible movement of the eye, or a convulsive twist of the limb. You became involuntarily silent when you entered and took off your cap at the sight of so much misery. Even the lively French soldiers who ministered to the wants of these defaced specimens of humanity, became grave ; and this dead silence was only broken from time to time by the words of the priest, a faint sob, a frantic shriek, or a weak sigh. You forgot almost that here was a *victory* to redeem the dark scene, and these men who would otherwise have peacefully followed their domestic occupations, were summoned to expose themselves to all this for a cause which is not their own, which they know nothing about, nor care for. It was indeed a hard lot.

But it was, above all, when the wounded had to be moved to the carriages that the neighborhood became almost intolerable. Such shrieks, such pale faces contracted by pain, such torn limbs ! The soldiers ordered to transport them seemed to forget everything in their anxiety to alleviate the pain of the sufferers. Philanthropists would have been touched by so much care, and the cynic might have sneered at the idea that the very men who had made the wounds, should now try to cure the mischief, ready to begin again.

SUFFERINGS OF THE WOUNDED.—As a general thing the wounded made but little noise. Many of them were too much exhausted, none of

them cried aloud, and comparatively few could be heard to groan. But there was no mistaking the expression of their faces, which spoke of intense agony in spite of all their efforts to suppress and conquer it. As I was riding through the principal street in Castiglione this afternoon, passing the largest hospital, I saw lying in the street, close to the wall fifty or sixty Austrian wounded who had just been brought in from the field, and for whom no place within the building could yet be found. One of them, a large, powerful man, with an intelligent face, was sitting upright, with his back against the wall, uttering with a chattering sound the most intense and heart-rending yells of pain. He looked eagerly into the face of every one who passed, as if he must have help; but he could only await his turn. In another part of the town, on a cross-road leading from the hill in front of Solferino, I met twenty-one ox-carts laden with Austrians in every stage of suffering. One of the carts contained but two, and in the extremity of their agony they had half risen to their knees, grappled one another by the shoulder, and were gazing into one another's faces with a fixed and stony look of frenzied horror which I shall never forget.

A CHURCH TURNED INTO A HOSPITAL.—Just before dark on Sunday evening, I looked into the large church in this place, to which the greatest number of the wounded were taken. It was a Catholic Church, of course, as there are no others here. All the furniture of every kind had been taken out, from the altar and side chapels, as well as from the nave of the building; and upon rows of mattresses extended lengthwise upon the stone floor, as closely as they could lie, the wounded were placed. All whose injuries would permit their removal, had been taken away, and sent on to Montechiaro, Brescia and other towns, and only those were left who seemed very near their end. In one side chapel lay eight Austrians, two or three gasping for breath, and in the very act of dying, and not one of the whole eight could possibly, it seemed to me, live an hour. The entire floor was covered with the poor victims of war, nearly all rapidly approaching the same extremity. Men and women charged with the care of them, were passing to and fro, not to soothe or comfort the dying, for there was no time for that, but looking for those who might still be saved. Over the altar, looking down upon this horrid scene, was an immense, well-painted, life-like picture illustrating the Sermon on the Mount, and representing the Redeemer saying to those about him, '*Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the Children of God.*' What an awful comment upon that sacred text!

A GLIMPSE OF A BATTLE-FIELD THREE DAYS AFTER THE BATTLE.—Muskets, some broken, but most of them quite uninjured, lay all over the field. Cartridges unused, in immense quantities, were strewn about; balls of all kinds could be picked up everywhere, though many had sunk into the earth; ramrods, bayonets, priming tubes, and all the little utensils of war lay around; bits of clothing, gloves, belts, pocket combs such as soldiers carry, and great quantities of letters, were strewn about in every direction; and at least a hundred dead horses could be seen from any point where you might choose to stand, some torn almost asunder by cannon balls, some pierced in the side by grape-shot, and others with their legs completely shot away. A surface of level ground, embracing, according to the best estimate I could make, *not less than six square miles*, was densely covered with these ghastly relics of the fight. I could not spend much time in traversing the field; for the bodies, owing to the intense heat, were in an advanced stage of decomposition, and the stench was overpowering!

A SIGHT OF THE DEAD.—The plain of Guidizzollo, a part of the battle-field of Solferino, is really horrible to look upon. The dead were to be seen in groups of twenty and thirty, huddled together in one spot, where a shell

had exploded, or the Chasseurs d'Afrique had passed. All still maintained the attitude in which death had struck them down. Here was one with uplifted arm to ward off the blow which had split open his skull, and splashed his brains far and near. Close by was another, with his hand upon his breast shivered and rent by the grape. Another seemed to be smiling, as if in mockery of the grim warrior's approach. Some were lying upon their backs, with faces turned towards heaven, and prayers still seeming to linger upon their lips. Further on there was a Hungarian, who had thrust his clothes into a ghastly wound near the heart. At his left was a Tyrolese, with the unused cartridge between his teeth. To the right, a Croat had his head cut off by a ball, and the head was by his side, with its horrible eyes, glaring and leering, as it seemed, at the dismembered body. Two young lads, of certainly not more than sixteen, were lying in each other's arms. Death had surprised them in that attitude; or, perhaps, feeling themselves about to die, they had clung together in a last embrace, and had fallen thus never to rise again. Upon the body of a Bohemian officer we noticed a dog, waiting apparently for his master to get up! We had not the heart to call off the faithful animal by a word or a gesture, for we felt sure that God would reward the devotion of this poor dumb creature, so touchingly shown amidst the carnage which man had waged against his fellow man. On every side it was the same. Death, in his most horrible and ghastly form, glared at us, no matter where we gazed.

HOW SOLDIERS ARE BURIED.—At one point by the side of the road, ten or fifteen peasants were burying the dead. They gathered them from the field upon hand-barrows, from which they were rolled into the hollow places on the road side, from which gravel had been taken to repair the track, and after five or six, or as many as the space would hold, had been tumbled in, a foot or two of dirt was shoveled over them. No attempt was made to remove any of their clothing, or to lay them side by side, or in any particular position. They were tumbled in just as it happened, and were covered up just as they chanced to fall. In many cases, they were lain lengthwise, in single file, and then covered over, a single row being next put in, then a third, a fourth, and so on. In this way over two hundred had been buried in a single place.

A TERRIBLE AGGREGATE.—The general opinion, says one writing from Solferino, appears to be that the total of slain and mutilated in this one engagement will not be found to fall far short of 40,000 or 50,000. At Magenta the local authorities are said to have stated that they actually buried 13,000. The wounded in the late battle, therefore, probably amounted to 25,000 or 30,000. Looking at the previous losses on both sides, at Palestro, and in the various contests conducted by Garibaldi, to say nothing of those who have perished in crossing the Alps, and in other movements, it will be a moderate calculation to suppose, that the tale of blood and misery now numbers at least 130,000 victims! Reckoning the number of parents, brothers and sisters of all this host, 600,000 or 700,000 survivors must also be suffering the deepest anguish.

FEELINGS IN BATTLE.—Our officers, says a young French officer, describing his first battle, kept us back, for we were not numerous enough to charge upon the enemy. This was, moreover, most prudent; for this murderous fire, so fatal to the white coats, did us but little harm. Our conical balls penetrated their dense masses, while those of the Austrians whistled past our ears, and respected our persons. It was the first time I had faced fire, nor was I the only one. Well, I am satisfied with myself. True, I dodged the first balls; but Henry IV., they say, did the same at the

beginning of every battle. It is, in fact, a physical effect, independent of the will.

But this tribute paid, if you could only feel how each shot electrifies you. It is like a whip on a racer's legs. The balls whistle past you, turn up the earth around you, kill one, wound another, and you hardly notice them. *You grow intoxicated. The smell of gunpowder mounts to your brain.* The eye becomes blood-shot, and the look is fixed upon the enemy. There is something of all the passions in that terrible passion excited in a soldier by the sight of blood, and the tumult of battle. Everybody who has tried it, testifies to the peculiar intoxication produced by being in a battle. *There is an infatuating influence about the smell of powder, the shrill whistle of a bullet, and the sight of human blood, that instantly transforms men from cowards to heroes; from women sometimes to monsters.* None can tell of the nature or mystery of that influence, but those who have been in the affray themselves.

CHRISTIAN STATESMANSHIP.

My belief is, says Lord Derby, that the policy of England, which is best calculated to maintain the peace of the world, is, in the first place, a firm but temperate maintenance of our own rights; in the next place, a studious and careful recognition of, and respect for, the rights of others, together with an anxious desire not to interfere unnecessarily with the internal affairs of other states; and also a determination not willingly to give or take offence, and a determination, *if offence unhappily arise, to have reference to the principle which, to its endless honor, was embodied in the protocols of the Conference of Paris, viz: to resort in the first instance, not to hostilities, but to the good offices and mediation of some friendly power.*"

It should be remembered that this new measure of peace, a resort to mediation in place of the sword, was adopted by the Paris Congress of 1856, and recommended to all nations, through the special agency of the friends of peace. It was the result of discussions and efforts, continued by them for a whole generation, and culminating in the appeals made by the London Peace Society, first, to the British government, and finally to all the members of the Paris Congress. The credit is fairly due to our cause, and shows how surely, though slowly and silently, it is gaining its great ends.

OUR PUBLICATIONS—especially the Advocate, we are, by the aid of our friends, spreading more and more widely before the public. We think we are making clear and hopeful progress in these ways; but we much need, as we earnestly bespeak, the co-operation of our friends.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY'S FINANCES.—Its receipts, including a balance of \$1,228 from the previous account, are for the year \$10,885, and its expenses \$8,963, leaving on hand \$2,722 to start the operations of another year. The League of Brotherhood and Olive Leaf Circles, merged now in this Society, we find credited with \$611, and charged with \$1,100 nearly twice as much. Legacies have the last year yielded \$2,350; an amount, we believe, considerably larger than usual. One marked peculiarity of this Society's finances, is that they are so regular, uniform and reliable, essentially the same from year to year, in sunshine and in storm, because the outgrowth of Christian principle. How much does the cause need in our own country a similar basis for its support and prosperity.

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THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

FOR
NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER.

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1859.

THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1859.

THE PULPIT ON PEACE:

WILT IT PLEAD THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN EARNEST?

We surely might expect the Christian pulpit to enforce the claims of peace as one of its most favorite themes; and, if it *would* do this with the same spontaneous, habitual, persistent fidelity and zeal that it shows in pressing the obligations of repentance and faith, we should ere long see the pacific principles and spirit of the gospel leavening the mass of every Christian community, all war and all fear of war banished from Christendom, and her whole war-system, with its enormous evils for time and eternity, brought to a perpetual end. To this high service we have long been earnestly calling ministers of every Christian denomination; and had they heeded our oft-repeated appeals, by applying the gospel aright to the custom of war, we should doubtless have been spared the sight of so many hundred thousand lives sacrificed, and so many myriads on myriads of treasure wasted, all to so little purpose, in the Crimean and Italian wars.

We speak not at random, and beg preachers of the gospel to ponder well what we say. The power of the pulpit is proverbial, and able, under God, to undermine and sweep away in time the worst evils. Only open its moral batteries against war; and neither this nor any other custom can permanently stand before it. Are we not right in deeming it the *special* duty of Christian ministers to make such an application of the gospel to this crying sin and scourge of Christendom? Would they all unite in earnest for

this purpose, how certain and comparatively easy would be their triumph over this monster evil. Take only the Anglo-Saxon world ; and how much could they alone do, if they would, to put this practice under the ban of all Christendom. It is perhaps safe to reckon the number of preachers in the English language at nearly 100,000 ; and if these, scattered in Europe and America in Asia, Africa, and islands of the sea, would all combine their utmost efforts against this custom, they might, with moral certainty, bring it, before the close of the present generation, to an end in every Christian land.

It was such views as these that induced the Peace Society to start, more than a quarter of a century ago, the practice of requesting ministers of the gospel to preach at least once a year a set discourse on the subject of Peace. The plan met a ready response from ecclesiastical bodies representing nearly all denominations in our land. The time selected was the month of December, generally on or near Christmas ; and as that occurs this year on the Sabbath, we trust that a much larger number of ministers than usual will take the occasion to bring before their people the great theme of universal and permanent peace.

Fain would we press all Christian ministers into this service. How surely and easily might the forty thousand in our land create such a public opinion on this subject as would keep us from war in all future time, and supersede for ourselves the whole war system forever, by the introduction of rational, peaceful substitutes that would secure all its legitimate ends of justice and security far better than the sword ever did, or ever can. In effecting such a consummation, the pulpit must, by its quiet yet powerful, ubiquitous influence, take a leading part, especially by leavening the general mind with sentiments of Christian peace.

The events of the past year point to such a theme as strikingly appropriate just now ; nor do we see how any true ambassador of the Prince of Peace can fail, at such a time, to recognize its special claims upon his followers. Is it not more than time now to preach and practice this part of his gospel ? If such startling exhibitions of the folly, guilt and evils of war will not wake the pulpit to its duty on this subject, what ever can ? If the meeting of half a million of men, all of the same faith, in the very heart of Christendom, beneath the meridian blaze of this nineteenth century, for the set and sole purpose of mutual slaughter, sacrificing nearly two hundred thousand lives in two months, shall not have

the effect of constraining ministers of Christ to preach in earnest his gospel of peace against such an infernal custom, we must despair of ever seeing it applied effectively to this chief sin and curse of Christendom, until a new and better race of preachers shall arise. May the God of Peace make his servants in the Christian ministry faithful in this regard to their high and sacred trust !

THE CHIEF INSTRUMENTALITIES IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

MEANS are requisite for every end sought. In the cause of Peace we aim to do away the practice of nations adjusting their difficulties by the sword; and such a change can be effected only by influences that shall reach, with a steady, all-pervading efficacy, alike individuals, society and government. Clearly, all this cannot be done at once. War is a chronic evil; and having prevailed for so many thousand years in all lands, and thus become an organic disease of every community, it must require, for its entire and permanent cure, an immense amount of labor, continued every where through long ages. The very laws of the human mind forbid the hope of accomplishing in a day, or in a single generation, a change so vast and so difficult. It can come only as the result of such influences as shall bring the general mind into habitual, permanent accordance with the gospel on this subject. Such a reform can never be carried with a rush. We might as well expect from seed sown in the morning, to reap a full-grown crop at night. Peace is not such a mushroom, but a more than century plant, that must require long ages of incessant culture to make it bring forth its promised, appropriate fruit.

The reason is obvious. War is not merely an occasional outburst or offshoot of depravity, but a natural, inevitable result of those wrong habits in which our whole race, Christians as well as Pagans, have in all ages been educated, until it has become a kind of second nature. All this must be reversed. We must every where educate men anew on this subject. Such an education of society, such a re-casting of the general mind in the mould of the gospel, most assuredly would, but nothing short of this ever can, put an entire and perpetual end to war.

For such a consummation, we must of course set at work means permanently influential on the whole community. We must put

in operation the agencies that create or control public opinion on every subject of this sort. We must every where enlist the fire side and the pulpit, our schools and our presses, as the great nurseries of character, and main-springs of influence on the general mind. We must reach, above all, those higher seminaries of learning, in which are trained the chief law-givers of public opinion, the men that mould or sway society, and thus come in time to shape the policy of government — our legislators and teachers, our editors, authors, and professional men. Such leading agencies and all-pervading influences we must permanently enlist in active support of this cause, as our main reliance under God for its steady progress and ultimate triumph.

1. In the van of these instrumentalities, then, must stand the **PRESS**. Such it has ever been. Noah Worcester, the pioneer of our cause, seldom employed in person any other agency ; and in our own use of it we have been wont to expend the largest share of our money and labor. We have always issued a periodical as our organ , and its circulation has sometimes exceeded ten thousand copies. We have already stereotyped nearly a hundred tracts, and published a number of volumes, some of which have been scattered, by thousands and tens of thousands, through the land. Indeed, the press has been from the first our grand instrument ; and for every dollar of our small income, we have often circulated, in one way and another, an amount of matter equal to a thousand tract pages, one year more than thrice this amount, besides all we did for the cause in other ways.

The Periodical Press, however, we are most anxious to enlist ; for it is an engine of vast, ubiquitous power, whose aid we cannot forego in such a cause as this. There are supposed to be in our country more than four thousand newspapers, besides other periodicals ; and all these, having already (1859) a circulation of more than four hundred million sheets a year, we hope to press into the service of Peace. With this view, we induce as many as possible of our friends to write on the subject for the press, and furnish all our religious newspapers, and the most widely circulated of our secular ones, with our own periodical, and some of our other publications, as helps in bringing the question before the public. How many minds we thus reach, or how much light we spread before them, it is of course impossible to say ; but it is certainly a very hopeful way of sifting the subject into the community, keeps attention constantly awake more or less to its

importance, and can hardly fail to work in time a general and decisive change for the better. In no other way could we do so much by so small an outlay. It is drop by drop that wears away the rock; and by such silent, ceaseless attritions as these upon the public heart and conscience, we may hope yet to create a popular sentiment that shall at last frown all war from every land blessed with the light of the gospel.

2. Equally essential is the aid of the PULPIT; and every means in our power have we taken to enlist, in habitual advocacy of this cause, as many as possible of the thirty or forty thousand Christian ministers in our land. *We must have their co-operation.* They are God's chosen pioneers and champions in every such cause, and are able to plead and promote it as no other class in the community can. How much might they do for it, if they would! Speaking on God's day from God's word, they enjoy very peculiar means of access to the individual and the general conscience. They touch every where the great main-springs of moral power, and might, if they would, prevent all actual war in Christendom, and put an end ere long to her whole war system. It cannot live under their united, irrevocable ban. Often and earnestly have we reminded them of this high responsibility, urged them to exert their utmost power in behalf of this cause as peculiarly their own, and furnished them with our best helps in advocating its claims. We send our periodical gratuitously to every one that regularly preaches on the subject once a year, and gives his people an opportunity of contributing to the object. We bring it occasionally before ecclesiastical bodies; and repeatedly have we procured from them resolutions 'commending it as eminently entitled to the cordial cooperation and support of all Christians.' How much aid we may thus secure, we know not; but we believe that, despite the strange apathy of most ministers on the subject, there are in the aggregate, not a few already opening their minds to its importance, and pressing its claims upon their people. It needs, as one day it assuredly will receive, the spontaneous advocacy of all that deserve the name of ambassadors of the Prince of Peace.

To some extent, moreover, we ourselves employ the pulpit directly by our servants. We have sometimes had half a dozen lecturers in the field, besides a larger number of local agents; and we ought to have, as we trust we shall have in time, one or more in every State of the Union devoted entirely to this cause.

3. Besides all these auxiliaries, we endeavor to press into

our service the whole SYSTEM OF POPULAR EDUCATION. Here is the grand nursery of Peace. We must educate men everywhere into it; and fain would we make every fireside, every common and Sabbath school, all our higher seminaries of learning, habitual and effective coworkers in training every community to such habits as shall spontaneously keep the peace of the world.

Already is this process begun. Juster views are coming to prevail more and more in the education of the young; works less steeped in the war-spirit are now issued for their amusement as well as for their instruction; and we find in this respect a marked and very auspicious improvement in the text-books prepared for our common and higher seminaries. Society is slowly yet surely throwing off the exuviae of its old war habits, and forming in their place other habits more peaceful and Christian.

In this work we wish to enlist especially our higher institutions of learning. The future leaders of society, gathered in these nurseries of knowledge and character, must be won to right views on this subject; and hence we have conceived the plan of establishing in all our colleges and professional seminaries, premiums for essays on some topic connected with the cause of Peace. In every one of these two hundred or more institutions, we propose, as we have arrangements in progress for the purpose, to offer a prize of twenty or thirty dollars once in two or three years, often enough to keep the subject before every generation of students. The most important of these seminaries we have furnished with a set of our publications; and to them all we regularly send our periodical.

Such, then, are some of the chief instrumentalities set at work in the cause of Peace. Are they not clearly practicable and well adapted to the end in view? If used aright, would they not in time do away all war? Most men now look upon it as a necessity; but there is in truth no more need of it than there is of duelling, intemperance, or any other wrong practice. It exists solely because men choose it; its continuance depends entirely on their choice; and whenever they shall change that choice into a determination to have it cease, it *will* cease every where. All turns on public opinion; and such a change in that as we seek to produce would in time put an end to war and the war-system forever. To this consummation our whole system of efforts is steadily converging; and the indications of God's providence, as well as the promises of his word, give decisive assurance of ultimate success.

OBJECTIONS TO STIPULATED ARBITRATION.

THE intercourse of mankind will always be liable to misunderstandings ; and, for the peaceful adjustment of these, their common sense has from time immemorial provided some form of reference to umpires. When they could not agree among themselves, they selected others to decide for them. This principle, underlying all our courts of justice, we would extend to nations, first by having them expressly agree in their treaties, that they will submit to umpires, mutually chosen, all difficulties which they can not satisfactorily adjust between themselves, and finally by establishing a Congress of Nations to regulate their intercourse and settle their disputes without resort to arms. The latter, it may require ages to carry into full effect ; but the practice of stipulated arbitration may, with comparatively little delay of effort, be adopted with safety and success.

This substitute for the sword has already begun to gain the ear of statesmen in both hemispheres. So long ago as 1849, Richard Cobden, in response to more than 200,000 petitioners, moved in the House of Commons a resolution in favor of this measure, and obtained for it no less than eighty votes—the largest number ever given by that body at the outset for any new measure of like importance. In our own country we have been still more successful. Some half dozen of our State Legislatures, during their session in 1852–3, all before whom the subject was properly brought, passed resolutions, with entire unanimity in every case except one, decidedly in favor of stipulated arbitration as a substitute for war. It has also met with like favor from our national rulers. In 1851, the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations unanimously recommended the resolve, "that it would be proper and desirable for the government of these United States, whenever practicable, to secure, in its treaties with other nations, a provision for referring to the decision of umpires all future misunderstandings that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation." In 1853, Judge Underwood, of Kentucky, made, on behalf of the same committee, an able and elaborate report strongly in favor of the same measure. President Fillmore, and his Secretary of State, Edward Everett, declared their own readiness, after a careful examination of the subject, to insert such a provision in the treaty then pending between us and Great Britain ; and that treaty, when completed by their successors in

office, contained an express stipulation for the adjustment, by arbitration in the last resort, of all such misunderstandings *under the treaty* as could not be satisfactorily arranged between the parties themselves, and thus fell short of our wishes only in not extending this provision to *all disputes of every kind* that may ever arise. We had just before entered into a treaty with England for adjusting in the same way a large number of minor disputes; and the same principle has been incorporated in our two last treaties with Mexico. The great Peace Congress of Paris (1856) that closed the Crimean war, endorsed, in the name of all Europe, the same principle, and some of its governments are beginning to carry it into effect.

Thus is this great reform already started; and what we now need is to carry it forward until it shall become the permanent policy of all Christendom. This will of course take a long time; but it *can* be done; and we, for many reasons, are the nation, above all others, to lead the van of such a movement. The way is surely preparing for it; and even now public opinion, if not ripe enough to demand it, is quite ready to sanction and sustain it. We could, if we should attempt it in earnest, get England and France into the measure ere long; and if these three leading powers should by such a simple and easy precaution foreclose the chief dangers of war between themselves, their example, so rich in benign results, would soon be followed by minor states, and thus bring at length all civilized nations into a league of perpetual peace.

1. To such a measure, we see not what valid objection can be made. Do you deem it 'inconsistent with national dignity?' It certainly is honorable for individuals and minor communities to settle their disputes by reference to umpires; and why should it not be equally so for nations?

2. Perhaps you think 'governments will not thus *pledge* themselves *in advance*.' A plea quite untenable, because every treaty binds them in advance; and if we discard such pledges, we must abjure all treaties; but if they may pledge themselves on any point, they may equally well on this. Indeed, such a pledge in advance is the very thing needed to prevent a sudden rush to arms under the blind impulses of passion.

3. Do you deem 'arbitration *uncertain* in its results?' It cannot be half as uncertain as the sword; nor is there likely ever to occur any national dispute which it would not be far more safe to submit to arbitration than to the hazards of war.

4. Do you fear that 'the parties would violate their engagement?' True, they might; but no such fears deter us from other treaties; and why should they from this? A multitude of the most powerful motives would conspire to keep them faithful to a stipulation so preeminently important. Public opinion, already the virtual ruler of all civilized nations, and fast increasing in its power, would stand sentinel and security for the due observance of such a treaty. "There is," said Webster, "something greater on earth than arbitrary or despotic power. The lightning has its power, and the whirlwind has its power, and the earthquake has its power; but there is something among men more capable of shaking despotic thrones than lightning, whirlwind or earthquake; and that is the excited and aroused indignation of the whole civilized world."

5. Do you apprehend that 'we, being republicans, while other nations are nearly all monarchists, should have no fair or equal chance of justice?' Questions touching the peculiar forms of government in different countries, the sole hinge of this objection, never have been, nor ever will be, submitted to arbitration by any people, but only such disputes as men under any and every form of government may be equally qualified to decide aright. Nor is there any need of selecting rulers as umpires, instead of such men as a Mansfield or a Marshall, a Peel or a Webster; men in whose qualifications for the service the whole world would confide. Each party would unite, of course, in choosing the umpire; and this alone would be ample security for the rights of both.

NEGLECT OF PEACE—HOW STRANGE!

How strange, how awful, that to such a trade as war, mankind has, in all ages, lifted up its admiration! Poetry lends its fascinations, and philosophy its inventions. Eloquence, in forum and field, has wrought up the war spirit to fanaticism and phrenzy. Even the pulpit, whose legitimate and glorious theme is "PEACE ON EARTH," has not withheld its solemn sanctions. The tender sex, with strange infatuation, have admired the tinselled trappings of him whose trade is to make widows and orphans. Their hands have been withdrawn from the distaff, to embroider warrior's ensigns. The young mother has arrayed her proud boy with cap and feather, toyed him with drum and sword, and trained him, unconsciously, to love and admire the profession of a man-killer.

Scarcely has a voice been lifted up to spread the principles of peace

Every other principle of Christianity has had its apostles. Howard reformed prisoners. Sharp, and Clarkson, and Wilberforce arrested the slave trade. Carey carried the gospel to India. Every form of vice has its antagonists, and every class of sufferers find philanthropists. But who stands forth to urge the law of love? Who attacks the monster WAR? We have not waited for the millennium to abolish intemperance, or Sabbath breaking; but we do wait for it to abolish war. It is certain that the millennium cannot come till war expires.

Shall it so remain? Shall this gorgon of pride, corruption, destructiveness, misery and murder, be still admired and fed, while it is turning men's hearts to stone, and the garden of the Lord into the desolation of death? Let every heart say no. Let Christians shine before men as sons of peace, not less than as sons of justice and truth. If wars and rumors of wars continue, let the church stand aloof. It is time she was purged of this stain. Her brotherhood embraces all nations. Earthly rulers may tell us we have enemies; but our heavenly King commands us to return them good for evil; if they hunger, to feed them; if they thirst, to give them drink.

Rise then, Christians, to noble resolution and vigorous endeavors! Retire from military trainings, and spurn the thought of being hired by the month to rob and kill. Refuse to study the tactics, or practice the handicraft of death; and with "a hope that maketh not ashamed," proclaim the principles of *universal peace*, as part and parcel of eternal truth.

A portion of our missionary spirit should be expended in this department. Shall we pour out our money and our prayers, when we hear of a widow burnt on her husband's funeral pile, or deluded wretches crushed beneath the wheels of Juggernaut, but do nothing to dethrone this *Moloch* to whom hundreds of millions of Christians have been sacrificed? Among the fifty millions of the Presidency of Bengal, the average number of suttees (widows burned) were for twenty years not less than 500, or in the proportion of one death in a year for such a population as Philadelphia. What is this to war? Every *day* of some campaigns has cost more lives

H. M.

SIEGE OF MAGDEBURG,

The resistance by the besieged was long and obstinate; but at length two gates were forced open by the besiegers, and Tilly, marching a part of his infantry into the town, immediately occupied the principal streets, and with pointed cannon drove the citizens into their dwellings, there to await their destiny. Nor were they held long in suspense; a word from Tilly decided the fate of Magdeburg. Even a more humane general would have attempted in vain to restrain such soldiers; but Tilly never once made the attempt. The silence of their general left the soldiers masters of the citizens; and they broke, without restraint, into the houses to gratify every brutal appetite. The prayers of innocence excited some compassion in the hearts of the Germans, but none in the rude breasts of Pappenheim's Walloons. Scarcely had the massacre com-

menced, when the other gates were thrown open, and the cavalry, with the fearful hordes of Croats, poured in upon the devoted town.

Now began a scene of massacre and outrage which history has no language, poetry no pencil, to portray. Neither the innocence of childhood, nor the helplessness of old age, neither youth nor sex, neither rank nor beauty, could disarm the fury of the conquerors. Wives were dishonored in the very arms of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their parents, and the defenceless sex exposed to the double loss of virtue and life. No condition, however obscure, or however sacred, could afford protection against the cruelty or rapacity of the enemy. Fifty-three women were found in a single church with their heads cut off! The Croats amused themselves with throwing children into the flames, and Pappenheim's Walloons with stabbing infants at their mother's breasts! Some officers of the League, horror-struck at scenes so dreadful, ventured to remind Tilly, that he had it in his power to stop the carnage. "Re'turn in an hour," was his answer, "and I will see what is to be done; the soldier must have some recompense for his dangers and toils!"

No orders came from the general to check these horrors, which continued without abatement till the smoke and flames at last stopped the course of the plunderers. To increase the confusion, and break the resistance of the inhabitants, the invaders had, in the commencement of the assault, fired the town in several places; and a tempest now arose, and spread the flames with frightful rapidity, till the blaze became universal, and forced the victors to pause awhile in their work of rapine and carnage. The confusion was deepened by the clouds of smoke, the clash of swords, the heaps of dead bodies strewing the ground, the crash of falling ruins, and the streams of blood which ran along the streets. The atmosphere glowed; and the intolerable heat finally compelled even the murderers to take refuge in their camp. In less than twelve hours, this strong, populous and flourishing city, one of the finest in all Germany, was a heap of ashes, with the exception of only two churches, and a few houses.

Scarcely had the flames abated, when the soldiers returned to satiate anew their rage for plunder amid the ruins and ashes of the town. Multitudes were suffocated by the smoke; but many found rich booty in the cellars where the citizens had concealed their most valuable effects. At length Tilly himself appeared in the town after the streets had been cleared of ashes and corpses. Horrible and revolting to humanity was the scene that presented itself! The few survivors crawling from under the dead; little children wandering about, with heart-rending cries, in quest of their parents now no more; and infants still sucking the dead bodies of their mothers! More than five thousand bodies were thrown into the Elbe just to clear the streets; a far greater number had been consumed by the flames; the entire amount of the slaughter was estimated at thirty thousand; and in gratitude to the God of peace for such horrid success in the butchery of his children, for this triumph of Christian over Christian in blood, and fire, and rapine, and brutal lust, a solemn mass was performed, and *Te Deum* sung amid the discharge of artillery!!

PAUL RABAUT.

SAFETY OF PEACE PRINCIPLES IN PERSECUTION.

The dragonnades which preceded and followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, involved the Protestants in frightful peril, and witnessed many signal deliverances. Those of the Huguenots who took the sword, mostly perished by the sword; whilst very many of those who, when they suffered, threatened not, but committed themselves to Him that judgeth righteously, escaped.

The history of Paul Rabaut, one of the most earnest, devoted and daring of the "pastors of the desert," affords a striking illustration of this. He was born 9th January, 1718, and as he attained manhood, he entered upon the pastoral office, though it was an almost certain path to the gibbet or the wheel. Where he resided during the half century of his ministry, it would be difficult to say; for during almost the whole of that time, he was in hiding, and during a large part of it a price was set upon his head. So far from coinciding with his brethren in their armed resistance to the troops sent against them, he ever maintained that readiness to suffer martyrdom was the surest means of promoting the cause of Christ. On one occasion he met a party of armed men proceeding to liberate one of the Protestant pastors. His own arrest at that time seemed inevitable. He stopped them, and with tears earnestly besought them, that if he should fall into the hands of the persecutors, they would not embitter his last moments by attempting his rescue by force of arms; and he extracted from them a promise to this effect, as the only condition on which he would continue to hold the pastoral office. Though a proscribed outlaw, he preached constantly and boldly, and, in the proclamation of the gospel, encountered perils from which almost all, save himself, would have shrunk with terror. Yet he saw nearly all his associates cut off by violent and bloody deaths, whilst he died in his bed at the age of seventy-seven.

Among the vicissitudes of danger and escape which marked his adventurous life are the following. On one occasion his hiding-place was discovered, and he was traced to the house of a baker. The place was forthwith invested, and every avenue of escape blocked up. Hastily putting on the dress of a working baker, and dusting himself over with flour, he took an empty wine flask in his hand, and, as though going out to procure wine, boldly passed the sentinels, who failed to recognize him in his disguise, which was rendered more complete by his holding a rose in his mouth, thus hiding the lower part of his face.

Although Rabaut made every possible exertion for escaping the peril which beset him, and though he never had recourse to violence, yet he did not hesitate to face danger if the cause of Christ or of his brethren required it. When the prisons and galleys were crowded with Protestants, and the scaffolds were drenched with their blood, he alone ventured to address a petition to the Marquis de Palmy, governor of the province. He met him on the high road, surrounded by his guard of honor, fearlessly but respectfully accosted him, and made known his wishes. The marquis, charmed by his free, dauntless bearing, and the spirit of self devotion he evinced, conversed with him some time, and then generously let him go free. At that time his arrest would have been followed by his certain and immediate execution.

As intimidation was found ineffectual, and as the providence of God bore him harmless amidst all the attempts which were made upon his life, the government, in despair of silencing him by other means, offered him a large bribe if he would quit France. This he, of course, indignantly rejected, and he continued to preach, till at length his constancy was rewarded by his living to hear liberty of conscience and freedom of worship proclaimed by law.

But his perils were not yet over. In his old age the French revolution broke out, and notwithstanding his suffering in the cause of liberty, he was arrested by order of the Convention, and sentenced to the guillotine. His advanced years and infirmities failed to soften the hard hearts of the wretches who were sent by the Jacobin government to superintend the judicial murders at Nismes. Too feeble to walk, he was thrown across an ass, and thus conveyed to prison, whence he was only to come out to

the scaffold. But he was not forgotten, even in this the most perilous crisis of his adventurous life. The fall of Robespierre restored him, and thousands more, to liberty. Full of years, and with his death-bed surrounded by loving friends, "he fell asleep," on the 5th September, 1794, the sole survivor of the "pastors of the desert."

THE PRINCE OF PEACE.

His name shall be called, THE PRINCE OF PEACE. Isaiah.

By frequent use it hath passed into a proverb, that the darkest hour is nearest the dawn," or "man's extremity is God's opportunity." The sentiment of this proverb is expressed plainly in the song of Moses, spoken just before his ascent to the top of Pisgah to view the promised land and to die. "For the Lord shall judge His people, and repent Himself for His servants when He seeth that their power is gone, and that there is none shut up or left;" that is, as Henry hath it, "God's time to appear for the deliverance of His people, is when things are at the worst with them." How often and affectingly this truth is illustrated in the history of Israel, in their deep straits and surprising deliverances, I need not remind any who are accustomed carefully to study the Bible. Especially was this true of the Jewish nation at the time of Christ's appearing. "The people walking in darkness have seen a great light—the dwellers in the land of death shades, light has beamed upon them." This received a glorious fulfilment in the advent of the Messiah—an event of which the prophet speaks as though it were then transpiring. "For a child is born to us, (or for us) a Son is given to us; and the government is upon His shoulder; and His name is called, Wonderful Counsellor, The Mighty God, The Everlasting Father. *The Prince of Peace.*" Not that He should actually bear either of these names, but that they would be descriptive of His character. "For the increase of the government, (a power) and to the peace (or prosperity of this reign) there shall be no end; upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom to establish it, and to confirm it in justice and in righteousness from henceforth and forever." This language was applied to Christ before His birth by the angel Gabriel in addressing His mother. "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest, and the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David, and He shall reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of His kingdom there shall be no end."

The "desire of all nations," blessed be God, has come, and to-day multitudes are commemorating this supposed anniversary of His birth. Let us, on this occasion, contemplate His character as we have it in the prophetic annunciation which I have quoted. "*The Prince of Peace.*" Why is the Lord Jesus thus called? I reply briefly, He is entitled to this most honorable appellation because, (1.) *He alone procured peace between God and men.* This He did by giving Himself a propitiatory sacrifice

for men in a state of enmity with God. That this was the design of the Son of God in becoming incarnate, was plainly foretold by the prophet Isaiah. "He was wounded for our transgressions; He was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace—by which our peace with God is procured—is upon him, and by His stripes we are healed." Most emphatically is this taught in the New Testament. "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." "But now in Christ Jesus, ye who sometime were far off, are made nigh by the blood of Christ. For He is our peace" i. e. the procurer of our peace with God—"who hath made both" Jew and Gentile—"one; and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us, for to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace; and that He might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby, and came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh." Ephesians 11. 13—18.

Again, the same writer thus addressed his Colossian brethren: "For it pleased the Father that in Him should all fullness dwell; and having made peace through the blood of His cross, by Him to reconcile all things unto Himself. And you that were sometime alienated and enemies in your mind by wicked works, yet now hath He reconciled in the body of His flesh through death, to present you holy, and unblameable, and unreprouvable in His sight." Well may He be called "The Prince of Peace," who hath at an amazing expense effected a reconciliation between God and His rebellious creatures.

He deserves this honorable appellation because, (2.) *He has procured for men peace in their own bosoms.* Peace is a stranger to every man who lives in sin—who cherishes a disobedient temper—refuses to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. "The wicked man travaileth with pain all his days. A dreadful sound is in his ears; in prosperity the destroyer shall come upon him." Again, "the way of transgressors is hard." Still again, "the wicked are like the troubled sea when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. There is no peace saith my God to the wicked." While cherishing an unholy temper, living in the indulgence of sinful appetites, men must be devoid of all peace. Such know something of the feelings, if they do not use the language, of him who, as the poet hath it, exclaimed: "Which way I fly is hell—myself am hell." So true is it, the sinner's hell begins on earth.

But for men of this character Jesus Christ procured peace, and when by faith they embrace Him, they at once experience peace in accordance with the promise which He gave His disciples when with them. "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid." Again, "these things have I spoken unto you that in me ye might have peace." Paul in exhorting his Philippian brethren to "be careful for nothing, but in everything by prayer and supplication, with thanks-

giving to let their requests be made known unto God," adds — "and the peace of God which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus." "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace," declares the prophet, addressing Israel's God, "whose mind is stayed on Thee, because he trusteth in Thee." Is not He who can give such a legacy, in very deed, the Prince of Peace?

Christ is entitled to this honorable appellation, (3.) inasmuch as *Peace is the legacy which He bequeathed to the world.* This He did by His example. "Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow His steps; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered He threatened not, but committed Himself to Him that judgeth righteously." "He was oppressed, and He was afflicted; yet he opened not His mouth; He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so He opened not His mouth." "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me," is the language of Christ to his disciples, "for I am meek and lowly in heart." Again, "my kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews, but now is my kingdom not from hence." "I Paul myself beseech you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ."

The whole example of Christ, from the commencement of His mission till on the cross He cried with His expiring breath, "Father forgive them, they know not what they do," was one of the most striking examples of meekness and forbearance under the grossest provocation. He was emphatically, the Son of peace. His life was a perfect model of peace, and in setting this example He bequeathed Peace as a legacy to the world.

This He did, also, by precept. He pronounced a blessing on the sons of peace. "Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God." "But I say unto you that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you." In these precepts, our Lord inculcated lessons of peace, and thus bequeathed it as a rich legacy to a distracted and wretched world. So the Apostles, imbued with His Spirit which was Christ speaking through them, taught the same doctrine. "If it be possible" says Paul to his Roman brethren, "as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." Again, "Let us, therefore, follow after things which make for peace." "God hath called us to peace." "Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you." "The fruit of the Spirit is — peace." "Be at peace among yourselves." "Follow peace with all men." "The wisdom that is from above is first, pure, then peaceable." "Let the peace of God rule in your hearts." "Endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

Thus plainly does it appear that, in procuring peace between God and men, in providing for its residence in the bosoms of renewed sinners, and in bequeathing it as a legacy to the world, the Lord Jesus is richly entitled to the appellation given by the prophet, *The Prince of Peace*.

From this subject it may be inferred, (1.) *That the era of universal peace will be hastened just in proportion as the church of Christ awakes to duty.*

Let us look at some of the predictions of the Bible on the subject of universal peace. Prophetic of this time we read: "He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; He breaketh the bow and cutteth the spear in sunder; He burneth the chariot in the fire;" i. e., all the instruments of war shall be destroyed — wars shall cease. "In the last days," — under the Messiah's reign, we are told that "the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths, for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more: but they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it." In Zechariah we have the prophecy which the evangelist John applies to our Lord on His triumphant entrance into Jerusalem. To this the prophet adds: "And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle-bow shall be cut off, and He shall speak peace unto the heathen; and His dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even unto the ends of the earth." "The mountains shall bring peace to the people, and the little hills by righteousness. In his days shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth. Violence shall no more be heard in the land, wasting nor destruction in thy border; but thou shalt call thy walls salvation, and thy gates praise."

These, and such as these, are the predictions of the Bible on the subject of universal peace. Must not the heavenly hosts have had their eye on these thrilling predictions when, on the plains of Bethlehem, at the annunciation of the Saviour's birth, they sang "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men?" And must they not have expected that from that time forward wars would cease, and Peace spread her wings over a once distracted world? Alas! that more than eighteen centuries should have passed away since the advent of the Prince of Peace, and yet we wait the fulfilment of these glowing predictions. And why thus delay? What shall hasten the era of universal peace? Plainly, the church of Christ must awake to duty. God will be inquired of by His people to do this for them, just as He will in accomplishing every other

purpose of His benevolent heart. He will work by means in banishing war, and in ushering in the dawn of peace, just as He does in healing the sick, in giving us the finest of wheat, and in converting sinners. He will make His people co-workers with Him in spreading the principles of peace through the whole earth. The entire church must come up to this work — to the help of the Lord against the mighty. Especially must the ministers of Christ be awake to their responsibility in this matter. They must become leaders in this work. At present I greatly fear it is not so. A voice not long since reached me from your side of the great waters which separate us from each other, saying: "The inattention of the ministers of the gospel to the claims of peace, is utterly amazing. It is even beyond their former apathy or inaction on the subject of Freedom. It depresses the friends of peace exceedingly in their good work. The greater part, more than nine in ten, treat the subject as though they cared little about it."

The era of peace will not be hastened while such a state of indifference pervades the church, and especially while the leaders of Christ's hosts are fast asleep on their watch-towers. These commissioned heralds of the cross must awake thoroughly to duty. They must urge the claims of peace on the attention of their churches. Instead of quoting the proverb "one sword keeps another in the scabbard," which I am sorry to see lately quoted by an English divine now living, followed by words of ridicule against the efforts of Peace Societies, they should use the one pronounced by our Lord: "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." How deeply important, how infinitely desirable, that all who profess to be the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, the glorious Prince of Peace, should breathe His Spirit, copy His example, and importunately beseech Him to usher in the glorious day of universal Peace.

Again, I remark that from this subject it may be inferred (2.) that *men who have not the spirit of Christ cannot suitably commemorate the anniversary of His birth — cannot, with the heavenly hosts, shout, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."*

That multitudes in some way or other notice the supposed anniversary of the birth of Christ, is a well known fact. The Greek and Latin churches in the East do so. Stanley, in his recent work, "Egypt and Palestine," tells us, that "whether from its being usually first seen by travellers, or from its own intrinsic solemnity, there is probably none which produces so great an impression at first sight, as the Convent of the Nativity at Bethlehem. It is an enormous pile of buildings extending along the ridge of the hill from east to west, and consisting of the Church of the Nativity, with the three convents, Latin, Greek and Armenian." On that hill, not a few from each of those churches may this very day be collected, to commemorate, with unmeaning rites, the birth of the Prince of Peace; and it will be well if they finish the celebration and leave the spot without shedding each other's blood, or appealing to Mohammedan soldiers to settle their senseless disputes. Could the Lord Jesus speak to them from His throne of glory, He might be supposed to address them in the words of Jehu to

king Joram : "What peace so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel, and her witchcrafts are so many?" What have ye to do in commemorating the birth of the Prince of Peace, while your hearts are filled with hate to each other, your hands reeking with each other's blood?

Next to these are some of the Protestant churches of Europe, some of whose numbers doubtless commemorate the day with suitable feelings, but most of whom probably make it an occasion of mirth and festivity. And then what multitudes who have no other claim to the name of Christian than that they live where the gospel of Christ is preached, though they refuse to listen to it, or than that they have the Bible in their houses, though they neglect to read it, who never take the name of Christ upon their lips but to profane it. I repeat, what multitudes of these are prompt in their observance of this day! Not with a sense of their obligation to Him who died for them; not with a penitent sense of their sins, nor with the faintest desire of His pardoning mercy, or with the slightest determination to honor Him, or even to prepare to meet Him in judgment. They merely improve this as another holiday. They mingle in the dance, quaff the intoxicating bowl; others engage in the bloody fight and blaspheme the dread name of Him whose day they profess to celebrate. How these impious doings on such a day provoke the God of heaven! How must they grieve the Lord Jesus Christ! How they tend to harden the heart, and thus ripen men for aggravated ruin!

Nothing can be plainer, than that the spirit, the temper of Christ alone, will qualify any man for the suitable commemoration of a season like this. Just as a patriotic spirit, a love of country alone, will qualify a man to commemorate his country's independence. An alien, one wanting in love to country, could not do it, much less an enemy. So he that cherishes a spirit of war cannot suitably observe the anniversary of the Saviour's birth. The thing is impossible. Sympathy with the design of Christ in coming into the world — love to His character and person, and to his fellow-men everywhere for Christ's sake, are indispensable to a proper celebration of His advent to earth. These feelings alone will enable us to hail the day with joy. Possessing suitable and affecting views of His character — of His work as the Redeemer of lost, and guilty, and wretched men, and of His object as the Prince of Peace, we shall be prepared to unite in the angelic song heard on the plains of Bethlehem on this memorable day, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

J. S. GREEN.

Mackawao, Maui, Hawaiian Islands, May 20, 1859.

BRITISH RAILROADS IN AMERICA.—Before the close of the present year, the Grand Trunk Railway will be completed to Detroit, Michigan, a distance of 1000 miles in a direct line, with branches in addition, making 1000 miles of complete railway, including the Victoria Bridge, costing upwards of sixty millions of dollars!

INTERNATIONAL ARMAMENT UNCHRISTIAN.

THE nations of Christendom call themselves Christians ; but what is the grand peculiarity of their religion as a system of morals bearing upon men in their relations to each other as individuals and communities ? It is pre-eminently a religion of love, peace and charity. So obviously is this the case, that amid the innumerable varieties of opinion which prevail among its votaries on almost every conceivable point, theological and ecclesiastical, there is an absolute agreement in affirming that the spirit of Christianity is a spirit of love—love, boundless, infinite, divine, first glancing from the bosom of God towards man, and thence diffusing itself among men in the various relations they mutually sustain. This is the spirit that is most conspicuously embodied in the whole life and character of its Founder, that is most earnestly and constantly inculcated on his followers by Him and His apostles, that is laid down as the most infallible test of sincerity in Christian profession. “By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.” “If a man say I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar ; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how shall he love God whom he hath not seen ?”

Such is the religion professed by the nations of Europe ; but what are the spirit and practice of those who profess it ? A spirit of mutual hatred, so violent and ferocious, that they can see nothing in each other's characters but the worst attributes of the very vilest forms of wickedness known among men. They are perpetually interchanging accusations of cherishing the foulest designs against each other. The intercourse of Christian nations is conducted on the same principles of reciprocal suspicion, distrust and abhorrence, as we are told exist among the scum of the earth's scoundrelism that are gathered together in the vilest of our criminal settlements. They believe, and loudly proclaim, that they are not safe for one moment from each other's propensities to murder and robbery, except by exercising the sleepless vigilance of hatred over each other's conduct. And so far from feeling any sense of degradation and dishonor in connection with this state of things, they exult in it as the highest triumph of enlightened statesmanship. The man among them who exhibits the most settled distrust, the most deadly animosity, towards the rulers and people of other nations, and who assails them in the loudest tones of defiance and scorn, is the man most honored as the pink of patriotism ; while any one who ventures to doubt whether all our Christian neighbors ought not to be regarded as a mere congregation of brigands and pirates, and whether it would not be possible and prudent to treat them with something more of confidence and conciliation, is scouted as a fool, or denounced as a traitor. The practical results of this policy may be seen in that enormous system of standing armaments now existing in Europe, which is the bitterest satire upon its pretended civilization and Christianity ; a system which would have been branded as absurd had it been found prevailing among the most barbarian communities on the face of the earth, but which is utterly monstrous when constituting, as it does, the most conspicuous feature in the policy of nations who loudly claim supremacy over all the rest of mankind on the ground of their professing a religion of peace and brotherly love. What a libel on such a religion is the *peace* establishment of Europe, the support of more than four million of men in a time of peace to be ready at a moment's call for the work of mutual slaughter ? Can anything be more absurd and revolting ?—*Hier. of Peace.*

ARMAMENTS OF EUROPE:

HER PREPARATIONS FOR WAR IN A TIME OF PEACE.

It is not very easy to ascertain with precise accuracy what is the amount of armed force constituting what is facetiously called the *Peace establishments* of Europe at the present epoch. The difficulty arises partly from the intricate and confused manner in which Governments present their statements on these matters to the world, and which, whether by design or accident, are admirably adapted to bewilder under the pretence of informing the people. It is, also, owing partly to the fact that in almost all the large countries of Europe, there are, in addition to the regular forces wholly devoted to the business of fighting, or learning to fight as the sole occupation of their lives, a number of mongrel bodies, half soldier and half citizen, with whom one is puzzled to know how to deal. We have taken some pains to obtain correct information on this point. The following list is taken principally from the *Almanack de Gotha* for the present year, compared with the figures given in *Wrazall's Armies of the World*, and other publications that profess to treat of the subject. In this statement we have omitted all account of the "mongrel bodies" to which we have just referred, restricting ourselves in the first instance to the number of actual fighting men habitually maintained in the armies and navies of Europe during peace.

Austria.....	418,927
Baden.....	7,691
Bavaria.....	188,661
Belgium.....	100,000
Bremen.....	760
Brunswick.....	2,720
Denmark.....	84,489
France.....	465,678
Frankfort.....	1,119
Great Britain (including British troops in India).....	282,254
Greece.....	11,176
Hanover.....	26,938
Hesse.....	10,621
Ionian Isles.....	4,000
Liechtenstein.....	70
Lippe (Scambourg).....	840
Marino (San).....	1,300
Mecklenburgh-Schwerin.....	5,380
Modena.....	5,300
Nassau.....	5,498
Netherlands.....	64,440
Oldenburg.....	3,738
Parma.....	3,663
Portugal.....	29,375
Prussia.....	164,500
Roman States.....	15,255
Russia.....	677,859
Sardinia.....	50,837
Saxony.....	26,628
Saxe-Meiningen.....	1,726
Saxe-Altenbourg.....	1,473
Saxe-Cobourg.....	1,860
Schwarzbourg Rendelstadt.....	899
Sicilies.....	104,000
Spain.....	192,161
Sweden and Norway.....	193,500
Switzerland.....	72,000
Tuscany.....	10,205
Turkey.....	178,900
Wurtemberg.....	9,893

But, besides these regular forces, we find, from the same sources of information, that there exists, of the other class previously alluded to, under the various designations of naval and military reserves, Landwehr, gendarmerie, an additional number of men, more or less trained to arms, amounting to 1,406,216; thus making a grand total of 4,841,550 men, devoted by the Christian nations of Europe to the work of learning scientifically and systematically how to employ, with the highest dexterity and effect, certain weapons, the sole use and design of which is the destruction of human life and property. And all this prodigious apparatus is maintained almost exclusively with a view to challenge, menace, and defy each other; for the enemies that any of them apprehend, or profess to apprehend, beyond the boundaries of Christendom, except when they go forth expressly to seek and provoke them, are of quite insignificant account.

But this is not all. These forces, prodigious though they be, are nothing in comparison of what they will be in the course of a few years, if the principle on which they are now constructed be persevered in. For they are in process of constant and rapid augmentation, that must of necessity go on to an illimitable extent, according to the wonderfully sensible system acted on by the respective governments of Europe, which is a system of sheer rivalry against each other, madly running a race of extravagance, national bankruptcy being the goal, and universal popular discontent the prize.

That this is no exaggerated statement, will appear from a few facts. Within little more than twenty years we in this country have doubled our naval and military establishments, and much more than doubled our expenditure for those services, having advanced from £12,000,000 in 1835 to £26,000,000 in 1859. And what is this for? There is no pretence of a necessity for augmented forces to suppress revolution at home. The only shadow of a justification that has been, or can be assigned, is the alleged increase of armaments by other nations, principally by France. As an illustration of this, take another fact. In the "Report of a Committee appointed by the Treasury to inquire into the Navy Estimates from 1852 to 1858, and into the comparative state of the Navies of England and France," — the same document which was adverted to by Mr. Cobden in his admirable speech before the prorogation of Parliament, — we find the following statements: In 1852 the navy of England, including sailing and steam-vessels, amounted to 475. In 1858 it amounted to 760, showing an increase in six years of 295 vessels. The increase of men has been proportionate. So also in regard to the army. Not content with this immense enlargement of the regular forces, we have within comparatively few years added the militia to the number of 120,000 men, and other bodies of the same semi-military character. But still far from satisfied, there is now an invitation to all civilians to arm themselves in the form of volunteer rifle clubs, artillery corps, &c. The same process, though not quite at so insane a rate anywhere as in this country, is going on throughout Europe.

HIGH SALARIES IN ENGLAND.—The *Scientific American* states that there are in the city of New York about 200,000 smokers, each using two cigars daily, making 400,000 cigars every day. These, at an average of four cents each, make the enormous sum of \$16,000 daily consumed in smoke, in New York alone. There are some 900,000,000 cigars manufactured in that city annually, which, at the same price, amount to \$36,000,000.

LETTER FROM HON. AMASA WALKER.

PARIS, Sept. 1, 1859.

DR. BECKWITH, — *Dear Sir,* — My last letter to you was dated in London, July 27th. I left that city soon after, in company with three American gentlemen, and proceeded to Belgium; from thence passed into Holland, and visited the interesting city of Amsterdam. From thence we went to Cologne, where we took a steamer for Mayence. This gave us a fine opportunity for observing the beautiful scenery of the Rhine, its vine-clad mountains, studded with castles of every period from the days of the Romans to the present. From thence we went by rail to Basle and Geneva. Thence we passed up the valley of the Arve to Chamouni, and satisfied our curiosity by gazing upon that greatest of European wonders, Mont Blanc. Leaving Switzerland and the Alps, and passing through the southern part of France, we came to this place.

Throughout the whole tour nothing impressed my mind more deeply or painfully than the terrible fact that all the countries we skirted seemed crushed to the earth by the terrible oppression which the war-system engenders. We found soldiers everywhere, in the small city of Mayence above 8,000. We were awakened in the morning, while at that place, by the heavy tread of armed men. On looking out of the window, thousands of fine young fellows were seen passing through the streets on their way to the place of their morning drills. How melancholy a sight! Throughout our whole tour in Germany, we saw very few men engaged in labor in the field; the women, young and old, were employed getting in the harvests. Where were the men? No small share of them were playing soldiers. I am quite sure that the war system on the continent has the same effect in making labor disgraceful that slavery has in our slave States. Drudgery and toil are fit only for women, old men and invalids who cannot perform military duty. Such seem to be the sentiments of the people, as shown in their conduct. And it is certainly a natural result. Nothing can have a greater tendency to make men dislike and despise labor than to spend a few years of the early part of their lives in the idle and dissolute habits of garrison or camp.

One of the most melancholy illustrations of what actual war is, we witnessed in seeing the shattered remains of the French regiments returning from the bloody fields of Magenta and Solferino. Wretched, haggard dirty, they were generally, though, as we are assured, "covered with glory." Most of them were mere boys, who had been dragged away from their quiet homes by the conscription.

Here in Paris we have another instructive scene. In order to render his great feat of arms illustrious and memorable, and amuse the Parisians (and as long as he can do the latter, he is sure of his throne, and no longer,) the French Emperor had, as you know, a splendid reception prepared for the entrance of the army of Italy into the city. On this pageantry millions on millions were lavished; and in accordance with French

taste, the whole city were put in tinsel. It is, over now, and we see the workmen engaged from day to day in demolishing the temporary pillars on which were placed statues that held in each hand "a wreath for the victors." These pillars were of great height; were made of plaster and highly gilded. The dragomen are now employed in carrying off tons and tons of this "plaster of Paris" covered with gold leaf. It is a shabby sight, and a painful one too, when we reflect that all France must be taxed to pay for such a useless and senseless expenditure. But this is the game Louis Napoleon is playing, and with wonderful success, so far.

And what is the next great act in the drama of war? The plains of Italy will probably soon reply to that question; in the meantime the nations of Europe, eye of the whole world, are to make another great stride in military armament. The artillery and ordinance of Christendom must be recast; must be rifled, made into Napoleon and Armstrong guns. If one nation commences the operation, the rest will follow; on the principle, "in time of peace prepare for war," all must follow. And then, when uncounted millions have been expended, and rifled cannon are universal, what has been attained? Why, more terribly effective engines for human destruction. Men may be killed at a greater distance, and torn to pieces more shockingly; "for it is one of the grand results" of Minnie rifles, and the improved cannon, that the balls they send tear the flesh and bones a great deal worse than the old fashioned instruments; so much so, that where used in the late contest, only one fourth part of the wounded were saved, while formerly three fourths of the wounded were saved. Besides all this, the nations of the earth will, when this mighty and beneficent work is accomplished, stand relatively just where they did before the change had been commenced; just as defenceless as ever, and ready to undertake another grand effort at improving cannon, vessels of war, and fortifications.

This great fact seems to indicate that the present is a peculiarly auspicious time for the friends of peace to exert themselves to arrest, if possible, a movement so terrible in the taxation it must impose on the people, and so perfectly fruitless in any useful result. There has never been any period in the history of our race when so good an opportunity has been afforded for assailing this absurd system as the present. The utter folly of it stands out in such bold relief, that every person of common sense can see it, when once presented.

In this view of the matter, I believe our English friends engaged in the Peace cause fully concur, and are making arrangements to do what they can to bring the subject before the people.

A very encouraging circumstance is, that several of the most efficient members of the present Parliament enter warmly into the measure of putting a stop to the idle and wasteful system which has so long oppressed the peoples of Europe, and involved them in almost hopeless bankruptcy. Two of the most distinguished members of the House of Commons, and

members of the present ministry, have taken an active part in the Peace Congresses that have been held within a few years past, and will do all in their power, at the proper moment, to bring the subject effectively before Parliament.

Only one thing seems to stand in the way at the present moment, and that is, that almost the whole attention of the British people is turned to the great Reform Question, as brought forward by Mr. Bright. This consists mainly in three important propositions: First, that the constituencies shall be so far equalized, that the members when chosen shall represent something like a majority of the nation. At present, so much of the Old Rotten Borough system prevails, that about a fifth part of the voters choose a majority of the House of Commons! An old borough of two or three thousand inhabitants now sends two members, while Manchester with its 400,000 can send only two! The great manufacturing towns, like Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford, &c., with 50,000 to 300,000 each, have no representative at all proportionate to their population.

Another change proposed is, that more persons shall be allowed the right of suffrage. Mr. Bright's proposition would give an extension of about double what it now is; and then it would be very limited compared with ours; but it would invest with the right of a citizen a vast body of intelligent men, well qualified to participate in the government of the country.

A third reason is the Ballot. At present, voting is done *viva voce*; of course every body knows how each one votes. The consequence is, a great part are compelled to act contrary to their wishes and convictions. The landed aristocracy have the means in their own hands of compelling the return of a majority of the House of Commons. This is felt to be a great oppression; *the greatest* obstacle in the way of all useful reforms. Of course the liberal party will struggle hard to obtain it, and the conservatives will never yield it, except at the last extremity. The great battle, as all feel, is on this point. The ballot will allow men to vote as they please, and that is just what the Tory party most dread. An American gentleman was describing to one of this character the operation of the sealed Ballot Law of Massachusetts, which allowed voters to deposit their votes in envelopes. After listening attentively, he exclaimed with an expression of horror and disgust, "Good God! under such a system a man's own tenants might vote against him."

Now, although these reforms absorb the attention of our friends in England at the present time, it will be seen that the attainment of them will be the surest guarantee of the final triumph of the pacific policy in British legislation, because the war system has its strong hold in the British aristocracy. They live by it, fatten on it. And while the people by an ingenious and villianous system of indirect taxation, are made to pay the greater part of all the expenses, the nobility and upper classes monopolize the profit and glory it affords. To give the people power in England, is to strike a death blow at the war system throughout the world; for when England ceases to lead off in the absurdities and follies of continually in-

creasing armies and armaments, other nations will be but too happy to follow her example. Such is my strong conviction, after a long consideration of the subject; so that, although the attention now bestowed by all classes on the great political reforms proposed, may prevent in some degree immediate efforts for the diffusion of Peace principles, I am sure it renders their ultimate success more certain.

Yours ever and truly,

AMASA WALKER.

GLANCE AT THE PRUSSIAN WAR-SYSTEM.

EVERY Prussian subject, on attaining his twentieth year, is compelled to serve in the ranks of the army. Those who have received a military education, and who are intended to follow the pursuit of the army, pass their examination after a service of some months, and become officers; but the great mass, all the private soldiers, serve in the ranks for three years, and then join the reserve, in which they remain for two years longer. By a curious condition of the military organization, these reserves can only be embodied when the Landwehr are called out. Having completed his services, the soldier doffs his uniform, and resumes his peaceful pursuits as a citizen; but he cannot beat his sword into a ploughshare, nor his spear into a pruning hook, for he remains in the Landwehr until his fortieth year, and must devote fifteen days annually to military exercise.

The Landwehr is divided into two classes. The first contains all between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-two, the second those between thirty-two and forty. Even at forty the Prussian subject has not completed his military allegiance to his country; for he remains in the Landwehr until the age of sixty, and his services are called for in case of foreign invasion. Such, in a few words, is the Prussian military system, and it is sufficient to show the enormous results attending a mobilization of the army.

Mobilization means, in European or Prussian parlance, bringing troops into actual service, or putting them in motion for war; and in this case the reserves are called out, and all Prussian subjects in the first division of the Landwehr — viz., the whole male population under thirty-two years of age are brought into active service. The army is thus increased to upwards of 300,000 men, and when the second division of the Landwehr is summoned, to upwards of 400,000.

THE EFFECT OF MOBILIZATION — is instantaneous and startling. It reaches everybody and almost everything. Its demand is like the call of fate. No excuse avails; every man must obey the call. The banker leaves his money bags, and the lawyer his briefs, the merchant his books, and the farmer his crops. The farm horses are taken for the cavalry and artillery. All peaceful pursuits are abandoned, commerce languishes, and, while the harvest is plenteous, the laborers are few. The expense is also a serious matter to a poor country like Prussia, as it adds from \$60,000,000 to 75,000,000 per annum to the budget. Increased taxation becomes an inevitable necessity. The price of all the necessaries of life is augmented, and the youthful manhood of Prussia debarred from all other pursuits save that of arms.

INCREASE OF PRUSSIAN ARMAMENTS. — The general spirit of competition to prepare for war seems to have lately seized Prussia. It is said the Prince Regent has signed an order for re-organizing the army. The object is to proportion the means of national defence to the population and resources of the country. It is determined to return to the original system,

by which every man capable of bearing arms, is bound to serve, so that in case of necessity, the army will number upwards of 700,000 men. This arrangement offers a reduction of the time of service from three to two years. The Prussian Government have adopted the most recent improvements in arms, and display great vigor in increasing and perfecting their artillery. She seems to be hot in the race of preparation for war, as if it were really a question of life or death, and is said to be manufacturing cannon at the rate of one in two days.

WHAT IT TAKES TO CARRY ON WAR.

ON this point we have from the war department of France some curiously instructive documents touching the Crimean war. The whole force sent by France to the Black Sea, was 309,268 soldiers and 41,974 horses! Of the former, 70,000 were killed or died in the hospitals, or were otherwise missing, while 93,000 were wounded and survived. Of the horses, only 9,000 returned to France. The great guns were 644, besides 603 furnished by the navy. The light artillery for field service furnished 500 guns more, and in all there were 4,800 wheel vehicles for cannon sent from France. The missiles of death, too, were fearfully vast; 2,000,000 of shells and cannon-balls, 10,000,000 pounds of gunpowder, and 66,000,000 ball cartridges! One hundred batteries and fifty miles of trench were constructed, besides ten miles of defensive works, and five miles of subterranean galleries in the solid rock.

The food sent from France, besides items of smaller quantities, was 30,000,000 pounds of biscuit; 96,000,000 pounds of flour, equal to 450,000 barrels; 7,000,000 pounds of preserved beef; 14,000,000 of salt beef and lard; 8,000,000 pounds of rice; 4,500,000 pounds of coffee; 6,000,000 pounds of sugar; 10,000 head live cattle; 2,500,000 gallons of wine, and nearly 1,000,000 pounds Chollat's preserved vegetables, were among the larger items of supplies. The horse feed, too, was immense: 170,000,000 pounds, equal to 85,000 tuns of hay; 180,000,000 pounds, (90,000 tuns) of oats and barley; 20,000 tuns coal, charcoal and coke. There were 150 ovens to bake bread, and 140 presses to press hay.

The clothing was another branch of large supply, comprising garments in such hundreds of thousands that it would be tedious to enumerate them: but, as some clue to the matter, the number ranged from 250,000 to 350,000 of each article of clothing. For the piercing cold of the Crimea, there were 15,000 paletots, 250,000 sheepskin gaiters, and tents for 250,000 men. The harness and farriery departments present an immense quantity of supplies; among them were 80,000 horse shoes, and 6,000,000 horse shoe nails.

For hospital arrangements, they sent 27,000 bedsteads for invalids, as many mattresses and coverlets. There was the material for ambulances for 24,000 sick men, and 600 cases of instruments, and 700,000 pounds, (350 tuns) of lint, bandages, and dressings of various kinds. Then for the sick there were the most liberal supplies for their sustenance, such as concentrated milk, essence of boullion, granulated gluten, etc.

There were, also, vast maritime preparations for conveying the army and its supplies over the sea. Among the vessels employed between France and the Crimea, were 40,000 tuns of American shipping, embracing some of the finest and largest clipper vessels, as well as some steamers of the American mercantile marine, and for whose services a liberal compensation was made. Taking the totality of all the voyages made by all the men, horses, and materials, there were conveyed by the French government, during the two and a half years of the war, 550,000 men, 50,000 horses, and 720,000 tuns of materials.

THE BATTLE-FIELD.

BY W. C. BRYANT.

Once this soft turf, this rivulet's sands,
Were trampled by a hurrying crowd,
And fiery hearts and armed hands
Encountered in the battle cloud.

Now all is calm, and fresh, and still ;
Alone the chirp of flitting bird,
And talk of children on the hill,
And bell of wandering kine are heard.

No solemn host goes trailing by
The black mouthed gun and staggering wain ;
Men start not at the battle-cry,
Oh, be it never heard again !

Soon rested those who fought ; but thou
Who minglest in the harder strife
For truths which men receive not now,
Thy warfare only ends with life.

A friendless warfare ! lingering long
Through weary day and weary year,
A wild and many-weaponed throng
Hang on thy front, and flank, and rear.

Yet nerve thy spirit to the proof,
And blench not at thy chosen lot ;
The timid good may stand aloof,
The sage may frown, yet faint thou not.

Nor heed the shaft too surely cast,
The foul and hissing bolt of scorn ;
For with thy side shall dwell, at last,
The victory of endurance born.

Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again ;
The eternal years of God are hers ;
But Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
And dies among his worshippers.

Yes, though thou lie upon the dust,
When they who helped thee flee in fear,
Die full of hope and manly trust,
Like those who fell in battle here.

Another hand thy sword shall wield,
Another hand the standard wave,
Till from the trumpet's mouth is pealed
The blast of triumph o'er thy grave.

COST OF THE ITALIAN WAR.

WE find in a German paper (*Allgemeine Zeitung*) a rough estimate of what this war must have cost; an estimate very far below the truth, yet reaching a pretty large sum for two months of fighting:—

"It is impossible," says the writer, "to estimate the absolute cost of a war, since its influence on trade and industry, though immense, is indefinite. Considering only the sums actually expended in supporting the campaign, he says that Austria, without reckoning the loan she raised in England at the beginning of 1859, has expended 200,000,000 gulden for the purposes of war. France has applied 500,000,000*fr.* to the same purpose. Piedmont, it is known, had access to the French military chest; but, besides this, she increased her loan by 50,000,000*fr.*, and her debt to the Turin Bank by 33,000,000*fr.* The exact sums spent by the other Italian States cannot be ascertained with precision; but reckoning the 5,800,000*fr.* added to the Bolognese loans, 20,000,000*fr.* cannot be an over-estimate. With regard now to the neutral Powers, Russia gives us no means of making an accurate estimate; but, considering the additions to her various army corps, the cost to her must have been 15,000,000 thalers. Finally, the sums raised by the German States for the purpose of putting their forces on a war footing, may be taken together at 90,000,000 gulden, about a third of which still remains unspent."

These conclusions the German paper arranges in a table as follows. We translate francs into dollars:—

Austria,.....	\$100,000,000
France,.....	100,000,000
Piedmont,.....	20,000,000
Other Italian States,.....	4,000,000
Russia,.....	6,000,000
England,.....	4,000,000
Germany,.....	26,000,000
	<hr/> \$260,000,000

If we take everything into view, — the 200,000 lives sacrificed, and their mere financial value to the State, the destruction of property, the suspension or derangement of business, and the nameless other items of direct and indirect loss, — we shall probably find those two months of fighting in Italy to have sacrificed, in one way and another, *a thousand million dollars*. What good can the advocates of war show to compensate this alone?

THE SOCIETY'S OPERATIONS.

We are aware how little we can do of the much that is needed in our cause; but we economise our resources as well as we can, and are thus able to carry on a much larger scale of operations than could have been expected from our slender means. We seldom go into details respecting our operations; but, at this season of the year, selected for the annual contributions from our friends, it may be well to give a passing glance at what we are doing or attempting.

AGENCIES.—We are of course obliged to have an agent at the Society's office; but the Secretary who superintends its correspondence, publications and general affairs, divides his time between its head-quarters, and labors

abroad. It would be wise, if practicable, to relieve him from many of these details, and give him leisure for more important services; but our exigencies compel us to make him a man of all work. We have, also, under commission four Lecturing Agents, though not fully or constantly at work; and in addition to these, we have eight Local Agents, who do more or less for our cause by lecturing in their immediate vicinity, and otherwise promoting its interests.

PUBLICATIONS — have ever been our chief department. We have, from the rise of our cause, issued without interruption a periodical devoted to the advocacy of its claims. Its circulation has varied from only hundreds up to twelve or fifteen thousand at times; and now it goes, with its storehouse of facts, statistics and arguments, to the leading centers and high places of influence through the land. Such an organ is quite indispensable; and its circulation we are exceedingly anxious to extend far beyond its present limits. Of our stereotyped publications, we are occasionally issuing new editions — of only one volume the present year, but of some fifteen of our tracts.

NEW TRACTS.— Since our last Advocate, we have stereotyped the following tracts, apublished several thousand copies of each: —

1. **SYSTEM OF MEANS IN PEACE; or the chief Instrumentalities employed in the Cause of Peace**, 4 pp. No. 72 in our series of stereotyped 12mo. tracts. We publish this tract as the second article in our present number of the Advocate.

2. **SUCCESS IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE: or how much it has already accomplished**, 6 pp. No. 73 of our tract series.

ANNUAL EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

We need not remind our readers that the month of December is the time for a special remembrance of our cause in the way of Preaching, Prayer and Contribution. All these are indispensable, each in its place; and we trust that none of them will be neglected at the close of a year which has witnessed such startling illustrations of the mighty and terrible evil we are combatting. Never has there been a louder call for effort, and seldom have we seen larger or more hopeful opportunities than now for usefulness in this cause. Will not the children of the God of Peace promptly respond to such calls of his providence?

PREACHING.— Having already devoted a brief article to this subject, we will barely express here the hope and trust that at least all ministers who receive the Advocate, will this year, if they never did before, make a set and strenuous effort to press upon their people the claims of Peace. Each will do so, of course, in his own way; but let him be sure to do it at all events in some way, and as well as he can. There is, we fear, a soft, easy *palaver* about peace that means very little, and is hardly worth the breath spent in giving it utterance. We need, and our cause must have in time something more—an earnest, habitual, effective advocacy from every Christian pulpit.

CONCERT OF PRAYER FOR PEACE.—In accordance with repeated recommendations of many ecclesiastical bodies, and in pursuance of our own practice for more than a quarter of a century, we would anew urge all Christians of every name to unite, on or near Christmas, in praying for the permanent reign of peace, at least in every land blest with the light of the gospel. Why not pray for this cause as well as for any other? Can it prosper and triumph without God's blessing? Can we expect that blessing except in answer to prayer? We have *monthly* concerts of prayer for several kindred objects; why not a concert at least once a year for the world's peace?—For this there should be made due arrangements in season, either for a concert of prayer in each church, or a joint concert of several churches. Will not pastors bear this *early* in mind?

CONTRIBUTIONS.—Our alms should ever accompany our prayers; and so much do we need aid beyond what we are now receiving, or ever have received, that we hope none will forget our pressing necessities. Every sermon of peace and every concert of prayer for universal peace, *ought* in consistency to be followed by a contribution in some way to our cause. Will not our friends in the ministry and the church see that this is done? The contribution in a given case may be small; but the aggregate, if the practice were general, would largely increase our income. Every minister preaching on the subject, and taking up a collection for our Society, is entitled to the Advocate of Peace for one year, as a regular member.

OUR SPECIAL NEED NOW.—We have been making of late very special efforts to spread our cause before the community through the press in particular. We thank individual friends for the aid they have rendered us in these efforts; but we shall need a much larger increase of funds to carry the plan into anything like full effect. We can, of course, do no more than our friends shall enable us to do; but there clearly *ought* to be tenfold more done than has ever yet been attempted in this cause. From Mr. Ladd's legacy we have as yet received nothing, and fear we never shall much.

REGULAR CONTRIBUTORS.—Our Constitution prescribes \$2 a year for membership, payable in December. From donors, also, we receive from one dollar to ten or twenty a year, occasionally more; and on these we chiefly rely to sustain our operations. The sum in each case is so small, and yet in the aggregate so essential to us, that we hope none will neglect to forward, sooner or later, *at least* his usual gift, *by mail* as the best mode.

RECEIVERS OF THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.—Not a few persons have for years received the Advocate in consequence of having contributed at some time one dollar or more to our cause. It has been all along our practice to promise every such contributor the Advocate for one year, and longer, if we chose, *without charge*. On such persons, however long they may have received it, and some of them have for years, we make no charge; and yet we deem it right to say we sent it in every case only in the hope of awakening such an interest as would induce them to continue, if not increase, their aid to our cause from year to year. Having received it so long without charge, will they not now *choose* to help us more or less? If they say no, we shall not complain, but only the more earnestly pray the God of Peace to give them ere long more interest in a cause that we deem so important.

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THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1860.

PEACE A PART OF THE GOSPEL.

Few are aware how largely the spirit and principles of peace enter into the gospel. There is hardly any view that must not enforce its claims upon every Christian. Take the duty of evangelizing the world. The substance of all the precepts on this point is forcibly condensed into our Saviour's last command, bidding us preach his gospel, his *whole* gospel, to every creature. What is that gospel? A patron, an ally, an instigator of war?—war burning with malice and revenge, reeking with pollution, and steeped in blood and tears? The bare supposition outrages all common sense; for the gospel is directly, most glaringly repugnant to every shred of a custom so foul and vindictive.

We are not now discussing a disputed point. We do not here allude to the vexed question, whether a war strictly defensive, if there can be such, is ever justifiable on *Christian* principles; a point about which there is diversity of opinion among good men, and we leave them to settle it, each one for himself, in the light of the Bible. We are assailing *the custom itself*; and no man in his senses can fail to see the absolute inconsistency of such a practice with a religion of universal peace and good-will. Look at its details, and tell us, what part of this foul and horrid custom does the gospel sanction? Ascertain its objects, and analyze its motives; mark the spirit it cherishes, and the passions it kindles into a blaze; trace its progress in guilt, and its results in mischief and woe; go to its fleets and its camps reeking with

pollution, to its battle-fields raging with hellish malice and wrath, to its hospitals resounding with groans, and curses, and blasphemies ; and in all these, which alone constitute war, what can you find compatible with a religion of peace, purity and love ?

There is no view you can take of *such* a custom that will not prove its direct contrariety both to the New Testament and the Old. We do not shrink from an appeal even to the Old Testament ; for, if you separate its precepts from its somewhat mysterious history, you will find the former almost as much opposed as the gospel itself to the practice of war. It enjoins piety, and love, and truth, and meekness, and a variety of other duties and graces utterly inconsistent with this trade of blood.

Glance at the great moral code of Sinai. *Thou shalt have no other gods before me.* War, pagan in its origin, pagan still in its spirit, and always requiring soldiers to obey their superiors, right or wrong, rather than God himself, does virtually dethrone Jehovah from the hearts of an army, and put in his place a general or a prince, the idol of patriotism, or the phantom of military glory. War was the origin of nearly all the demigods ever worshipped ; most of them were warriors deified ; had Napoleon lived two thousand years earlier, he would have been the very Mars of the world ; and we seriously doubt whether the sticklers for war pay half as much respect to the Almighty, as they do to this modern monster, this ravager of a continent, and murderer of millions.—*Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.* Every one knows war to be a nursery of irreligion, a school of profaneness and blasphemy.—*Thou shalt not commit adultery.* War is a hot-bed of the foulest, most brutal licentiousness.—*Thou shalt not steal.* War is a system of legalized national robbery and piracy.—*Thou shalt not kill.* War seeks to kill as its grand aim, and is in fact the most terrible engine ever devised for the wholesale destruction of mankind. Look through the Decalogue, through the whole of the Old Testament ; and you will find war absolutely compelling soldiers to violate not a few of its plainest, most important precepts.

But the gospel, repealing the ancient law or license of retaliation, and putting in its place the principle of universal goodwill, is still more repugnant, if possible, to the custom of war. *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.* Can the soldier do this, and still continue his trade of human butchery ? Love as yourself the very man on whom you are trying to inflict the greatest

possible amount of evil for two worlds ! Paul tells us, that "love is the fulfilling of the law, *because it worketh no ill to his neighbor ;*" but the soldier's whole business is to do him *all* the ill he can.—*Do good unto all men.* War goes upon the avowed principle of doing them *evil*, as the only means of accomplishing its objects.—*Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.* The soldier do to others what he wishes done to himself ! Would *you* like to have your dwelling burnt over your head, your family butchered before your eyes, and your own body blown or hewn to pieces ? Yet this alone is war ; and to talk of a war that did not *aim* to perpetrate such atrocities, and inflict such miseries by wholesale, would be as plain a contradiction in terms, as to speak of living death. What ! a war that sought to kill no one, to destroy no property, to do nobody any harm ! You might as well call hell itself heaven.—*Love your enemies.* War would fain have us *hate* them, and never did, never can exist without the deepest, bitterest malice.—*Seek peace. Live in peace. Follow peace with all men. See that none render evil for evil to any man, friend or foe. Lay aside all malice, the great fountain of strife alike between individuals and nations. Mortify your members which are upon the earth ;* all those unholy passions from which alone, as James assures us, war can ever proceed. *Avenge not yourselves ; but, whoso smiteth you on one cheek, turn to him the other also. Resist not evil ; but overcome evil with good.* We cannot stop to explain these passages ; but there is no possible construction that would not make them condemn war as incompatible with Christianity.

Such, then, is confessedly the genuine spirit, an integral part of that gospel which our Saviour's last command bids us preach to every creature ; and we insist upon its being our duty, in concert with the rest of his disciples, to teach the whole human race this part, as well as every other part, of our holy religion. Are we permitted at pleasure to embrace or to spread a mutilated gospel—a gospel without peace, any more than a gospel without repentance or faith ? Are we at liberty to pluck out, or to leave out, its principles of peace ? No more than we are repentance or faith ; for our Saviour's last command, and all his previous instructions, rivet upon us the obligation of spreading peace, just like repentance or faith, as an integral part of the gospel, and thus rendering its pacific principles, like all its other truths, effective of their object in the spread of peace co-extensive with Christianity itself.

Here is all we ask — such an application of the gospel as shall secure the actual abolition of war in every Christian country. We dream not of extending peace a single span beyond the influences of the gospel ; but we do plead earnestly for the restoration of those principles which our Saviour himself taught, his apostles everywhere preached, and his disciples, down to the war-degeneracy of the Church, continued to exemplify, like all other Christian graces, in their lives. We ask on this point for the very gospel that fell from the lips of him who “ spake as never man spake.” Only let its principles of peace once more be taught by every minister, and put in practice by every Christian, as they unquestionably were by all the first teachers and professors of Christianity ; then, but never till then, will peace, as an element of the gospel itself, prevail, just like repentance and faith, wherever Christianity itself prevails, and the world thus be — what it never yet has been in the case of a single nation, though it *ought* to have been in every case, — converted to peace as fast as it shall be to God.

A COURT OF NATIONS.

The friends of peace place before the world a *distinct plan* for the establishment and preservation of universal peace. We propose that five or six of the great nations of the earth, elect each an able lawyer or statesman to meet as a “CONGRESS OF NATIONS,” somewhere in Europe, and spend a few years in digesting a code of international law. We now refer to Vattel, or Montesquieu, or Grotius ; but these men have no other authority than as great writers. We want an admitted, authoritative and detailed *code* for the regulation of nations in their intercourse with each other. Such a code, once formed and ratified by the few high powers of earth, would be, what as yet does not exist, a *system* of international law.

The decision of disputes according to this code would belong to a permanent body of judges, elected like the members of the Congress, and forming a “COURT OF NATIONS.” These might either meet as occasion required, or sit stately. What an august tribunal ! How would such men as Webster and Clay shine there by the side of Brougham and Guizot ! How much more probably would justice be obtained there by a wronged nation, than if the decision were made to result from a pitched battle !

I see no objection to the plan, as an abstract question of debate; none as to its practical workings. We have much history, much experience to encourage the attempt. The Amphictyonic Council preserved peace to the States of Greece. The Germanic Diet was a court of nations to more than thirty free states and cities. The Cantons of Switzerland, though differing in language, religion and intelligence, live peaceably under a similar compact. The united provinces of Holland maintained entire peace by such an arrangement for two hundred years. These United States, free and sovereign, have agreed to settle their disputes before a Supreme Court, and have forever renounced the right to go to war with each other. Who then will say that a plan which has worked well in so many instances, may not be successful on a larger scale?

The plan of referring disputes between nations to the arbitration of a neutral power, is found to produce the happiest results, and is very often tried. Yet how inferior to this plan! The monarch who arbitrates, may not have time or inclination to examine details. Or he may have selfish inducements to lean to one side. And at best he has not, as our court would have, an *admitted* code to govern his decision.

I love to anticipate the formation of a court of nations. Round such a tribunal would shine a splendor resembling, more than aught earth ever saw before, the glory of the throne of God! There would sit a bench of peace-makers, dispensing tranquility, confidence and safety, not to cities only, or to nations, but to the world. From them would go forth, under God, unnumbered blessings to the whole family of man. Before them, petty despots, and blood-thirsty aspirants, would be crushed in their beginnings. Earth would no more be stained with the blood of the brave. The horrors of the conscription and the press-gang would cease. Commerce would spread her free and fearless sails on every sea, and navies would dwindle to a mere police.

What can be said why such a court should not be established? I know of only this—such a court could not enforce its decisions. But this is not so. What enforces law in Kentucky or Vermont? Not an army, but *public opinion*. No military force can coerce a nation or community contrary to public opinion. This is a new element in political economy not known in former ages, but now omnipotent. No king can now wage a war if public opinion be against him. When we get our court of nations, public opinion

as to war will be *right*, and the spirit that creates the tribunal, will carry out its decisions. We have laws now which lie dormant—a dead letter—just because public opinion is against them now. But when the people are earnest in favor of a law, they want no army to dragoon them into obedience.

Total non-intercourse with a refractory nation would soon reduce it to submission. Civilization now makes all nations dependent on each other for absolute necessities. But what nation would refuse the reparation which such a court ordered? None would be so mad. No award would tax it so heavily as a year's war. Public opinion, once formed on peace principles, would render war as impossible as it is unnecessary. The case would be the same as in regard to duelling and profane swearing, which authority never could abolish, but which are being abolished by public opinion. It is far from being difficult to affect public opinion. See the effects of a few abolitionists constantly declaiming against slavery. A hundred such cases may be named. We have only to argue and exhort a few years, and earth will enjoy the incalculable blessings of a COURT OF NATIONS. H. M.

PEACE A PIONEER OF THE GOSPEL.

If the gospel must have access to men, as of course it must, before it can convert or sanctify them, how many obstacles does the custom of war oppose to its progress and saving power? A multitude of these have been scattered, age after age, over the whole earth by the martial character of Christendom. Its wars, however unjust the charge, are actually charged by the heathen upon our religion, as one of its *supposed* fruits; and thus have they for ages reared all round the unevangelized world a barrier of prejudice very like the wall of China. Their ports, their ears, their hearts are closed fast against us. Christians are still regarded with terror; and Christianity itself, though an angel of peace and love, has thus become, all over the earth, a hissing and a scorn.

We cannot well conceive how far the wars of Christendom have set the great mass of unevangelized minds sternly against the religion of the cross. Not only does the infidel cast them in our teeth, and the Jew insist that the Messiah, promised as the

Prince of Peace, cannot have come, since nations reputedly Christian have been almost incessantly engaged in war; but even the follower of the false prophet calls us "Christian dogs," and taunts us for our glaring hypocrisy.

The result is inevitable in checking the spread of Christianity. How came the gospel to meet in the Sandwich and South Sea Islands, a reception comparatively so cordial, and a degree of success so glorious? Other causes doubtless conspired; but a principal one was found in the fact, that the wars of Christendom were little known to the natives, and they saw Christianity exhibited before them, first in the lives of its humble, peaceful missionaries. On the other hand, why were the Jesuit missionaries so indignantly expelled from China? Whence such rancorous hatred of the gospel in Japan, that every man, woman and child was required to go once a year through the ceremony of publicly trampling in scorn on the cross, and no Christian was allowed to put his foot on the shores of that island without first renouncing his religion? They had heard of Christian nations crimsoning their path by sea and land with blood; and they very naturally suspected those Jesuits of having come to involve them, somehow or other, in the same calamities that nominal Christians had so often inflicted upon one another. The countries all round the Mediterranean, traversed by Apostles, and covered with primitive Churches, have been for ages filled, mainly in consequence of fierce, bloody wars so long waged between Mahomedans and reputed Christians with such deep and bitter prejudices as centuries more can hardly suffice entirely to remove. Such prejudices spread more or less over the globe, *must* be removed before its myriads can ever be evangelized.

NOTHING IN WAR LIKE CHRIST.

Every true Christian must be like his Great Master. His acts are not the fruits of the spirit of the old man, but of the new man in Christ Jesus. No one can be a fruit-bearing disciple any longer than he abides in him as a branch in the vine; and while thus abiding, the actions of his life, in all their variety and different degrees of development, will be transfused with his spirit. Every action in its inception and issue; every duty, social, public, or private; every emotion, weak or strong, will bear witness to the spirit that was in Christ. In estimating the value of a diamond, we say that it is of such or such a *water*. In analysing the purity of a Christian action, we may say that it is of such or such a *spirit*; that in the ore of

grosser motives, are contained, as it were, so many grains of the spirit of Christ.

Now, is war at all like Christ? "Whence come wars and fightings?" Whence the emotions that fill the heart in the act of inflicting upon a fellow-being atrocities which no brute inflicts upon its fellow-brute—in the act of thrusting his maddened soul into the presence of its God on the point of the bayonet, of maiming and mutilating his body, and stamping it in the mire of its own blood into the earth? In emotions and actions like these, is there any of the spirit of Christ? Follow him from the manger to the cross, through every trial he was called to endure, through all the bitter obloquy and persecution that were heaped upon him, through all the indignities which he daily suffered. Stand by him at the crowning scene of ignominy and malice, when at Pilate's bar he was spit upon and buffeted by the malignant mob. Watch the expression of his countenance when the crown of thorns was placed around his temples, whilst he was staggering up the hill of blood under the weight of his cross, when the nails were driven, and when he breathed forth the last impulse of his spirit upon his red-handed murderers, and cried, FATHER, FORGIVE THEM! FATHER, FORGIVE THEM! Observe him at any point of these fierce temptations, at any lone moment of his agony, at his night-wrestlings in the garden when he sweat, as it were, great drops of blood in view of the last scene of his suffering. See what were the fruits of *his* spirit in these "extreme cases." When there was none to see and hear but God, did a thought of ill-will to any human being steal into his heart, as the long catalogue of injuries he had received from his countrymen pressed upon his memory? Did a shade of anger cross that grief-marred countenance under cover of the night? Did a tone of unkindness strengthen the emphasis of his midnight prayer?

Such was Christ. Is the disciple greater than his Master? Are his temptations greater, the "extreme cases" to which he is exposed, *more* extreme than were those of his Master? If the Christian is a branch of such a vine; if he abides in such a vine; if his heart is grafted into the heart of Christ, and thence receives the vital fluid of its spiritual existence; in short, if he have the same spirit that was in Christ breathing and begetting life in his soul, then in the extremest cases of sudden and fearful trial into which a human being may be thrown, he will act, speak and pray like his Master—like the Captain of his salvation, who was made perfect through *suffering*. The godless governments of this world may rule and rage as they please; but "neither principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come," can separate the true, living Christian from the love of God which is in Christ. They cannot dislocate his heart from the heart of Christ; and while that vital connection exists, he cannot fight, unless a malignant element be first infused into the fountain from which he draws his life-spirit. Never until the powers and principles of this world shall change the attributes of the Son of God can the Christian fight, or hate, or curse, or injure, or scorn his brother man. His moral inability to indulge these passions, and to perpetrate these deeds, is fixed upon him by a law as irrepealable as the elements of God's being.

A CHRISTIAN CANNOT FIGHT.

The Christian cannot fight consistently with the spirit which alone makes him a Christian. We have the direct precepts of the Gospel, which forbid the slightest feeling of ill-will towards our enemies, and command us even to *love* them—to feed, clothe and comfort them. But we have something more than precepts; we have in the constitution, in the anatomy, in the physiology of Christianity, an organic disability for wars and fightings in a disciple of the meek and lowly Jesus. The heart of the true Christian is grafted into the heart of Christ, from which it daily and hourly draws its spiritual life. And while this vital communication between him and his Master is sustained, he cannot hate nor injure, nor scorn a fellow-being, even were there no *special precepts* forbidding such emotions and actions.

So a Christian, in the fulness of this divine communication, is disqualified for a soldier by every attribute of the spirit with which it transfuses his soul. We have tested him before a court martial, and found that he would be hung upon the first tree as a traitor, if he should obey the commands, evince the spirit, and imitate the example of Christ towards his enemies on the eve of a battle. The recruiting sergeant has sent him home, as unfit for service. Shall the Christian church, the court of Christ on earth, reverse the decision of the court martial, and send the soldier of the cross back to the recruiting sergeant, with the admonition to that officer of the carnal weapon order, that he had mistaken his man; that the robe of Christ's righteousness, pure and white as it might seem, might be dyed to the reddest crimson in the hot rivulets of human blood on the battle field, and yet be in uniform with the robes of the blest in Heaven? Shall a bench of Bishops, a council of Gospel Ministers, or the Church itself, undertake to impeach the authority of the greatest generals of the world, who have testified to the inconsistency of all war with Christianity? Who, on the Continent of Europe, ever tried the metal of more soldiers than Buonaparte, or better knew the qualities most requisite in a warrior than he, when he summed up his experience in the declaration, "*the worse the man the better the soldier?*" Who, of all the English list of military heroes, is better authority than he whose monument towers highest among its fellows in the metropolis of the world? And the Duke of Wellington said, "*No person with nice scruples about religion, has any business in the army.*" Another hero, with his laurels blushing on his brow with the fresh crimson of the battle-field, has declared at the festal board to fellow officers, "*the soldier's trade is a damnable profession.*"

Now, shall Christians endeavor to raise *such* a profession to the reputation of a *Christian* occupation? There is no vacancy in any army upon earth for a man who can love his enemies, and bless and pray for those who despitefully use him. There is no army before which he would not be hung as a traitor, if he exercised the highest prerogatives, and obeyed the sublimest precepts of Christianity, and forgave, and blessed, and fed the very persons whom his Divine Master commanded him to forgive, bless and feed.

E. B.

HOW WAR UPHOLDS DESPOTISM.

There is nothing which renders the task of despotism so easy as the readiness of the people to fight. What power has Austria to render her rule hateful and intolerable in Italy, but the power of the bayonet? What has rendered the imperial sceptre in France a rod of iron, and substituted for the free impulses of a nation's policy, the will of a single mind, and the interests of a dynasty? The French people have discovered the great truth which all history teaches, that a nation cannot be both warlike and free. The world concedes to France the highest reputation for soldierly qualities; but the military laurels she wears, cannot conceal the political manacles with which she is gyved. If we will but analyse that which we deem intolerable in the *regime* of the Hapsburgs, or in the supposed policy of the Bonapartes, we shall find that these men are mischievous or dangerous only in proportion as the people arm at their bidding, and rush into the frantic infatuation of war. The people are in reality their own despots. A war, nominally undertaken to repress the ambition, or to punish the crime of a despotic ruler, speedily and necessarily becomes a war against his subjects, and millions of innocent people, the objects rather of sympathy than of chastisement, have to bear the penalties of a conflict into which they could never have been betrayed, but for their own delusive admiration of a policy of arms.

Sad and solemn are the lessons which war should teach *the people* of every land. It is *their* lives which are sacrificed, *their* resources which are drained, *their* trade which is destroyed, *their* lands and crops which are ravaged, *their* homes which are pillaged and burnt, *their* hearts which are broken by the wasting desolations of war.

Take a specimen from the late Italian War. "From Milan to the Ticino," says a writer on the spot to the *London News*, "the whole country but too plainly indicates the devastating presence of a hostile army. The Austrians had evidently quartered themselves on the country, that is, had encamped their vast army on the plains, without regard to the corn-fields, or numerous vineyards and gardens which adorn this part of Lombardy. The appearance which the country presents, may be easier conceived than described. On all sides waste and destruction of property meet the view. Miles of crops battered and soddened into the very soil, gardens once beautiful now lying desolate and despoiled. The very vineyards are to be seen levelled and uprooted, their tough roots and regular disposition affording a choice ground for the encampment of bodies of cavalry. These sad evidences of the presence of war plunging its gory fangs into the heart of all that is fair and beautiful in this country, is rendered perhaps still more striking by the sad contrast they bear to the smiling verdure of these spots which have been spared by the Austrian bands.

"The combat in Magenta must have been, from all accounts, something fearful, and, if we may form any conclusion from the evidences which met my gaze wherever I turned, not a spot or a house was there in the place but was stained with a deed of blood. The houses themselves were literally riddled, both with rifle and cannon balls. I verily believe that in the whole town not a dozen panes of glass could be found entire. Quarter was for a long time neither given nor taken; and one place, where the blood of the unfortunate wretches still besmeared the walls on either side, is pointed out as having proved the tomb of 700 retreating Austrians who, turning down a small court, suddenly found their retreat cut off. Trooping after them came a battalion of raging Zouaves, who, maddened

with blood, and yelling vengeance for the slaughter of their comrades in the first battalion who were almost annihilated, fell upon the defenceless men, and butchered them to a man!"—*Her. of Peace.*

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

It is amazing to see how much civilized nations spend in preparing to fight each other; how many myriads of treasure are wasted, and how many millions of men are kept ready for the work of mutual mischief and slaughter. "The following," says an able writer, "is a carefully compiled table of the forces of Europe in the year 1854-55. Since that time the Russian fleet has been destroyed; but the diminution has been more than counterbalanced by the increased navies of the other powers:—

MILITARY FORCES OF EUROPE IN 1855.

	Men.	Ships.	Guns.
Austria.....	650,000	102	752
Bavaria.....	239,888	...	...
Belgium.....	100,000	...	...
Denmark.....	75,169	110	880
France.....	650,000	407	11,773
Germany.....	452,473	...	...
Great Britain.....	265,000	591	17,291
Ionian Isles....	3,000	4	...
Greece.....	10,226	25	143
Modena and Parma.....	6,302	...	...
Netherlands.....	58,647	84	2,000
Papal States.....	11,274	...	...
Portugal.....	33,000	44	404
Prussia.....	525,000	50	250
Russia.....	699,000	207	9,000
Sardinia.....	48,088	40	900
Sicilies.....	106,264	29	444
Spain.....	75,000	410	1,530
Sweden.....	167,000	...	...
Switzerland.....	108,000	...	...
Tuscany.....	16,930	...	...
Turkey.....	310,970	...	...
	<hr/> 4,611,229	<hr/> 2,103	<hr/> 45,367

If we add the army of England in India, and her home militia of 155,000 at the same date, we shall have for her alone 670,000, and for all Europe, a grand total of 5,016,229 fighters on land; and, if we reckon ten men to each of the 45,367 guns in all her navies, or 453,670 sailors, we shall reach the enormous number of 5,469,899 men set apart for the sole business of human butchery. What an appalling calculation! Nations boasting a religion of peace, and calling themselves the disciples of the Prince of Peace, keep more than five millions of men as professional homicides, all picked, drilled, and armed to the teeth, for no other purpose than to slaughter one another! What a satire of blood upon the so-called Christian civilization of the age! How long must so strange and huge a folly continue?

THE LAST FRENCH WAR.

Seven years after this great contest [the American War] had been brought to a successful close, and the Americans, happily for the interests of mankind, had finally secured their independence, another nation rose up and turned against its rulers. In France, as is well known, the movement was extremely rapid; the old institutions, which were so corrupted as to be utterly unfit for use, were quickly destroyed; and the people, frenzied by centuries of oppression, practised the most revolting cruelties, saddening the hour of their triumph by crimes that disgraced the noble cause for which they struggled.

All this, frightful as it was, did nevertheless form a part of the natural course of affairs; it was the old story of tyranny exciting revenge, and revenge blinding men to every consequence except the pleasure of glutting their own passions. If, under these circumstances, France had been left to herself, the revolution, like all other revolutions, would soon have subsided, and a form of government have arisen suited to the actual condition of things. What the form would have been, it is impossible now to say; that, however, was a question with which no foreign country had the slightest concern. Whether it should be an oligarchy, or a despotic monarchy, or a republic, it was for France to decide; but it was evidently not the business of any other nation to decide for her, still less was it likely that, on so delicate a point, France would submit to dictation from a country which had always been her rival, and which not unfrequently had been her bitter and successful enemy.

But these considerations, obvious as they are, were lost upon George III., and upon those classes which were then in the ascendent. The fact that a great people had risen against their oppressors, disquieted the consciences of men in high places. The same evil passions, and indeed the same evil language, which a few years before were directed against the Americans, were now turned against the French; and it was but too clear that the same results would follow. In defiance of every maxim of sound policy, the English ambassador was recalled from France, simply because that country chose to do away with the monarchy, and substitute a republic in its place. This was the first decisive step towards an open rupture; and it was taken, not because France had injured England, but because France had changed her government. A few months later, the French, copying the example of the English in the preceding century, brought their king to a public trial, sentenced him to die, and struck off his head in the midst of his own capital. It must be allowed that this act was needless, that it was cruel, and that it was grossly impolitic. But it is palpably evident, that they who consented to the execution were responsible only to God and their country, and that any notice of it from abroad which bore the appearance of a threat would rouse the spirit of France, would unite all parties into one, and would induce the nation to adopt as its own, a crime of which it might otherwise have repented, but which it could not now abjure without incurring the shame of having yielded to the dictation of a foreign power.

In England, however, as soon as the fate of the king was known, the Government, without waiting for explanation, and without asking for any guarantee as to the future, treated the death of Louis as an offence against itself, and imperiously ordered the French residents to quit the country; thus wantonly originating a war which lasted twenty years, cost the lives of millions, plunged all Europe into confusion, and, more than any other circumstance, stopped the march of civilization by post-

poning for a whole generation those reforms which, late in the eighteenth century, the progress of affairs rendered indispensable.

What distinguishes this sanguinary contest from all preceding ones, and what gives to it its worst feature, is, that it was eminently a war of opinions,—a war which we carried on, not with a view to territorial acquisitions, but with the object of repressing that desire for reforms of every kind, which had now become the marked characteristic of the leading countries of Europe. As soon, therefore, as hostilities began, the English government had a twofold duty to perform; it had to destroy a republic abroad, and it had to prevent improvement at home. The first of these duties it fulfilled by squandering the blood and the treasure of England, till it had thrown nearly every family into mourning, and reduced the country to the verge of national bankruptcy. The other duty it attempted to execute by enacting a series of laws intended to put an end to the free discussion of political questions, and stifle that spirit of inquiry which was every year becoming more active. These laws were so comprehensive, and so well calculated to effect their purpose, that if the energy of the nation had not prevented their being properly enforced, they would either have destroyed every vestige of popular liberty, or else would have provoked a general rebellion. Indeed, during several years the danger was so imminent, that in the opinion of some high authorities, nothing could have averted it, but the bold spirit with which our English juries, by their hostile verdicts, resisted the proceedings of government, and refused to sanction laws which the crown had proposed, and to which a timid and servile legislature had willingly consented.—*Buckle's Hist. of Civilization.*

THE SOLDIER REPEATING THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Let us imagine we hear a soldier among fighting Christians saying the Lord's Prayer just before battle. OUR FATHER! says the hardened wretch! O can you call God Father, when you are just going to cut your brother's throat? *Hallowed be thy name.* How can the name of God be more impious, by *un-hallowed* than by mutual bloody murder among his sons?—*Thy kingdom come.* Do you pray for the coming of *his* kingdom, while you are endeavoring to establish an earthly despotism by spilling the blood of God's sons and subjects?—*Thy will be done on earth as it is heaven.* His will in heaven is for PEACE; but you are now meditating WAR.—*Give us this day our daily bread.* How dare you say this to your Father in heaven at the moment you are going to burn your brother's corn-fields, and would rather lose the benefit of them yourself than suffer him to enjoy them unmolested?—*Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us.* With what face can you pray thus when, so far from forgiving your brother, you are going, with all the haste you can, to murder him in cold blood for an alleged trespass which, after all, is but imaginary?—*Lead us not into temptation.* And do you presume to deprecate temptation or danger—you who are not only rushing into it yourself, but doing all you can to force your brother into it?—*Deliver us from evil.* You pray to be *delivered from evil*, that is, from the evil being, Satan, to whose impulses you are now submitting yourself, and by whose spirit you are guided in contriving the greatest possible evil to your brother?

THE COST OF WAR.

If the cost of war be compared with the advantages which nations gain in exchange, we fear that the balance will be a very formidable one on the wrong side of the account. As far as our own country (England) is concerned, the annual expenditure has become a very serious item. The great problem to be solved is, how can it be reduced consistently with our national safety? If we are to take any active part in the war now commenced in Europe (July, 1859), it is perfectly certain that no reduction will be made; and even should we maintain an armed neutrality there is almost an equal certainty that the financial demands for the ensuing year will be considerably increased.

At the close of the French war in 1816, the total cost of the Army, Ordnance and Navy amounted to £26,593,128. The number of men voted in that year for the Army, Ordnance and Navy, and the expenditure, were as follows:—

	Men.	Expenditure.
Army.....	133,505.....	£13,047,583
Ordnance.....	13,748.....	2,661,711
Navy.....	33,000.....	10,883,834
Total.....	180,253	26,283,128.

Or £147 per head.

At the end of the subsequent five years, namely in 1821, the total number of men voted was 122,960, and the total expenditure was £16,468,696, or in the ratio of £133 per head. From this period there was a decrease in the total expenditure, which remained almost stationary until the commencement of the Crimean war in 1854, which more than doubled the amount in the three following years. In order to show more clearly the progress of military and naval expenditure since 1816, we shall divide the years into quinquennial periods, showing the number of men voted, the total expenditure, and the ratio of cost per man.

Years.	Total No. men voted.	Total Expenditure.	Ratio per Head.
1821	122,969	£16,468,696	£133
1826	125,266	16,825,424	134
1831	128,873	15,367,805	119
1836	123,262	12,289,716	99
1841	144,097	15,218,518	105
1846	159,787	16,671,273	104
1851	152,287	14,801,898	97

Here ends the last quinquennial period previously to the Crimean war. During a period of thirty-five years, ending 1851, the highest amount of expenditure for the army, ordnance and commissariat was £15,709,294 in 1816; and the lowest was £7,558,057 in 1835. For the navy the highest amount of expenditure was £10,883,834 in 1816, and the lowest amount was £4,148,146 in 1835, exclusive of the civil establishments.

During the next quinquennial period, the amounts have so far surpassed those of former years, that we shall give them for each year—

Year.	Total No. men voted.	Total Expenditure.	Ratio per Head.
1852-3	165,019	£14,958,566	£ 90
1853-4	165,381	15,914,516	96
1854-5	226,751	27,908,811	125
1855-6	285,941	48,186,482	168
1856-7	307,716	33,871,148	110
1857-8	181,996	21,497,290	118
1858-9	189,515	20,429,126	107

During the three years that the Crimean war lasted, this country spent on its army and navy, no less than £109,966,441, or an average sum of £36,655,480 per annum, exclusive of the cost of the civil departments. During the same period it added £29,000,000 to the funded debt of the country. This enormous expenditure must be changed, or we shall be changed as a nation; there must be a limit to the amount of pressure which war and its tendencies can be borne by the people.

At the rate of outlay we have given, the interest upon the Public Debt, added to our military and naval expenditure, are becoming frightful in amount, and, if continued at the same ratio, they must ultimately undermine the foundation of our commercial supremacy. We are not alarmists in calling the attention of the public to the progressive increase in the cost of war, and its necessary accompaniments; but we place before our readers facts which cannot be disputed. The two great obstacles to the advancement of civilization, even amongst the most enlightened nations of Europe, are War and Debt. They are, in short, the scourge of the human race wherever they exist. The great and paramount duty of England, therefore, is, to enter her protest against them both in her Parliament and amongst her people. We have only to cast our eyes upon the most powerful nations in Europe, and we find that war and debt have bound them in fetters of iron; and, whilst this state of things remains, the people that live under such Governments cannot be free.

Before we close this subject, we shall present a statement of the claims which war and debt have made upon this country during the last five years:—

Year.	Naval and Military Expenditure.	Interest on the Public Debt, Funded and Unfunded.	Total Expenditure for War and Debt.
1854	£27,908,811	£27,093,340	£55,002,151
1855	48,186,484	28,185,958	76,372,440
1856	33,871,148	28,681,177	62,552,325
1857	21,497,290	28,627,103	50,124,393
1858	20,429,126	28,527,474	48,956,610

Thus the war and debt of this country during a period of hostilities absorbed the *whole* of the ordinary income of the State. The following statement gives the actual proportion which the military and naval expenditure, and public debt, bear to the total ordinary income of the country in each of the above years:—

Year.	Total Expenditure for War and Debt.	Total ordinary Revenue.	Per cent. paid for War and Debt.
1854	£55,002,151	£61,206,818	£ 89.8
1855	76,372,440	65,704,489	116.2
1856	62,552,325	69,808,990	89.6
1857	50,124,393	72,334,062	69.2
1858	48,956,610	67,881,512	72.1

The above sums are so formidable in their proportions that we need not urge any other argument to show the necessity of avoiding the expenditure which war and debt bring in their train. It may be estimated almost to a certainty, that England could not engage in a war with any of the great Powers of Europe without expending in her military and naval departments from sixty to eighty millions a year, and probably adding to her public debt some twenty or thirty millions more. We do not infer from this that war can, in all cases, be avoided; but we say this, that to spend such vast amounts in the destruction of human life is one of the remnants of barbarism, which every statesman is bound, in justice to his country, and to the cause of freedom and civilization, to avert to the utmost of his power.

This expose, taken from a recent number of the London *Monetary Times and Bankers' Circular*, and showing how shrewd, cautious capitalists view the pecuniary bearings of the present war-system, presents some startling points for reflection:—

1. Mark the cost of warriors and their accompaniments. In thirty years, from 1821 to 1852, it was \$565 on an average each, and, in portions of this time, varying from \$450 to \$645 and \$840. Surely these civilized, *Christian* fighters are very costly.

2. Note, likewise, the proportion of public expenses devoted to war-purposes. In three years, (1854-5,) including the Crimean War, they absorbed nearly the whole income, which amounted for five years, (1853-8,) to \$337,000,000 a year. In three years the army and navy alone, cost an average of \$183,000,000.

3. Observe, also, the steady increase of war expenses. In 1835, they were less than \$60,000,000, while in 1854-6 they varied from \$139,000,000 to 240,000,000. Instead of less than sixty millions in 1835, they have averaged, for the last five years, more than \$150,000,000 a year. The tendency is clear, strong, irresistible to a constant increase until the whole system shall be changed; nor can we foresee any limits except the ability of the people to pay. What a vast and fearful incubus!

INFLUENCE OF STANDING ARMIES.

Let our readers reflect on the supreme folly of these armies, whereby the flower of the youth and manhood of Christian nations in Europe, the strength and sinew of society, are being more and more withdrawn from all the occupations of productive industry, to be maintained in coerced idleness at the expense of the toiling remnant, in order that they may be trained skilfully in the art of mutual murder. And with what results as regards themselves and the relations they sustain to the people by the sweat of whose brow they are sustained? What is the position of the men devoted to this trade of blood? They are separated and kept apart from the rest of the community, subjected to an exceptional code of laws which deprives them of many of the rights of free citizenship, and are, in fact, reduced to a condition which, in all essential respects, differs nothing from slavery, except that it is not hereditary. They are taught to regard themselves as having interests distinct from the other elements of society. Military obedience is substituted, as the first principle of their life, in place of patriotism, and the *esprit du corps* triumphs over all the instincts and obligations of liberty.

Hence it is that these men have been in every age, and still are, and by the very necessities of their existence ever must be, the most formidable instruments of despotism, willingly lending their trained skill in the use of murderous weapons for the purpose of enthroning tyrants on the necks of the groaning millions of their fellow-men. Look over the face of Europe at this moment. What is it that props up all the worst forms of civil and political and spiritual oppression, which arrests the progress of nations, and dooms them to perpetual childhood, instead of accomplishing the destinies to which they are invoked by the voice of nature and providence? What but these teeming myriads of the armed myrmidons of power, which the governments of the world seduce the people into sup-

porting, on the pretence of defending them from the attacks of other nations, who would never dream of disturbing them but for the restless and wicked ambition of these very rulers themselves.

Let us remember, however, that little of the blame is due to the men who constitute the bulk of these enormous armaments. They are themselves the miserable victims of a power which they cannot resist or control. In all countries but our own, "the services" are recruited by conscription, by which the state lays violent hands upon free citizens, and forces them into military servitude, from which there is no escape but at the peril of their lives. In this country, it is not much better, for three-fourths of our recruits are either enlisted after the little reason they possess has been drowned in the ale-cup, or are seduced to accept the shilling under the influence of the grossest falsehood and fraud. And when once in the toils, the condition of the negro in the southern states of America is not one of more humiliating and helpless slavery than theirs, while their term of military service lasts. They must surrender their freedom of action, their will, their conscience, their affections, their sense of religion, (if they have any,) in short, every attribute which constitutes them men in contra-distinction from mere brute beasts, into the absolute control of another. The effect upon their own moral character is generally disastrous. Withdrawn from the blessed and purifying influences of domestic life, subjected to a discipline the very object of which is to render them reckless and hardened, shut out, during all the best years of their manhood, from "the precious possibilities" of existence which are open to other men, and inured to thoughts, in connection with their calling, which cannot fail to degrade and embrate their natures they are made to pass through a process of demoralization which it is appalling to contemplate, so that when they are at length liberated, many of them (though not without honorable exceptions, which are worthy of all the more esteem and admiration from the extremity of temptation through which they pass) are returned into the bosom of society, if not mutilated in body, utterly corrupted in mind, and admirably qualified to corrupt others.

We hold very cheap the affected indignation against "those who calumniate the character of our brave soldiers," by which it is sometimes attempted to turn the edge of such representations as the above. We say "affected" indignation; because those who pretend to display it know perfectly well that the picture we have drawn of the moral effects of a military life in the ranks, is strictly correct. From no lips has such emphatic testimony issued on this subject, as from those of naval and military officers. This is also amply confirmed by notorious facts, and by the powerful instinct of terror and disgust by which all decent and respectable, and especially religious families shrink from the idea of seeing one of their children enter the army, and mourn over him when he has entered, with a sense of sorrow and bitter degradation, as of one doomed to all but irretrievable ruin. Is not the appearance of a regiment of soldiers in any of our small towns regarded, by all who are concerned for the moral weal of the population, as the approach of a pestilence? Where is there vice so gross, where scenes of intemperance and profligacy so open, as in the neighborhoods of barracks, the purlieus of camps, or the ports frequented by our men-of-war? And surely this is a solemn question of itself, how far society is entitled to sustain a system which compels so many of its members to surrender all the chances which their own industry and virtue may open before them in other directions, and to pass through a discipline having such perilous tendency to demoralize and degrade their whole being, and consign them to an almost inevitable oral perdition.—*Herald of Peace.*

APOLOGIES FOR MILITARY PREPARATIONS.—The anxiety of rulers to throw off the responsibility for war, shows how responsible they feel themselves to the bar of public opinion, and the growing power of that opinion. This was very clearly seen in the rise of the Italian war. "It is really amusing," said an English editor at the time, "to remark how each of the Powers concerned in the Italian war, while violently accusing its neighbors as designing mischief by such warlike preparations, solemnly deprecates on its own account any other intention than what is most amicable and pacific. Count Cavour, after broadly charging Austria with hostile and aggressive designs against his country in adding to her forces in Italy, tells the world that the military measures *Sardinia* has taken, or is preparing to take, 'have an *exclusively defensive object*, and, far from containing any menace to the tranquility of Europe, are intended to calm agitation.' Austria, on the other hand, solemnly declares, 'that *she* is not an aggressive Power, and that it is an evident fact that the military preparations made by her in her Italian possessions, have *only a defensive object* in view, that they were, in fact, intended to repel an attack openly and loudly announced from the other side of the Ticino.' On the other hand, the French pamphlet ascribes the increased Austrian armaments in Italy to a secret purpose to retain and extend unjust conquest, while the Emperor's Speech protests that France is solicitous only 'to inaugurate a system of peace which could not be disturbed.' Austria reiterates her denial, and gently insinuates that, if the French Government is so anxious for peace, 'she may expect the news of the cessation of the armaments of France.' Thus they go on with reciprocal accusations, disclaimers and protestations in an infinite series, each ascribing the other's *military preparations* to a guilty desire for war, and its own to a pure and passionate love of peace."

THE GENERAL'S SWORD:

OR THE WARRIOR BECOME A PEACE-MAN:

"I was trained in the school of war from childhood," said the General, "having been born at the cannon's mouth, and nurtured amidst the clash of arms." Thirst for military glory was the ruling passion of my heart. In early life, I obtained the command of a regiment, and in time became Brigadier-General. In disciplining the soldiers under me, it was my great aim to get them into such a state of mind as would allow them to shoot at men, women and children, as they would at a target, and to throw cannon-balls and bomb-shells into masses of human beings, as against stone walls, without one thought of the pain and suffering they were inflicting. I always found that those in whose hearts human sympathy and affection were nearly extinct, made the coolest, most steady and trustworthy soldiers. If a town were to be sacked and pillaged, a country to be desolated, and houses and crops to be destroyed; if an enemy's garrison were to be put to the sword, and if women and children were to be massacred; such were the men whom I could always trust to execute my orders. In short, I found Napoleon's maxim true, '*The worse the man, the better the soldier.*'

'But I could never endure to hear soldiers talking about loving their en-

emies; about forgiving injuries, and returning good for evil. In my calm moments, I never could see what Christianity had to do with war, or how a soldier could pretend to be a Christian. My only argument for war was NECESSITY; and I never could endure to hear men justify it from the precepts and example of Christ. I never wished to hear any praying among my soldiers, for I felt that praying and fighting were not congenial.

I left the army surfeited with military honors. I had a sword of beautiful make and polish, which was given to me as a reward for my services. With that sword I had slain many human beings. Their blood now cries to God against me; for I killed them knowing them to be innocent, merely because they belonged to the nation against whom I was waging war. Then I saw not as I now see. Gross darkness covered my mind. My keen polished sword I idolized; and I carried it with me into my retirement, when I left the camp and the army. That sword I hung up in my parlor, and I kept it near me as an old and familiar friend.

In my quiet retirement I began to review the past, to look into the future, and to study more closely my relations to my Maker and to my fellow-beings. I began to read more attentively the Christian Scriptures. I began to feel that my whole life had been at war with God as well as with man. Conviction fastened upon me, and I bowed my soul in sorrow before high Heaven, oppressed with the thought that I had lived but to spread misery and death. The law which enjoined *love to enemies* was what most troubled me, for I was conscious of having violated it most flagrantly.

I sat in my parlor one day, thinking how Christ loved his enemies, and died for them. I felt that I had been his enemy, and that he had loved me, and had died for me. My spirit was subdued. With tears I exclaimed, 'God be merciful to me, a sinner.' A new spirit was kindled within me. A sweet calm settled upon me; I felt a gentle, a tender and forgiving spirit towards all men. I felt that I loved everybody, and that I could not injure my deadliest enemy, let him do what he would to me. I seemed to dwell in love and in heaven.

While in this frame, my eye rested on my sword, and I said to myself, 'If I *love mine enemies*, what use have I for that sword?' The spirit of love seemed to whisper in my heart in sweet and gentle tones, '*Beat it up, BEAT IT UP, and learn war no more.*' So distinct was the impression that I should beat it up, that I said aloud, in the hearing of my wife, who was present, 'I will — I will beat it up.' My wife was startled as she heard me, and saw me moving towards my sword to take it down. She hastily arose, came towards me, and asked, 'General, what are you going to do with your sword?' 'To beat it up,' said I; 'I have no more use for it.' 'Why should you beat it up?' said she. 'It can injure no one now; and it serves to remind you of past deeds of glory, and of the high estimation in which they were held.' 'Those deeds of glory, as you call them,' I replied, 'were deeds of shame and sorrow, and have of late caused me many tears of anguish. Would that I and the world could forget them! The war spirit is, I trust, dead within me. I love my fellow-creatures; I could not injure any one. What have I to do with a deadly weapon? I will beat up that sword, and then can I pray for peace.' I took my beautiful sword, went to a smith's shop, and beat it into a pruning-hook. I have kept it ever since to prune my garden."

Was that man's conduct the natural result of love? If it was, then do those who practise or advocate war, practically deny the Christian spirit and its regenerating power. If they profess Christianity, their religion is but an abstraction or an observance. If it were a living principle, leading to a practical obedience to the plain and positive precepts of the gospel, they would beat up their swords, and learn war no more. I never heard a warrior, who understood the principles and practices necessarily connected

with war, attempt to justify it by an appeal to the law of love. Even a Wellington has said, "A man who has nice notions of religion, had better not become a soldier." Yet that man, professing to be a Christian, cut his way to glory through the very bowels of humanity!— *Wright*.

WOMEN IN A WAR-OFFICE.—During the war in Italy the war-office in Paris was thronged with women waiting for the list of the killed and wounded. "Yesterday," says one of the Paris journals, "it was not considered satisfactory, and indeed not credited at all. The scene which took place is beyond description. Anger more than sorrow seemed to actuate the inquirers; and the difficulty of quieting the female portion of the applicants for news, was terrible. The noise and confusion, the wailing and gnashing of teeth on the part of the bereaved female relatives of the army of Italy, which took place yesterday on the great staircase of the war-office, will long be remembered by the neighbors. Of one entire regiment of the Guard slaughtered at Magenta, one single officer is left! the rest all killed or taken prisoners, and of the soldiers, not one-quarter of their number are alive."

IS PEACE EVER TO COME? — It is more than eighteen centuries and a half since the advent of our Saviour, the Prince of Peace. The armies of Europe at that time are supposed to have contained about 300,000 men, while her warriors on land and sea are now said to exceed four millions; a recent writer of some note estimating them all at 4,615,888. Shall we say the gospel is untrue, or Christianity a failure? How shall we account for such results from such a religion? Is its promise of peace ever to be fulfilled? If so, when and how, by what process or by what means? Can it *ever* be by the course now pursued by Christians?

DR. CAREY A PEACE-MAN.—The pioneers in the Missionary Enterprise, like Ward, Judson and Hall in India, were decided friends of peace. Of Carey's habits on the subject, the following incident is preserved: "When he had finished his publication of the Bengalee Bible, he was taken the very next day with a fever which brought him rapidly to the brink of the grave. For a few days he was delirious, and talked incoherently. He was attended with the kindest assiduity by Dr. Darling, the surgeon to one of the regiments at Barrackpore, who entered the sick chamber, on his first visit, in his military uniform. Dr. Carey had always been a warm advocate of peace, and the practice of war was repugnant to his feelings. During his delirium, his mind wandered on the subject which had engaged his thoughts in health; and no sooner did he perceive the scarlet coat of his attendant, than he sprang from his couch in a phrenzy, and asked how he dared to appear in such a dress after the Almighty had decreed the abolition of all war. Dr. Darling was obliged to retreat, and exchange his uniform for one of Mr. Marshman's black coats, when he was allowed to feel the pulse of his patient, and prescribe for him."—*J. C. Marshman*.

PROGRESS OF MISSIONS.

When the first foreign missionary Society (the American Board) was formed in 1810, the whole annual income of all the Protestant Foreign Missionary Societies then existing, probably did not amount to \$200,000. The receipts of the English Church Missionary Society were then but about \$15,000 per annum, those of the English Baptist Missionary Society not far from \$20,000, and those of the London Missionary Society perhaps \$80,000. The few other then existing societies have ever been comparatively small.

Since that time, while the number of distinct organizations for the prosecution of this work has greatly increased, (amounting now to more than forty,) the income of the older, as well as of many of the newer societies, has also largely increased. For the year last reported, the whole income of the English Church Missionary Society exceeded \$800,000, that of the London Missionary was about \$420,000, and that of the English Wesleyan Society \$615,000. The English Baptist Society received \$100,000, the Foreign Mission Scheme of the Free Church of Scotland \$80,000; thus the united income of these six societies for the last year exceeded \$2,000,000. In our country, the income of the American Board for the last financial year was about \$334,000; of the Presbyterian Board, \$224,000; of the Baptist Union, near \$97,000; of the Episcopal Board, near \$68,000; of the Methodist Missionary Society for Home and Foreign Missions, about \$185,000, the expenses connected with their Foreign Missions not far from \$80,000; thus making a total of more than \$800,000 for Foreign Missions. Protestants are now spending in missions to the heathen, probably not far from \$4,000,000 a year.

WAR AND MARRIAGE.—In Prussia men are not allowed to marry at all till after they have served several years in the army; in France the military authorities do not recognise any marriage contracted without their permission. The great majority are married and have young families mainly depending upon them for support. The evident distress depicted on their faces is a mute protest against the folly and wickedness of war. The streets before the bureau militaire is thronged by multitudes of these unrecognized wives, who have in not a few instances walked many weary miles to learn their fate at once. It is heart-rending to watch these pale anxious faces awaiting the fiat of the medical board. The chance of exemption is but small; and when they come out and tell the dreadful news—*il faut partir de suite*—the scene is agonizing in the extreme. The parting generally takes place then and there. The muster roll is called over, and the women are forcibly thrust aside, while their husbands are formed into squads and marched off.

THE FEELING IN FRANCE TOWARDS ENGLAND:

THE TESTIMONY OF AN AMERICAN ON THE SUBJECT.

Our readers are aware that during the last half dozen years there has been in England an occasional panic about an invasion from France. However difficult for us to credit or even conceive the fact, we are forced, to accept it as a reality, since we find so much said about it by the press

on the platform, and in Parliament itself. It seems a sort of national fright, a phrenzy of popular fear and terror, not unlike that occasioned all over the South by the late foray of John Brown into Virginia, overmastering reason, and putting common sense for the time to flight. The press, with the London Times at its head, has just begun this panic anew; and to counteract it, the Secretary of the London Peace Society publishes in the London Star the following testimony of "a distinguished American Statesman," as "a disinterested and most competent witness, as nearly as possible in his own language:"—

"Few foreigners," said he, "have had better opportunities of seeing or knowing France than I have enjoyed during the last two years. I have spent a large portion of that period in travelling and residing in various parts of the country. I have had free access to society everywhere. Those whom I met spoke to me, as an American, with far more freedom and unreserve than they would probably have done to an Englishman; and I will tell you the result of my observation among several classes.

"First, I was thrown a good deal into the society of the higher order of literary men and professors, with some of whom I was on terms of familiar intimacy. Among this class, so far from anything like a war-like tone towards England or any other country, I found the prevalence of what I should call peace principles, to an extent that both surprised and delighted me. I have sat and listened to them by the half hour, declaiming, in the most earnest spirit, against that monstrous system of rivalry in armaments which prevails in Europe, and which they branded as a disgrace to civilization.

"Secondly, circumstances threw me, for several months during the latter part of my stay in France, into the company of commercial men. I was staying at one of the largest French ports, and mingled in daily intercourse with the leading merchants of the place. We had frequent conversations about England, and never did I once hear a breath of hostility against your countrymen. On the contrary, all united to deprecate war between the two nations, as the greatest calamity that could befall mankind. They often referred, with a sort of amused surprise, to the periodical panics into which their English neighbors were thrown, and I was repeatedly asked if I could explain to them what appeared to them an inexplicable phenomenon.

"Thirdly, in travelling about the country, which I did a good deal, I came necessarily into contact with a large promiscuous class, whom I met in railways, at hotels, &c. I made it a point of getting into conversation with such persons. At first they generally mistook me for an Englishman; but when I informed them that I was an American, there was an obvious *empanchement* in their manner which proved to me that they were opening their minds freely. Among these I certainly found some who betrayed clearly enough that they did not much like the English, from what they saw of them in their own country. They said their manners were cold and haughty; that there was an offensive ostentation in the way in which they scattered their money; that often their dress was *outré*, and their conduct rude and swaggering. On these accounts there was an obvious repugnance felt by some of the people I met towards your countrymen. But of that deadly enmity of which I have heard so much in England, the ferocious spirit of revenge, breathing nothing but threatening and slaughter, which, we are told, lead all Frenchmen to long for an invasion of Great Britain, I assure you I never found even a trace during the whole time of my residence in France. From not a single individual of the multitudes with whom I freely conversed, did I hear anything like a wish for a war with England, still less for a sudden and unprovoked descent on your coasts.

"I am bound to add, however, on the other side, that I found some persons in France, who believe, or professed to believe, that the Emperor meant mischief towards your country. These were principally Legitimists, who, while deprecating hostilities with England themselves, expressed strong distrust as to the intentions of the present ruler of France. I must say, though I was very kindly received in their circles, that I believe much of this suspicion sprang from their own strong political feelings as regards Louis Napoleon."

These periodical invasion panics in England are such queer and strange phenomena, that we shall attempt in a future number such solution of them as we can.

A MIGHTY CURE-ALL.

Several gentlemen were talking one evening at the house of a friend, when one of them exclaimed, "Ah, depend upon it, a soft answer is a *mighty cure-all*!" A boy, who sat behind at a table studying his Latin grammar, began to listen, and repeated, as he thought quite to himself, *a soft answer is a mighty cure-all*. "Yes, that's it," cried the gentleman, starting and turning round to see where the echo came from, "Yes, that's it; don't you think so, my lad?" The boy blushed a little at finding himself so unexpectedly addressed, but answered, "I don't know whether I understand you, sir." "Well, I'll explain, then," said the gentleman, wheeling round in his chair; "for it is a principle which is going to conquer the world." The boy looked more puzzled than ever, and thought he should like to know something equal to Alexander himself.

"I might as well explain," said he, "by telling you about the first time it conquered *me*. My father was an officer; and his notion was to settle everything by fighting. If a boy gave me a saucy word, it was, 'Fight 'em, Charley; fight 'em!' By and by, I was sent to the famous — school; and it so happened my seat was next to a lad named Tom Tucker. When I found he lived in a small house behind the academy, I began to strut a little, and talk about what *my father was*; but, as he was a capital scholar, very much thought of by the boys, besides being excellent at bat-and-ball, we were soon on pretty good terms, and so it went on for some time. After a while, some of the fellows of my stamp, and I with the rest, got into difficulty with one of the ushers; and, somehow or other, we got the notion that Tom Tucker was at the bottom of it.

"'Tom Tucker! who is he?' I cried angrily. 'I'll let him know who I am!' and we rattled on, until we fairly talked ourselves into a parcel of wolves. The boys then set me on to go down to Tom Tucker's, and let him know what he had to expect. Swelling with rage, I bolted into his yard, where he was at work with Trip and his little sister. 'I'll teach you to talk about *me in this way*!' I thundered, marching up to him. He never winced, or seemed the least frightened, but stood still, looking at me as mild as a lamb. 'Tell me,' I cried, throwing down my books, doubling up my fist, and sidling up to him, 'Tell me, or I'll—kill you, I was going to say, for murder was in my heart.

"He stepped on one side, but answered firmly, yet mildly, 'Charley, you may strike me as much as you please: I tell you *I sha'n't strike back again*; fighting is a poor way of settling difficulties. I'm thinking, when you are Charles Everett, I'll talk with you.'

"Oh, what an answer was that! how it cowed me down—so firm, yet so mild! I felt there was no fun in having the fight all on one side. I was

ashamed of myself, and my temper, and everything about me. I longed to get out of his sight. I saw what a poor, foolish way *my way* of doing things was. I felt that Tom had completely got the better of me—that there was a power in his principles superior to anything I had ever seen before; and *from that hour* Tom Tucker had an influence over me which nobody else ever had before or since. It has been *for good*, too. That, you see, is the power, the mighty moral, of a *soft answer*.

"I have been about the world a great deal since then; and I believe," said the gentleman, "that nearly all, if not quite *all*, the bickerings, the quarrels, and disputes which arise among men, women, or children, in families, neighborhoods, churches, or even nations, might be cured by the mighty moral power of a *soft answer*; for the Scripture has it, '*A soft answer turneth away wrath.*'"

Yet how many professedly Christian parents train their children to act on the war-principle of *fighting their way*. "There is no *other way*," said one of these pugnacious disciples whom we once met; "*we must stand up for ourselves*, and, if others won't respect our rights, *we must fight 'em.*" Is that the *gospel*? "Yes, that's *my gospel*." But would you train your children to act on this principle? "Certainly. If Charley comes home from school with complaints about being ill-treated by his associates, I tell him not to bring such complains to me, but go and settle them himself." Settle them by *fighting*? "Yes, by *fighting*. There's no other way. Give them back their own coin—*fight 'em*. If a boy of mine would'n't do so, I'd whip him till he did." Such is the gospel of *some* Christians—a gospel not of peace, but of war; a gospel that would make society a bear-garden, worse than a human menagerie; as unlike the gospel of Christ as darkness is to light, or hell to heaven. No wonder, with such views, that the gospel has not yet put an end to the war-system in any Christian land; nor, till better understood and applied, can it ever induce nations to cease from learning war any more.

SUBSTITUTES FOR WAR.—"How many considerations are there," said Count de Morgny in his address before the French Legislature early in 1859, which ought to dispel our anxiety. Religion, philosophy, civilization, credit, manufactures, have made peace the first necessity of modern times. The blood of people can no longer be lightly shed—war is the last resort of injured right, or wounded honor. Almost all difficulties are now solved by diplomacy or pacific arbitration. Rapid international communication and publicity have created a new European power with which all governments are obliged to reckon; this power is opinion."

It certainly is no little gain to the cause of reason and humanity, that the masters of the world are obliged thus to acknowledge the authority of public opinion, and to appear and plead their own cause before its sovereign tribunal. It is still more gained, to find them acknowledge that almost all disputed questions can and ought now to be settled by pacific arbitration. These are omens for good, and may be fairly taken as prognostics of a day when the bloody and brutal arbitrament of the sword shall at length be entirely and forever abolished.

OUR MILITIA.

The law makes it the duty of the Secretary of War to prepare an annual abstract of the return of the militia in the several States. The aggregates for the last year are as follows:—

Maine.....	73,562	Louisiana.....	30,732
New Hampshire.....	33,584	Mississippi.....	35,083
Vermont.....	23,855	Tennessee.....	71,252
Massachusetts.....	158,849	Kentucky.....	88,858
Rhode Island	17,015	Ohio.....	176,455
Connecticut.....	91,430	Michigan.....	93,063
New York.....	350,000	Indiana.....	53,913
New Jersey.....	81,984	Illinois.....	257,420
Pennsylvania.....	160,000	Wisconsin.....	51,321
Delaware.....	9,229	Iowa.....	118,035
Maryland.....	46,884	Missouri.....	118,035
Virginia.....	150,000	Arkansas.....	36,054
North Carolina.....	79,448	Texas.....	19,766
South Carolina.....	36,072	California.....	307,330
Georgia.....	88,699	Minnesota.....	9,003
Florida.....	12,122	Utah Territory.....	2,821
Alabama.....	76,662	District of Columbia.....	8,201

The total, omitting Iowa, is 2,766,726 men in the United States, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, liable to military duty. "These returns have no connection whatever with the volunteer corps, authorised by State legislation; nor are the members of such corps exempted by their membership from service in the United States militia."

What a formidable array of figures! Nearly three millions of "citizen soldiers!" But there is some consolation in knowing that there are so few *real* soldiers at the bottom of all this array. We doubt whether one in ten, if one in twenty, has for years performed any military service whatever. It is a mere enrolment, as for the jury-box, of the persons *liable* to service in case of an invasion, or some other emergency not expected ever to occur. Indeed, we can hardly be said to have any military system. We once *had* one; but that is dead and buried long ago. We have an *enrolment*; but this must be regarded as a mere official farce. It simply tells the nation that there are so many able-bodied men in the land which the government can, if necessary, call forth to repel invasion, or suppress riot or rebellion. There is, for the most part, no appointment of officers, no arming of the men, no meeting at set times for drills, no real military organization. *Vox et pretea nihil. Stat nominis umbra.*

Take Massachusetts as a specimen. There is not left among us even a shadow of the old militia system. That is extinct; and in its place we have our *Volunteer Militia*, an organization of some 5,500 young men so fond of the display and recreation incident to military parades, that they will, if well paid by the State for it, come out twice a year to go through the usual drills, the peaceful mimicry of war. We learn from the fore-

going figures, that there are in this State, 158,849 men liable to do military service; but of all these it seems that *less than one in thirty* are found in what we call our "active militia." It is marvellous how much ado can be made by politicians and political papers over such a mere handful of men as were lately got together at Concord after months of "drumming" and preparation. Not one "citizen soldier" in thirty was there. A pretty fair index to the popularity of the system; and yet we should suppose, from the out-cry made about it, that all the State must have been on tiptoe to be present, and witness the grand display—the display of 5,500 troops! the whole of them not half enough for a decent sop to the war Cerberus at Solferino or Magenta.

WARS AHEAD.

President Buchanan devotes nearly a fourth part of his recent message to the affairs of Mexico, and closes with very urgent recommendations that will be sure, if adopted by Congress, to involve us in a series of most disgraceful fillibustering wars.

1. "For these reasons," says he, after giving a long list of grievances against Mexico, "I recommend to Congress to pass a law authorizing the President, under such conditions as they may deem expedient, *to employ a sufficient military force to enter Mexico for the purpose of obtaining indemnity for the past, and security for the future.* I purposely refrain from any suggestion as to whether this force shall consist of regular troops, or volunteers, or both. This question may be most appropriately left to the decision of Congress. I would merely observe that, *should volunteers be selected, such a force could be easily raised in this country among those who sympathize with the sufferings of our unfortunate fellow citizens in Mexico, and with the unhappy condition of that republic.* In that event there is no reason to doubt that the just claims of our citizens would be satisfied, and adequate redress obtained for the injuries inflicted upon them. The constitutional government have ever evinced a strong desire to do us justice, and this might be secured in advance by a preliminary treaty.

It may be said that these measures will, at least indirectly, be inconsistent with our wise and settled policy not to interfere in the domestic concerns of foreign nations. But does not the present case fairly constitute an exception? An adjoining republic is in a state of anarchy and confusion from which she has proved wholly unable to extricate herself. She is entirely destitute of the power to maintain peace upon her borders, or to prevent the incursions of banditti into our territory. In her fate and in her fortune, in her power to establish and maintain a settled government, we have a far deeper interest, socially, commercially and politically, than any other nation. She is now a wreck upon the ocean, driven about as she is impelled by different factions. As a good neighbor, shall we not extend to her a helping hand to save her? If we do not, it would not be surprising should some other nation undertake the task, and thus force us to interfere at last, under circumstances of increased difficulty, for the maintenance of our established policy.

2. "I repeat the recommendation contained in my last annual message that authority may be given to the President to establish one or more temporary military posts across the Mexican line in Sonora and Chihua-

hua, where these may be necessary to protect the lives and property of American and Mexican citizens against the incursions and depredations of the Indians, as well as of lawless rovers on that remote region. The establishment of one such post at a point called Arispe, in Sonora, in a country now almost depopulated by the hostile inroads of the Indians from our side of the line, would, it is believed, have prevented much injury and cruelties during the past season. A state of lawlessness and violence prevails on that distant frontier. Life and property are there wholly insecure. The population of Arizona, now numbering more than ten thousand souls, is practically destitute of government, of laws, or of any regular administration of justice. Murder, rapine, and other crimes, are committed with impunity. I therefore again call the attention of Congress to the necessity for establishing a territorial government over Arizona.

3. "I deem it to be my duty once more earnestly to recommend to Congress the passage of a law authorizing the President to employ the naval force at his command for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens passing in transit across the Panama, Nicaragua and Tehuantepec routes, against sudden and lawless outbreaks and depredations. I shall not repeat the arguments employed in former messages in support of this measure. Suffice it to say that the lives of many of our people, and the security of vast amounts of treasure passing and repassing over one or more of these routes between the Atlantic and Pacific, may be deeply involved in the action of Congress on this subject.

4. "I would, also, again recommend to Congress that authority be given to the President to employ the naval force to protect American merchant vessels, their crews and cargoes, against violent and lawless seizure and confiscation in the ports of Mexico and the Spanish American States, when these countries may be in a disturbed and revolutionary condition. The mere knowledge that such an authority had been conferred, as I have already stated, would of itself, in a great degree, prevent the evil. Neither would this require any additional appropriation for the naval service.

The chief objection urged against the grant of this authority is, that Congress, by conferring it, would violate the Constitution — that it would be a transfer of the war-making, or, strictly speaking, the war declaring power to the Executive."

The President proceeds to argue the lawfulness and expediency of investing him with all this imperial power to plunge our country, at his own discretion, in wars without number or end. We cannot suppose it possible that Congress will for a moment listen to requests that seem to us so insane, and so sure to bring on speedy and interminable collisions with our sister republics. Once establish such a precedent, and it may in time, if not very soon, lead the way to a despotism, under republican forms, as intolerable as that of ancient Cesars, or modern Czars. Authorize the President *at discretion* to enter another country "*with sufficient force*, for the purpose of obtaining indemnity for the past, and security for the future?" Empower him to proclaim at will a crusade against Mexico, or any other weak, distracted State, and pour into it, under our sanction, and with all our resources, a gang of legalized fillibusters to commit, with little or no restraint, all sorts of violence and outrage? It cannot be possible that Congress will ever sanction so bold a scheme of wrong and mischief. The inauguration of such a policy would, sooner or later, prove our ruin. The shores of time are strewn with the wrecks of republics overwhelmed by

the fatal recoil of just such measures. If such powers as the President asks, shall be given him, Congress might almost as well disband at once, and leave the government, in fact as well as form, entirely in his hands ; a centralization with a vengeance, a Republican Czar.

JOSEPH STURGE.

In the fair land o'erwatched by Ischia's mountains,
 Across the charmed bay
 Whose blue waves keep with Capri's silver fountains
 Perpetual holiday,
 A king lies dead, his wafer duly eaten,
 His gold-bought masses given ;
 And Rome's great altar smokes with gums to sweeten
 A name that stinks to heaven.
 And, while all Naples thrills with mute thanksgiving,
 The Court of England's Queen
 For the dead monster, so abhorred while living
 In mourning garb is seen.

With a true sorrow God rebukes that feigning :
 By lone Edgbaston's side
 Stands a great city, in the sky's sad raining,
 Bare-headed and wet-eyed !
 Silent, for once, the restless hive of labor,
 Save the low funeral tread,
 Or voice of craftsman whispering to his neighbor
 The good deeds of the dead.
 For him no minster's chant of the immortals
 Rose from the lips of sin ;
 No mitred priest swung back the heavenly portals
 To let the white soul in ;
 But Age and Sickness framed their tearful faces
 In the low hovel's door,
 And prayers went up from all the dark by-places
 And Ghettos of the poor.

The pallid toiler, and the negro chattel,
 The vagrant of the street,
 The human dice wherewith in games of battle
 The lords of earth compete,
 Touched with a grief that needs no outward draping,
 All swelled the long lament ;
 Of grateful hearts, instead of marble, shaping
 His viewless monument !
 For never yet, with ritual pomp and splendor,
 In the long heretofore,
 A heart more loyal, warm, and true, and tender
 Has England's turf closed o'er.

And, if there fell from out her grand old steeples
 No crash of brazen wail,
 The murmurous woe of kindreds, tongues, and peoples
 Swept in on every gale.
 It came from Holstein's birchen-belted meadows,
 And from the tropic calms
 Of Indian islands in the sun-smit shadows
 Of Occidental palms

From the locked roadsteads of the Bothnian peasants,
And harbors of the Finn,
Where war's worn victims saw his gentle presence
Come sailing, Christ like, in,
To seek the lost, to build the old waste-places,
'To link the hostile shores
Of severing seas, and sow with England's daisies
The moss of Finland's moors.

Thanks for the good man's beautiful example,
Who in the vilest saw
Some sacred crypt or altar of a temple
Still vocal with God's law;
And heard, with tender ear, the spirit sighing
As from its prison cell,
Praying for pity, like the mournful crying
Of Jonah out of hell.
Not his the golden pen's or lip's persuasion,
But a fine sense of right,
And truth's directness, meeting each occasion
Straight as a line of light.
His faith and works, like streams that intermingle,
In the same channel ran;
The crystal clearness of an eye kept single,
Shamed all the frauds of man.
The very gentlest of all human natures
He joined to courage strong,
And love outreaching unto all God's creatures
With sturdy hate of wrong.
Tender as woman; manliness and meekness
In him were so allied,
That they who judged him by his strength or weakness,
Saw but a single side.
Men failed, betrayed him; but his zeal seemed nourished
By failure and by fall;
Still large faith in human kind he cherished,
And in God's love for all.

And now he rests; his greatness and his sweetness
No more shall seem at strife;
And death has moulded into calm completeness
The statue of his life.
Where the dews glisten, and the song-birds warble,
His dust to dust is laid,
In Nature's keeping, with no pomp of marble
To shame its modest shade.
The forges glow, the hammers all are ringing;
Beneath its smoky veil,
Hard by the city of his love is swinging
Its clamorous iron flail;
But round his grave are quietude and beauty,
And the sweet heaven above —
The fitting symbol of a life of duty
Transfigured into love!

July 21st, 1850.

J. G. W.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.

It will be remembered that Hon. AMASA WALKER, in his late visit to England, bore certain resolutions of ours to the London Peace Society. An account of his reception was by accident omitted in our last, but we now copy it from the *Herald of Peace*.

"The friends of Peace in this country have lately enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing among them one of the most active and earnest of their coadjutors from the other side of the Atlantic. Mr. Amasa Walker, one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Peace Society, has lately visited this country. As he was the bearer of a communication from that Society to our own, a meeting of friends and members was called at the office, 19 New Broad Street, on Monday, July 18, 1859. Mr. John Morely was called to the chair, who, in a few appropriate words, introduced the honorable gentleman to the meeting.

"Mr. Walker, after reading the resolutions which he was commissioned to communicate from the American Peace Society, addressed those assembled at considerable length, explaining the history and present condition of the Peace cause in the United States, and expressing in very cordial spirit the strong interest and sympathy felt by our Transatlantic friends in the exertions and trials of their fellow-laborers in this country.

Rev. W. H. Black, Mr. W. Atkins, Mr. Holmes, and several other gentlemen, took part in the conversation, after which Rev. HENRY RICHARD, having earnestly reciprocated the kind feelings to which Mr. Walker had given utterance, for himself and for those he represented, moved the following resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Black, and carried unanimously:—

1. "That this meeting greets, with great satisfaction and pleasure, the presence amongst us of our honored friend Mr. Amasa Walker, both as representative of the American Peace Society, and on account of the high esteem we cherish for him personally, and for the long and valuable services he has rendered to the cause of peace.

2. "That the meeting fully acknowledges the vital importance of the sentiments embodied in the resolutions of the American Peace Society, communicated by Mr. Walker, in relation to the system of rivalry in armaments which is weighing so heavily upon Europe; and the duty of the friends of Peace to use their utmost efforts to urge upon the attention both of governments and peoples the manifold and ruinous evils which spring from that system, and the necessity of adopting some practical means for introducing without delay the process of mutual and simultaneous reduction of armaments.

3. "That we desire our friend Mr. Walker, to convey to our fellow-laborers in America the warm expression of our sympathy and friendship, and the pleasure with which we have witnessed their faithful and persistent advocacy of the principles of peace through evil report and good report."

COMPARATIVE COST OF THE WAR-GAME.—Laroque gives the total military and naval forces of Europe as 2,800,000 men. The cost of these armies and their ammunition exceeds \$400,000, besides interest on the value of lands, fortifications, arsenals, &c., \$150,000,000 more, and the loss of the labor of these legions of men, estimated at \$150,000,000; making a total annual war-tax on European industry of over \$700,000,000, besides the interest on nearly \$1,000,000,000 war-debts. A low estimate, much below the real truth, yet an amount sufficiently startling. Two or three

hundred times as much spent by Europe alone to prepare for war, as all Christians are now spending to evangelize 950,000,000 Jews, Mohammedans and Heathens!

A CHILD'S SYMPATHY—"I ONLY CRIED WITH HER."—A poor widow, the mother of two little girls, used to call on them, at the close of each day, for a report of the good they had done. One night the oldest hesitated in her reply to her mother's question, 'What kindness have you shown?' and timidly answered, "I don't know, mother." The mother, touched with the tone of the answer, resolved to unravel the mystery; and the little, sensitive thing, when re-assured, went on to say, "On going to school this morning, I found little Annie G., who has been absent some days, crying very hard. I asked her, mother, why she cried so, and that made her cry more, so that I could not help leaning my head on her neck, and crying too. Then her sobs grew less and less, till she told me of her dear, little, baby brother, whom she had nursed so long and loved so much; how he had sickened, grown pale and thin, whining with pain, until he died, and then they put him from her forever. Mother, she told me this; and then she hid her face in her book, and cried as if her heart would break. Mother, I could not help putting my face on the other page of the book, and crying too, just as hard as she did. After we had cried together a long time, she wiped her eyes, and then she hugged and kissed me, telling me I had done her good. Mother, I don't know *how* I did her good, *for I only cried with her*; indeed, I did nothing but cry with her. That is all I can tell, mother, for I can't tell how I did her good."

UNREASONABLE EXPECTATIONS ON PEACE.

There are many such; but we now refer only to the expectations of success in this cause as exceedingly disproportionate to the means thus far used in its prosecution. Not a few even of its steadfast friends have been, and may still be, calculating on vastly greater, as well as speedier, results than they can reasonably expect.

Look at some of the facts in the case. Here is a custom, co-extensive and nearly coeval with the human race, rooted in the strongest passions of our nature, woven into the web and woof of all society, imbedded in the structure of every government, and upheld in ceaseless activity by prejudice and power all over the earth. If we take countries blest with the light of a religion whose very birth-song was Peace, we find the support of this custom in the utmost vigor possible to be the chief aim alike of rulers and people, the grand, all-absorbing interest. European Christendom alone, in paying for past wars, and in preparing for future ones, spends not less than \$1,000,000,000 a year, and employs three or four millions of men, some of them the ablest and best cultivated minds, in sustaining her gigantic war-system.

Now, to do away this custom, thus entrenched and fortified, what have the friends of God and man done in the cause of peace? Why, in forty-four years they have expended an average of perhaps six or eight thousand

dollars a year, and even now not more than fifteen thousand. Here is one dollar for peace to more than a hundred thousand for war; and, in the teeth of the world's immemorial usage and prejudices, we are expected with this single dollar to counteract and do away what a hundred thousand are spent to uphold! We must do this at once, or very soon, if we would prove the success or feasibility of our cause; and because the war-system still continues, and nations occasionally engage in actual war, despite our one dollar used to resist the mischief done by a hundred thousand dollars under the war-system, we are sagely told that nothing is done, or indeed can be, to abolish or abate this mighty evil! 'Why, see,' they tell us, 'how little is effected. You have been at work more than forty years, and still men continue as warlike as ever, keep a death-grasp upon their war-system, and, when sufficiently tempted, plunge as madly as ever into actual war.' And would any man in his senses expect such infinitesimal efforts to work out in a single generation a decisive or very perceptible change in the world's habits on such a subject? No; the wonder is that we have accomplished so much, vastly more than we had any reason to expect; and, looking at all the facts in the case, we doubt whether any enterprise of benevolence or reform has ever achieved so much in proportion to the means used.

We have great reason to complain of the skepticism which so many even good men indulge on this subject. They treat no other cause so. Apply this treatment to the missionary, the temperance, or any other enterprise, and almost every one would at once condemn such unfairness. Every objection on the score of feasibility or actual success we could, if so disposed, transfer, with fatal effect, to the most prosperous enterprise now in progress. Let the friends of God and man take hold of this cause in downright earnest, doing as much for this as for any other in proportion to its wants; and in a few years there would be scarce a shadow of doubt respecting the feasibility or its actual success. All the cause needs, under God's promised blessing, is a right and adequate use of the means he has appointed for the purpose. Such means we are trying to use as far as we can; but we need a hundred-fold increase of aid from the Christian community. God grant that his people may ere long wake to its importance and its claims. It is in their power, with the gospel in their hands, to prevent all further wars in Christendom, and put an end in due time to her whole war-system.

CONTRIBUTIONS. — We owe our thanks to the friends who are encouraging us with their spontaneous contributions. We hope *all* our friends will *soon* do likewise. We greatly need their aid; and, as we can seldom see them for the purpose, we hope they will, at their earliest convenience, forward to our office what they have to give.


THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

FOR

MARCH AND APRIL.

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1860.

THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MARCH AND APRIL, 1860.

WAR A LIBEL UPON CHRISTIANITY.

The existence of such a custom as war among nations calling themselves Christians, is a standing libel on the gospel they profess. What an utter and glaring contradiction of its spirit, its principles and its aims! Yet how long has it continued! The war-degeneracy of the Church, begun early in the third century, consummated in the fourth by her union with the state under Constantine, and thenceforward extending over the whole of her subsequent history, has grossly belied the pacific character of our religion, and shorn it of no small part of its primitive beauty, loveliness and glory. When the chosen choir of heaven chanted over the manger of Bethlehem their song of peace and good-will; when our Saviour, not only through life, but even in death itself, taught and exemplified the peaceful principles of his gospel; when his Apostles in like manner carried the same principles from city to city, from kingdom to kingdom; when his disciples, without exception, followed his example of never returning curse for curse, blow for blow, but meekly bowed their heads to the axe or the gibbet of their persecutors; so long as the whole Church thus stood forth before the world in the stainless panoply of peace, just so long did Christianity commend itself to the consciences of men, and make rapid progress towards the spiritual conquest of the world. The war-degeneracy of the Church was her grand heresy, and did more than anything else to paganize her character, and pave the way for that flood of evils which

overspread Christendom during the middle ages. Never was there a grosser or more fatal perversion; and ever since she has for the most part belied the peaceful principles of her gospel, and provoked the wrath or the scorn of mankind.

Truth extorts this humiliating confession. The history of the nominal Church, the only one known at the time, was written for centuries in blood. How often did the professed followers of the Prince of Peace meet to slaughter one another! How many millions perished by their hands in the Crusades, in wars with the Mohammedans, in the *religious* wars among themselves consequent on the Reformation! How often did the highest dignitaries of the Church lead forth armies to battle! How common, for more than a thousand years, for Christians to pray the God of Peace to aid them in butchering one another, and then to return solemn thanks for the slaughter of thousands and scores of thousands of their own brethren! When Magdeburg was a smoking heap of ruins, and thirty thousand of her citizens, men, women, and children, lay rotting in her streets, or roasted in the ashes of their own dwellings, the victorious general ordered a *Te Deum* to be publicly chanted in gratitude to their common God! So has it been for some fifteen centuries; nor can the most nefarious war even now be waged, but the Church, in the Old World, if not in the New, must be made, by her prayers and praises, a party in this work of hell. The Archbishop of England still composes, for use in all her sanctuaries, a solemn form of thanksgiving to God for such savage butcheries as were perpetrated, in the middle of the nineteenth century, upon the Chinese and the Afghans!

Tell us not, such cases are exceptions for which the Church has little or no responsibility. Exceptions! Alas! peace is the exception; war, the rule. The evil, too, is more or less in her own bosom. Does she not allow her members, without rebuke, to live by this trade of blood? Has she for ages excluded the warrior from her communion? Has she once, for the last fifteen hundred years, borne her united testimony before the world against this custom as inconsistent with the gospel? Nay, has she not fawned on the warrior, and consecrated his banners, and followed him with her prayers for success, and crowned him on his return with laurels? Are not her most venerable temples to this day filled with the trophies of war? Did not Col. Gardiner

one of her favorite sons, die on the field of battle, and Doddridge himself, one of her brightest luminaries, without his eulogy without a single rebuke upon his profession of blood? Nor is it many years since no man in the British Empire could take out a commission, as an officer in the army or navy, for the wholesale butchery of his fellow-men, without a certificate of his being a member of the Church of Christ; and not a note of alarm, scarce a whisper of rebuke or displeasure, was heard from the presses or pulpits of Christendom. Alas! do not Christians even now join men of the world in idolizing the demi-gods of war, train some of their own children to this work of death, and teach the rest to admire war and the warrior?

No wonder, then, at the consequent reproaches upon Christianity. Mark the bitter, withering sarcasms of infidelity: "Ye bungling soul-physicians!" exclaims Voltaire, "to bellow for an hour or more against a few flea-bites, and not say a word about that horrible distemper which tears us to pieces! Burn your books, ye moralizing philosophers! Of what avail is humanity, benevolence, meekness, temperance, piety, when half a pound of lead shatters my body; when I expire, at the age of twenty, under pains unspeakable; when my eyes, at their last opening, see my native town all in a blaze, and the last sounds I hear are the shrieks and groans of women and children expiring amidst the ruins?"

Nor is Judaism less severe in her taunts. When a celebrated advocate of foreign missions was announced to preach at Falmouth, England, a Jew posted on the door of the Church this notice: "*Our* Messiah, when he comes, will establish a system of mercy, peace and kindness upon earth; while among you Christians, only disputes, animosities and cruelties mark your progress through the world. Possibly *your* religion sanctions these things; ours does not. With us, the goodness and beneficence alone of the Mosaic laws constitute their grand authority, and proclaim aloud their emanation from a God of love. We *want* no better, we *expect* no better, till Messiah shall indeed come. Then will 'every man sit under his own vine and fig-tree; nation shall no longer lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more; the leopard shall lie down with the kid, the wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and a little child shall lead them.' Has this golden era of peace and love ever yet been witnessed? Speak, Christians, speak candidly; has it been once seen through the last eighteen hundred years?"

PRACTICAL POINTS IN THE PEACE CAUSE.

1. Consider its feasibility. Efforts, made by Christians as they might and should be, would be sure to banish war ere long from Christendom, and eventually from the face of the whole earth. There is no impossibility in the case. War is just as curable as any other evil, and requires for its extinction only the means of God's appointment. There is no more *need* of this custom than there is of duelling or the slave-trade. It exists solely because men in their folly still choose it; its continuance depends entirely on their choice; and whenever you can change that choice, and make the mass of mankind resolve that war *shall* cease, it *must* of necessity come to an end forever. Such a change is clearly possible; already is it actually taking place under the influence of this cause; and nations will one day find it just as easy for *them* to settle their difficulties without war, as the members of a church now do theirs without duels. A variety of substitutes *might* be adopted far more effectual than the sword for all purposes of protection and redress.

2. But you tell us perhaps, 'make men Christians, and then wars will cease.' What sort of Christians? Surely not such as have for the last fifteen hundred years been butchering one another. Convert men to the *whole* gospel, to its pacific as well as its other truths, to a kind of Christianity that shall forbid them to fight in any case; then, but only then, will the spread of our religion insure the abolition of this custom as a matter of course. Christianity has for ages been steadily gaining ground in Christendom; and yet in the last century have her standing warriors increased some six hundred per cent., from half a million to more than three millions. Can *such* a Christianity put an end to war?

3. It is not enough, then, merely to support and to propagate any form of Christianity which neglects to apply the *only* part of the gospel that can ever abolish this custom. For such a result, we rely of course upon the gospel, but only on the gospel *rightly applied*. Such an application is indispensable. What is the gospel? Merely a collection of principles which can produce no result without an application, any more than medicine can cure a sick man who does not take it. How does the gospel convert the sinner? Only by its truths addressed to his soul. How will it ever abolish Paganism? Solely by being sent and applied to Paganism. How can it reclaim the blasphemer or the Sabbath-

breaker? Only by a direct, specific application to their sins. In no other way can it cure *any* moral evil; and in like manner must we apply the gospel to war, before the spread of Christianity will insure a corresponding prevalence of peace.

5. But are you waiting for the millenium to come, and saying that when it does come, — never before, — peace will follow as a matter of course? Very true; and so will repentance and faith follow as a matter of course; but how are you to reach the millenium? Would you first get into the millenium, and then convert the world? Is the millenium alone to make men Christians, or is the making of all men Christians to be itself the millenium? How would you introduce a millenium of repentance? Simply by first filling the world with repentance — with men penitent for their sins. How a millenium of faith? Solely by filling the world with faith — with believers in Jesus. How then a millenium of peace? In the same way; for peace, like repentance and faith, must come *before* the millenium, as one of its indispensable harbingers, or along *with* the millenium, as one of its inseparable concomitants; for unless men are converted to peace as fast as they are to God, *such* a conversion of the whole world plainly could not ensure its entire, perpetual pacification.

Remember, then, the absolute necessity of proper and adequate means; and use all in your power. Can you write, or speak, or pray for this cause? Then do so. Have you influence? Use it. Have you money? Be sure to give a portion of it; nor forget how much the cause needs such aid. We must support agencies, send forth lecturers, and scatter periodicals, tracts and other publications through the land. Such operations, altogether indispensable, require a large amount of funds; and Christians should at length give to this cause as liberally as they do to other causes that aim in like manner at the glory of God in the present and immortal welfare of mankind.

BEARING OF PEACE ON THE WORLD'S CONVERSION.

The grand object of God in all his dealings with men is the salvation of their souls. For this he grants the day and the means of grace; for this he revealed his will in his Word; for this his own Son came from heaven to the Cross, and his Spirit is now at work on the hearts of men to renew them in his image, and ren-

der them meet for heaven. The whole course of his providence converges to this same result, and the most important service of his children is found in their co-operation with him for the accomplishment of this great end.

It is in this view we take the deepest interest in the cause of Peace — *its bearing on the salvation of our race*. There are indeed many other arguments to enforce its claims ; but with us all the rest put together, have not half the weight or effectual force of this alone. We deem it an indispensable pioneer and auxiliary in the great work of the world's salvation ; and never, till peace shall be permanently established wherever the gospel prevails, and the whole war-system be banished from every Christian land, can we hope to see any considerable part of the unevangelized nations converted to Christianity.

On this point let us learn wisdom from God's own example. He has always treated war as a most serious obstacle to the gospel, and peace as requisite to its spread and triumph. What time did he select for our Saviour's great mission from heaven ? A time when the temple of Janus at Rome, in token of general peace and tranquility, was shut more than twenty years ; a longer period of rest from war than had then been known for ages. Review the history of his church from that day to this ; and where will you find her eras of zealous, successful evangelization ? Not in war, but in peace almost alone ; and during the last forty years of general peace, more has been done towards the world's conversion to God than had been done for many centuries before.

From the very nature of the case we should deem Peace essential to this work. The missionary enterprise aims to spread Christianity in saving power over the whole earth ; and if peace is confessedly one of its fruits and promised results, it certainly must of course go along with the gospel. We need a revival among ourselves of its pacific principles as indispensable to prepare us for this work. We can give to the heathen a Christianity no better than we possess at home. Ours must be the prototype of theirs. The character of the church must ever be the model of her converts ; they will embrace the kind of Christianity exhibited before them ; and, if that is in any respect defective, its imperfections will all be stamped upon them in bold relief. So we find it everywhere. The converts to Popery among pagans have notoriously been a species of baptised idolaters, counter-

parts of Papists at home ; and, since whole nations in Europe were first driven into a nominal Christianity by the sword, it is no wonder that the religion of their descendants is now the patroness of a war-system the most terribly effective the world ever saw. If rum-drinkers ourselves, we shall spread a rum-drinking Christianity ; if slave-holders, a slave-holding Christianity ; if warriors, or abettors of war, a war-tolerating Christianity. Every point of our faith, every aspect of our character, we shall be likely to impress upon our converts among the heathen ; and, if peace is a part of our religion, we should of course prepare to enforce it aright all over the earth.

We must, then, inquire what the gospel teaches on this subject. "Blessed are the peace-makers ; for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are the merciful ; for they shall obtain mercy. Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that despitefully use you. Do good unto all men. If thine enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst, give him drink. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. See that none render evil *for* evil unto *any* man. Follow peace with *all* men ; and let all bitterness, and anger, and wrath, and clamor, be put away from you. Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them. Avenge not yourselves ; but whoso smiteth you on one cheek, turn to him the other also. Put up thy sword ; for all they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword." Such was the Christianity foretold by ancient prophets ; and Isaiah, when portraying its millennial triumphs, represents it as constraining all nations to 'beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and cease even from learning the art of war any more.'

Surely, peace is quite essential to a full preparation of the church for the work of converting all nations to the Christianity thus foretold by prophets, and thus taught by Christ and his Apostles. This work he has assigned to his followers ; but, if strangers themselves to the pacific principles of his gospel, or reluctant to inculcate them aright, are they duly qualified to teach all nations such a religion of peace ? Christians they may be, and even excellent in other respects ; but, while defective on this point, are they just the co-workers required by a God of peace for preaching his gospel of peace to every creature ? They may teach a *part* of it ; but will they the *whole* ? Will they so

enforce its pacific principles as to uproot the Upas of war, and sweep away the entire mass of its abominations and woes? Will they not leave in their converts the moral gangrene of war?

We may well insist, then, on Peace as a part of the preparation needed by Christians in qualifying them fully for the work of converting the nations to a pure, un mutilated gospel. Had the men who first planted the gospel in Europe, trained their converts to such views and habits as would have put an end to the practice of war as utterly incompatible with our religion of peace, how different would have been the whole history of Christendom for the last fifteen centuries, and how much more sure and more rapid by far the world's conversion to God!

WAR A DESTROYER OF SOULS.

It is high time for Christians to consider what fearful havoc war makes of immortal souls. Too long has the poor soldier been permitted to dream of wading through all the atrocities and horrors of war up to the throne of an immaculate, merciful God. Far be it from us to say, that none have ever gone even from the field of blood to the realms of glory; but, if war is so confessedly notorious a hot-bed of vice and irreligion; if it breathes a spirit, forms a character, and absolutely enjoins atrocities utterly inconsistent with the gospel of Christ; if the field of battle is a theatre for the worst passions that ever rage in the bosom of man; if fleets and camps are, the world over, proverbial reservoirs of impiety, pollution and crime; I dare not suppose that *such* masses of moral putrefaction are borne up into the immediate presence of Him in whose sight the very heavens are not clean!

What a destroyer, then, of immortal souls! Scarce a war that does not slay its thousands, its scores of thousands; and how often have there fallen upon a single field of battle, ten thousand! twenty, thirty, fifty thousand! a hundred, two hundred, three hundred thousand! No uncommon number this in ancient warfare; and since the dawn of the present century, there perished in less than six months of the Russian campaign, half a million of the *French alone*; in the wars of Alexander and Cæsar, it is supposed some three millions each; in the wars of

Napoleon, six millions ; in the wars of Jenghiz-Khan, some thirty-two millions ; in the wars of the Turks and Saracens, sixty millions each ; and the lowest estimate I have ever seen, puts the sum total of its ravages from the first at *fourteen thousand millions*. eighteen times as many as all the present population of our globe !

Will Christians never awake to a subject so immensely important ? Believers in the gospel, followers of the Prince of Peace, sons and daughters of the God of Peace, can you still fold your own hands, and let such a fell destroyer of mankind for two worlds, continue his work of death and perdition, unchecked by any efforts or prayers from you ?

PAYSON.

THE WAR-PRINCIPLE NEVER FORGIVES.

A friend of peace once asked a general on a muster-field, 'What do you mean by this array of swords, muskets and cannon ?' — "We mean to be avenged on our enemies, should they insult or invade us." — "But we are bound to *forgive* our enemies, should they injure us." — "So we will," said the general. — "But, if you really forgive them, what do you want of swords, rifles and cannon ?" — "To stab and shoot them." — "But if you *forgive* them, how could you at the same time shoot and stab them ?" — "I think," said the general, "I can feel forgiveness in my heart towards my enemy, while I am shooting and stabbing him. Can I not ?" — "If you can, you take a queer way of showing it. How can you show your forgiveness by swords and guns ?" — "I am sure," he replied, "it's more than I can tell." — "Perhaps," said the peace-man, 'you have the art of shooting and stabbing your forgiveness into the hearts of your enemies ; and it may be the object of your review to perfect yourselves in this art. Is it so ?' — "I think," replied he very honestly and truly, "we are more likely to perfect ourselves in the art of *killing* them."

'Could you,' inquired a peace-man of a military officer, 'could you, after a battle in which you had stained your hands with the blood of your brethren, ask God to forgive you *as* you had forgiven your enemies ?' — "I am not a Christian," said he, "nor do I profess to forgive the wrongs done to myself or country ; but I know I should be a hypocrite and a blasphemer, if I should ask God to forgive me *as* I had forgiven my enemies, after I had been killing them. When I ask Him to forgive me *as* I have my enemies, I will cease to kill them, or to encourage others in doing so."

GLIMPSES OF WAR AS IT IS.

The spade is now busy on the ground of Solferino and Magenta. The manumitted husbandman, now bidden to look up and be cheerful because he has been set free gloriously, ruefully takes thought how he shall remedy the disorder his deliverers have brought to him. Almost with despair he gazes upon his crops, trodden into a mash by swiftly-passing legions ; upon the stumps of his vine-trees, cut down pitilessly to warm his benefactors' soup ; above all, upon the memorials they have left to him of

bodies thrust barely a foot below his soil, from which the sweltering sun distils the thick miasma of decomposition, encompassing him in a cloud too broad to travel out of. It will be long before those human shambles can be made to take the smooth, decent, tranquil aspect of a graveyard.

For the people outside, who stood round watching the fight, with bated breath, and senses painfully strained, it seemed a glorious, thrilling spectacle, that campaign just now played out; this is all no more than the fine coloring of a consumptive cheek, or the bloom of a rotten apple. There is not, of all things existent, a more repulsive, coarse, untheatrical business than war, and what it brings with it. The delicate film of gaudiness rubs off in an hour; the gold lace tarnishes in a night; the bright uniforms, faded with rain and puddle stains, fall into rags, and show great patches. Improvised camps become presently filthy swamps and open sewers. The grand "pomp and circumstance of glorious war," is well enough in the abstract; in its details and private bearings, it is offensive, rough and overpowering.

Think only of the common hackneyed expressions which pass so lightly between the lips when speaking of a great battle. We talk exultingly, and with a certain fire, of "a magnificent charge!" of "a splendid charge!" yet very few will think of the hideous particulars these two airy words stand for. The "splendid charge" is a headlong rush of men on strong horses urged to their fullest speed, riding down and overwhelming an opposing mass of men on foot. The reader's mind goes no further, being content with the information that the enemy's line was "broken," and "gave way." It does not fill in the picture. To do so effectively, we must think first of an ordinary individual run down in the public street by a horseman moving at an easy pace. The result is, usually, fracture and violent contusion. We may strengthen the tones of the picture by setting this horseman at full gallop, and joining to him a company of other flying horsemen. How will it then be with the unhappy pedestrian? So when the "splendid charge" has done its work, and passed by, there will be found a sight, very much like the scene of a frightful railway accident. There will be the full complement of backs broken in two; of arms twisted wholly off; of men impaled upon their own bayonets; of legs smashed up like bits of firewood; of heads sliced open like apples; of other heads crunched into soft jelly by iron hoofs of horses; of faces trampled out of all likeness to anything human. This is what skulks behind "a splendid charge!" This is what follows, as a matter of course, when "our fellows rode at them in style," and "cut them up famously."

Again, how often does the commander, writing home in his official despatches, dwell particularly on the gallant conduct of Captain Smith, who, finding the enemy were "annoying our right a little, got his gun" into position, and effectually "held them in check!" Both expressions are fair drawing-room phrases, to be mentioned cheerfully by ladies' lips. It is, as it were, a few flies buzzing about "our right wing," teasing and fretting "our" men. And yet, properly translated, it signifies this: that stray men of that right wing are now and then leaping with a convulsive start into the air, as a Minie bullet flies with sharp sting through their hearts; that stray men, suddenly struck, are rolling on the ground; that a man, here and there, is dropping down quite suddenly with a shriek, his firelock tumbling from his hand; in short, that there is a series of violent death-scenes being enacted up and down the long line.

The reading public, instructed by journals and books of memoirs, can form for itself satisfactory pictures of the poor soldiers in hospital, lying on their pallets in rows, say at Scutari, having their pillows smoothed and cooling drinks proffered by those kind, charitable ladies who went out to

be their nurses. Has not the public viewed paintings of the scene — the sick warrior lying in comfortable convalescence, and taking with grateful languor the cool beverage from his gentle attendant? The sympathizing public has also had presented to it, in manly and affecting language by Mr. Russel, some pictures of those sufferings which fall under the frightful category of gun-shot wounds. Doctor Williamson has now collected a number of cases from the late Indian mutiny, with the view of assisting his profession; take a few samples from this miscellany as among the real horrors of war:—

Private John Halliday received a gun-shot wound in the head, which carried away "a large portion of the scalp and bone," and left a large, irregular opening "about two inches in diameter, through which the brain might be seen pulsating. This injury was done by bits of the telegraph wire ingeniously cut up into slugs.—Private O'Leary was stricken by a large fragment of shell, and at first appeared not to be seriously injured, Presently he complained of headache and sickness, and a "crucial" incision was at once made. Here was discovered a fracture, and an opening left "about the size of a shilling." The dura mater at once protruded through the wound and was punctured. In a few days convulsive fits came on, with paralysis, and he died comatose. Poor Private O'Leary! On post-mortem examination, one-half of his head, internally, was discovered to be a mass of blood and "disorganized cerebral matter."—Private M'Kenzie had been hit in the same place, and had several large fragments of bone removed from him by means of an instrument known as Hey's saw; still "inflammation of the brain and its membranes" set in, and the surgeons thought of making a closer examination, when a great fragment of bone was discovered, "turned edgeways," and sticking into the dura mater! Strange to say, Private M'Kenzie recovered, and is doing duty now.—Another soldier was brought in with "nearly half the roof of his skull blown off by a shell," yet who held on till the tenth day.

A ball striking on the scalp splits into two pieces, so stout is the bony texture of the skull. One fragment, however, is sure to penetrate. Sometimes, it leaves a clean round hole with cracks radiating from it in all directions, as in a broken pane of glass. Often the ball cannot be found, and has to be groped for unsuccessfully with the probe. One wretched private had to carry it twenty-five days in his head.—Another man's piece burst in his hand, and part of the lock got embedded under his eye, too far in to be removed. Many more were afflicted by a ball making entrance just behind the ear, and passing out over the temple.

Then come the bayonet wounds, jagged, perplexing and painful. Now has it been thrust violently through the chest and lungs, and out at the back, and is as violently withdrawn with a peculiar twist, whence come suppuration, painful gasping for breath, and all manner of horrid accompaniments. Now it has impaled the intestines, producing strange complication. Now it has pierced the lower extremity of the heart, and, curious to say, the victim has lived five days. The spine comes in, too, for its share of injury. A bullet skims through the body, smashes the lower vertebræ of the column, and makes its escape on the other side. The bones come away in little pieces. The new Minnie ball has, we are told, the useful property of shivering the bone into numberless splinters and fragments. The conical point acts as a wedge, and the scattering of the splinters adds much to the inflammation. So the dismal catalogue runs on.—*Dickens' all the Year Round.*

BATTLE OF SOLFERINO.

Investigation proves the carnage of this battle much greater than reported at the time. The allies, (France and Sardinia,) were at first said to have lost, in killed and wounded, 21,000 men; but the official records of the various hospitals, and other authentic documentary evidence, now show that their real loss was not *less* than 45,000. The Austrians must have lost a still larger number, making the entire loss, in killed and wounded, not much less than 100,000 in all, or nearly one in four of all engaged in the fight.

We presume that similar exaggerations attended all accounts of the war. The French Emperor sent home such vague, general reports as he deemed most likely to serve his own ends, with little regard to their truthfulness. We shall never get at all the facts in the case, but enough is already ascertained to prove that not half the evils of that brief but terribly destructive war have yet been brought to light. The whole tale would be too revolting to be borne.

Since writing the above, we have met an official statement from one of the principal surgeons of Brescia, Dr. Bartolomeo Gualla, which shows that instead of 21,000 as the Allied loss at Solferino, in killed and wounded, it ought to be about 45,000! Dr. Gualla gives the following statistics: 'After the battle of Solferino, thirty-seven hospitals were open at Brescia. The number of French wounded who entered these hospitals, was 17,345; of Italians, 13,959; of Austrians, 1,612. Total wounded in the hospitals of Brescia, 32,916.' This is for Brescia only. Now, if you will recollect that large numbers mortally wounded died at the towns of Castiglione, Lonato, Desenzano, Montechiaro, and other places, between the battle-field and Brescia, and that very many of those treated in these villages, and entered into a state of convalescence there, never entered the Brescia hospitals at all, the total of casualties ought to be increased on the statistics of Dr. Gualla some five or six thousand for the Allied arms. Thus we arrive at a total loss for the Allied armies of about 45,000. Of the 32,916 wounded men, received into the hospitals of Brescia, 1,273, according to Dr. Gualla, died, 26,038 were discharged cured, and the balance, 5,605, are either those in a state of convalescence, or whose wounds degenerated into chronic sores, and were sent to their families, or to the military hospitals of Paris.

So far did the French government conceal from the public the facts in regard to the losses at the battle of Solferino, I propose to fix an approximate figure of those losses, based upon the statistics of Dr. Gualla, and upon my own observations the day of the battle and for a fortnight succeeding that event. Of the French: Wounded that entered the hospitals of Brescia, 17,345; wounded that convalesced, or died in other towns or villages, 2,500; dead on the field of battle, 5,000; total, 24,845, or say, 25,000. Of the Piedmontese: Wounded that entered the hospitals of Brescia, 13,959, wounded that convalesced, or died in other towns and villages, 2,000; dead on the field of battle, 4,000; total, 19,959, or say 20,000. Grand total of losses for the Allied army, in killed and wounded, 45,000. The number of dead bodies found on the field of battle has never been stated officially in any reports yet published. The approximate figures assumed above will not be considered too high in proportion to the number of wounded. To these ought to be added about 3,000 deaths of wounded men, a low figure, since the battle."—*Corr. N. Y. Times*.

STATISTICS OF HUMAN LIFE.

We give from the *Boston Transcript* the substance of an article on this subject, over a signature that assures its reliable accuracy. There is in such facts and calculations a moral significance that deserves much more attention than it has yet received. We omit the fractions of a year.

"Tables have been prepared, with exceeding accuracy, showing the probable duration of human life, and stating the chances from birth to the age of one hundred years. These tables are made by taking an average of authentic records of births and deaths; which records have been kept in different countries, climates and conditions.

Here follows a table, made in France about a hundred years ago, recording only to the age of eighty-five. The first column states the age, and the second the number of years which a person at that age will probably live:—

Age.	Years.	Age.	Years.	Age.	Years.	Age.	Years.
At Birth.	8	15	36	30	28	45	19
1	33	16	36	31	27	46	18
2	38	17	35	32	26	47	18
3	40	18	34	33	26	48	17
4	41	19	34	34	25	49	17
5	41	20	33	35	25	50	16
6	42	21	32	36	23	55	14
7	42	22	32	37	23	60	11
8	41	23	31	38	23	65	8
9	40	24	31	39	22	70	6
10	40	25	30	40	22	75	4
11	39	26	30	41	21	80	3
12	38	27	29	42	20	85	3
13	38	28	29	43	20		
14	37	29	28	44	19		

Some interesting facts are deducible from these data. It will be seen that every human being at birth has a prospect of living eight years, while every child one year old has a prospect of living thirty-three years. A man of twenty years may expect to live but thirty-three years and five months, while one at thirty years may expect to live twenty-eight years. By this table it appears, that the age, at which one may properly hope for the longest duration of life, is that of seven. A child, at that age, may expect to live forty-two years and three months. This is the highest number in the table. At the age of twelve or thirteen a human being has lived one quarter of his life, because he cannot legitimately expect to live but about thirty-eight years more. He who has reached his twenty-eight or ninth year has lived half his days, because he has but the same number remaining. He of fifty years has spent three quarters of his life, because he has only sixteen or seventeen years to hope for.

Tables of longevity, made in late years, differ somewhat from the above, and are used by Life Insurance Companies in America and Europe with great confidence. We give, with the fractions, the table used now extensively in this country. If we compare it with the one made a hundred years ago in France, we shall find, (to use the office-phrases,) that "life is better" in this country than in France.

Age.	Years.	Age.	Years.	Age.	Years.
5	40,88	35	28,22	65	12,43
10	39,23	40	26,04	70	10,06
15	36,77	45	23,95	75	7,83
20	34,22	50	21,17	80	5,85
25	32,33	55	18,35	85	4,54
30	30,25	60	15,45	95	1,62

The census of no country, certainly not that of our own, has hitherto been taken with such fulness and particularity of detail, as to furnish the data requisite for satisfactory calculations to the statesman, the physiologist, and the reformer. The effects of different employments, and habits of intemperance, licentiousness, and the like, on the length of human life, need to be more fully shown, as they might be by proper tables. I will here append a table of results, showing the number of births, marriages and deaths in the city of Paris, from 1708 to 1767, fifty-seven years. The sum-total is as follows: Births, 1,074,367; marriages, 246,022; deaths, 1,087,995. Adding a fraction, this shows an average of four births to each marriage. These statistics of human life have terrible histories attached to them, which it is not my present purpose to disclose; but I would give another table full of interest to the physiologist,—the proportion of male and female children, born in Paris and its faubourgs, between 1744 and 1767, being twenty-two years.

Years.	Males.	Females.	Years.	Males.	Females.
1745	9,454	9,386	1756	10,166	9,837
1740	9,363	8,984	1757	9,931	9,438
1747	9,394	9,052	1758	9,677	9,471
1748	9,197	8,710	1759	9,798	9,270
1749	9,819	9,339	1750	9,214	8,777
1750	9,711	9,324	1761	9,414	8,960
1751	9,005	9,416	1762	9,047	8,762
1752	10,318	9,919	1763	9,945	8,524
1753	10,229	9,500	1764	9,745	9,659
1754	9,507	9,405	1765	9,872	9,567
1755	9,725	9,687	1766	8,542	9,231

Sum total, Males, 211,976; Females, 204,205.

These data can be relied on, because the Catholic Church requires that every infant shall be baptized within eight days after its birth, and there is a very strong belief among the people that the neglect of baptism secures loss of the soul. This table shows that in Paris and its faubourgs, during these twenty-two years, there were twenty-seven male children born to every twenty-six female. In some of the rural districts the proportion is as 17 to 16. In our country I think it will be found to be as 21 to 20.

How wonderful, benignant and irresistible is this great law of nature! When human society comes to be organized and governed as the All-Wise intended it should be, then this great law of proportion will adjust to healthy activity every part of the vast system. In such a state the waste of male life from dangerous labors will be but one twentieth more than that of female. Look at the abnormal condition of the world now. Has

the Creator made provision for such an *extra* supply of men, that 50,000 Austrians and 40,000 Frenchmen may be killed in a day, and not destroy the ordained proportions and harmonies of male and female life? Has nature made any provision for our thus slaughtering only one sex? No wonder that women in those countries are turned out into the fields and workshops to do men's labor. Thousands are driven to unnatural toil, and tens of thousands to crime. "War is hell," said Napoleon I., and so say the laws of God. When will the human race learn that the only way to attain the *highest* prosperity and happiness is to keep inviolate the laws of nature?

C. B.

A BATTLE SCENE.

I once met in Maine a soldier in our last war with England, and will give in part his account of the action in which he lost an arm :

"We were drawn up in a straight line of two ranks, on a vast common upon the northern border of which the British army was wholly visible, approaching in a line exactly parallel with ours. Inexpressible were my sufferings during the half hour we were silently waiting for the approach of the enemy within fighting distance. Cowardice, I suppose, this will be called; but it was not wholly a fear of death; for at the time violent pains began to dart through my bowels, and I well remember having a slight hope, and a strong desire, that I might die of a sudden attack of cholera before the action commenced. Guilt and horror mingled with the terror that appalled my soul. We had nothing to do but look upon the advancing army, and see them, step after step, diminish the narrow space that separated hundreds of us from eternity. The air appeared of a bluish tinge, as when the sun is eclipsed; but whether it was the shadow of the black, approaching deed, or by imagination colored, I know not. Here some thousands of athletic, active young men were about to meet, for what? To kill each other, and mingle our blood with our greetings! Without any personal quarrel or acquaintance, we met for the first time to blow out each other's brains, because our rulers could not agree! Thoughts of English outrage and insolence, I tried to force into my mind, that they might arouse and lash my indignation into a fighting mood; but indignation would not nerve my arm to indiscriminate slaughter, nor vengeance fling my life upon the altar of national honor. I thought of the impressment of our seamen; but the men before me, who were at once Death's ministers and victims, were not the men who boarded our vessels, and, in taking their own countrymen, took some of ours. *They* never harmed me, nor my country. I thought of those who were at home, comfortably seated by their fire-sides, *talking* of the war, and its provocations; and I thought of the time when I did the same. But there is a vast difference between talking of battles, and engaging in them, more than in talking of death and dying. When I saw those noble, robust men approaching us, and knew that those brave sons of abused Erin were the marks to which I must aim, my flesh crawled, and a horrid chill passed over me. I had fired at geese and turkeys; but they were not created in the image of God, to be his co-workers in this world, and his companions in the next. I felt that, if it were left to the soldiers in the two armies to settle the difficulty, we should do it without fighting.

In front of our line was a slight ridge of earth; and it was decided that we should reserve our fire until the enemy had arrived at that line; and O! that I could describe my feelings when they had advanced to within fifteen

or twenty rods of it. A few more steps, two or three seconds more, and many immortal spirits, now trembling upon the threshold of eternity, would by their fellow-men be hurled back to their Maker. Twenty paces more will bring us to God's tribunal! How valuable appeared the tenth part of a second—time enough for the departing soul to send one petition before it.

The advancing soldiers now brought their guns from their shoulders into a readier attitude for discharging. We did the same. In an instant, at the word *now*, the balls would be flying about our heads. The breath of life which God breathed into man, depended upon the breath of man for its stay! I wished the earth might open and swallow us; but he who created, would not destroy us. The horror increased as the action drew near, until the advancing army was within two or three steps of the fatal ridge, when my senses fled; but I was aroused in a second by the discharge of muskets about my ears, which almost stunned me. Perfectly bewildered, I held my undischarged musket before me, when a sergeant, with a horrid oath, asked me, "why in h—ll I didn't fire?" I then leveled and discharged my gun, and perhaps killed as good a man as myself, though I hope not. A grossly profane man, nearly in front of me, fell at the first fire. The ball entered his mouth, and came out at the back of his neck. He fell forward, and lay with his face turned to the left, and his arms extended out and upwards. The blood ran freely from his mouth, and a few bluish drops from the hole in his neck. I could hardly keep my eyes off from him.

After firing five or six times, I began to partake of the excitement around me; and at this stage of the action, the left wing of our line, in which I was stationed, was attacked and turned by the enemy. Great confusion followed, and every man fought by himself. I was attacked by a stout, active man, who made a thrust at me with his bayonet, which I succeeded in warding off with mine, and for a short time there was a sharp clashing of bayonets. I had *played* at that business before; but when one knows that his antagonist is really aiming to plunge the gleaming bayonet into his body, it is quite a different affair. The sweat fell like rain from my face. I found that my man was going to be too much for me, and, following my Yankee instinct, I flung down my gun, and seized his by the muzzle. A regular scuffle followed. He jerked, pushed, called me a d—d fool, and tried to wring the gun out of my hands. I knew if I lost my hold, I lost my life; and once I was as near it as possible, and retain it. He attempted to twist the gun out of my hands by twirling it end over end, and brought my right hand over my head, and bent my body to the left; and there for an instant I held fast, by laying out every particle of my strength, until I only saved myself by giving him a kick. He then forced me violently backwards, until my heels tripped against a dead body, when I fell on my back, and he on top of me, with a force that made sparks fly from my eyes. We continued the scuffle on our knees, until our men succeeded in turning and driving back the enemy; when, as they ran past us, one of their officers struck at me, and nearly severed my left arm. But our men were close upon them, and one of them plunged his bayonet into my antagonist's side, before he could despatch me. Would that he were alive, and here, that he might join me in cursing the war, which, more than thirty years ago, mingled his noble form with earth's vile dust. I shall never forget the horrid contortions of his features, as the bayonet entered just below his ribs.

What a spectacle did that common present after the battle! How different in appearance from what it was three hours before! Then it was dotted with grazing kine, and the tinkling of their bells alone broke the

silence; now it is strewn with dead and dying men, and the air filled with their groans. A dark, sulphur-charged cloud has passed over it, human blood stands in puddles, and human forms lie cold and stiff. Christian men, divided by imaginary lines, have here met and mingled their blood, both fighting for their country and the right! Has the fire of Christian love, and the power of Christian truth, been glowing and smiting for 1800 years, and are swords no nearer being ploughshares now than when first swayed?

MORAL VALUE OF COURAGE.

At the storming of Morne Fortunee, in the West Indies, Lieut. W. was the first to ascend the breach, and plant the British colors on the captured redoubt. His behaviour excited general admiration, and he was recommended for immediate promotion. The next morning, however, he waited on his commanding officer, and requested leave to return to Ireland, his native country, and to resign his commission in favor of a younger brother. The colonel, surprised at this extraordinary request, asked him what was his motive for making such a singular proposal. The young man frankly told him, that when the troops were moving forward for the attack, and the enemy's fire had opened upon them, he felt a strong inclination to fall out; and he believed that nothing but the rapidity of the advance, and the shouts of the men, prevented him from disgracing himself. In a short time, however, his brain was on fire; he knew not where he was; and he found himself on the summit of the breach with the colors in his hand, but knew not how. He felt that the profession of arms was not his vocation; and, fearing that at some future time he might not have sufficient courage to overcome his fear, he was desirous to leave the service with honor while it was still in his power.

It seems the universal testimony of soldiers, that whatever may be their fears previous to an engagement, they are all dissipated as soon as the fight commences. Every man then becomes a hero. The beating of the drums, the shouting of the men, the roaring of the cannon, and especially the sight of blood, drown the reasoning faculties, and induce in some a stolid indifference to danger, and in others an irrepressible animal bravery, similar to that attributed in Scripture to the horse: "The horse rusheth into the battle; he goeth on to meet the armed men; he mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; neither turneth his back from the sword. He saith among the trumpets, 'Ha, ha;' and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captain and the shouting."

A Highland soldier, who served in the Peninsular war, in referring to his first battle, says, "The thought of death never crossed my mind. After the firing commenced, a still sensation stole over my whole frame, a firm, determined torpor, bordering on insensibility." The annals of our late wars in the Crimea and India afford numerous illustrations of the *bravery* alluded to above. An officer, writing to his friends at home after one of the sanguinary battles in the Crimea, says, "I never in my life experienced such a *sublime sensation* as in the moment of the charge. Some fellows talk of it as demoniac. I cannot depict my feelings when I returned. All my uniform, my hands, my very face, were bespattered with blood. It was that of the enemy! Grand idea! But my feelings—they were full of that exaltation which it is impossible to describe."

Another specimen: "When the Light Brigade was preparing for action at the battle of Balaklava, a butcher, who had just been slaughtering cattle, and whose arms and face were besmeared with blood, made his ap-

pearance in the field. He mounted a powerful charger, and rode up to his troop. The prospect of a bloody fray was too strong to be resisted. He seized two sabres, and having selected the sharpest, took out a short pipe, lighted it, and placed it in his mouth, and rode with the 'six hundred' into the valley of the shadow of death. The man was seen amongst the Russian batteries, sabreing the gunners right and left, slaying with his own hand at least six of the enemy, cutting his way in the retreat through the swarms of Russian cavalry. He rode back, still smoking his pipe as coolly as if nothing had happened, without having received a single scratch."

According to accounts given of the Turcos, who were employed by the French in the late Italian war, they seem to be the perfection of good soldiers. "Fighting to them is a pastime; human life a plaything. Wherever they tread, they leave the footsteps of death in their track. The Turco is frequently an orphan, reared by chance in one of the African cities, and not unlike the idle *gamins* of Paris. On seeing a regiment of Turcos some day, he enlists, and makes a good soldier. Before the enemy he becomes a model of bravery. They care no more for their own lives than for the lives of others. If instinct, instead of reason, were not the motive power of their acts, they might be aptly denominated the most ferocious, bloodthirsty, cut-throat ruffians heaven's fair sunlight ever shone upon."—*From R. W. in Her. of Peace.*

STANDING ARMAMENTS IN EUROPE.

At the present time Continental Europe seems to be in complete subjection to military tyranny. Not only are those free institutions overthrown which enabled the people to check the assumption of power, and by creating a European public opinion gave to small States some influence over affairs, but the material interests of mankind are everywhere sacrificed to the grandeur of potentates, and their jealousy of each other. Without any cause of discord, at a time when railways and the course of trade are every day bringing the Continental nations together, when the desire of every people is for quiet and freedom to pursue the acquisition of wealth, the great empires of Europe are engaged in adding to armaments which are already without a parallel in history. Not only are the respective populations burdened to provide conscripts by land and sea, to build fortifications, to construct dockyards, ships and machinery, and to complete the preparations for ever-menacing campaigns, but the perpetual disquiet caused by the apprehension of war blights enterprise, and prevents the growth of international confidence. The nations of Europe see a large portion of their earnings spent yearly in keeping up armaments, the only use of which is to hinder those earnings from being far greater than they are. It is the old fable of the eagle slain by an arrow winged with its own feather. The loss occasioned by these immense armies is twofold—they are raised ostensibly to give security to the State, and they create the distrust which they are intended to allay.

France is, of course, the most striking example of this political evil. Here we have a nation plunged deeper into debt every year, in order—so its rulers would say—to be secure against a European combination. No government existing in Paris during the last forty years has professed any desire for European conquest, nor has there been a mile of territory added to the French limits at the expense of a neighbor. The same amicable policy has been upheld by other States. No power in Europe has in-

terfered with, or insulted, or thwarted France ; every change of government has been accepted ; every advance indicative of friendship has been courteously received. And yet France keeps up 600,000 men and a first-rate fleet for the purposes of defence ! The results of such a policy are obvious. The world will not believe that the French people make these sacrifices merely to insure an independence which nobody threatens. When, year after year, fleets and armies are constant objects of solicitude, when the levy of conscripts never fails, and the dockyards ring continually with the construction of new engines of war, then Austria, Prussia, England, and the whole of Central and Western Europe, are forced to be on their guard also. Thus millions of men are under arms on a Continent where the most cynical politician would not dare to say he expected war.—*London Times*, 1857.

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.—When asked what plan I would propose for reducing the military establishments of Europe, I cannot say that I have any plan, or that I believe that any one else has ; but we may gradually induce such a state of feeling and opinion as would, almost unobservedly, lead to that reduction. Men, I know, are seldom satisfied with these undefined and distant hopes. The human mind delights in specifics, and is apt to believe that for every evil there is a specific remedy. If something hitherto unknown were found out, there would, they are apt to think, be no more wars. But there is no specific, I fear, to be found out for persuading potentates to disband armies ; and there is always the pretext, and often the good excuse, for a potentate, that he cannot disband any portion of his army while a neighboring potentate maintains his full force.

Now, who is to begin the good work ? Happy indeed would it be for mankind if the work were of a nature that could be left to obscure students to settle. All that *they* can do is to point out the nature and extent of the evil, and to dwell upon it without exaggerating it ; to illustrate, from the rich resources of history, the magnitude of the evil ; to prophesy disaster from it, when they can honestly do so, and to show that its consequences are such as in the long run to promote the destruction, rather than the stability, of empires. If they can sow any of this good seed, they must leave it to fructify in the minds of other men of their own time, and in the minds of other men of future generations. For this is not an evil that will be cured in a day.

LIBERTY AND STANDING ARMIES.

It is time for our statesmen to treat the question of increasing our army as one above the ordinary range of party politics, and to re-affirm on this subject the sentiments of our ancestors. They deprecated such armies as the chief foes of liberty. Taught in the stern school of experience, and by the no less impressive lessons of national tradition, they hesitated even to trust the work of the Revolution to any forces of this character. Almost any other resort was to be preferred to this.

And if they had good reasons for such fears, the example of Washington, returning from military command when the strife was won, the symbol of an army melting away when the occasions of liberty no longer required its existence, was then in the future, and so unlike the examples

of history, that vigilant patriots might be excused for regarding the anticipation of it as an illusion of fancy. Philip of Macedon had subdued the militia of the Greek Republic by a standing army, and Rome had carried her conquests to the end of the world by this terrible enginery. Feudal and municipal liberties in Europe fell before standing armies, like grass before the scythe. When Charles VII. of France had learned the secret of English success in his wars with England, the power of troops comparatively regular over feudal militia, and had gained permission to keep a standing army, the sequel was as certain as fate. He levied subsidies without the concurrence of the States-General, the sword gave him the purse; and, with sword and purse in his hand, the cities, the nobility, even the clergy, were not long in coming to his feet. Louis XI. improved on this example. Inheriting a standing army, that army was the irresistible means of its own increase; its increase rendered necessary a more grinding taxation, and that taxation was readily enforced. Charles VIII. put Italy in terror by his standing army, and its cities opened their gates to him, with a sense of utter helplessness against the disciplined invaders.

Standing armies inaugurated in one nation became at length a necessity for neighboring nations, who were not slow in learning the fatal lesson. They sprang up everywhere, props of despotism at home, and the terrible agents of kings and courtiers in the game of centuries for the balance of power in Europe. Since their rise in modern Europe, they have almost never served a good cause, except as God has overruled the madness of human passion to his praise. In the sacred name of order they have stifled liberty as their habitual vocation. To-day all Europe groans under the burden of taxation for the support of this monstrously expensive non-producing class, and they serve no earthly purpose but to keep up the pageantry of courts, and perpetuate the servitude of the people.

Among the causes to which, under God, we owe our liberties, is the fact that England was able, by her insulated position, to keep clear in part from the fatal mesh which spread itself over the Continent—the advantages of position still further favored by the power of the nobility, whose union among themselves enabled them to resist the encroachments of the royal prerogative, and by the influence of the commons, whom it was necessary for kings to encourage as a make weight against the nobility, and who were not likely to bring upon themselves knowingly the scourge of a standing army. Alas, when nobles or commons did yield, they suffered an experience which became monitory; and, as if to make the circle of their experience complete, it was left for the armies of Cromwell to show that military power may become the bane and downfall of a republic.

So taught, our fathers feared standing armies with a most salutary dread. They believed that we could do without them, and our trial of their scheme has proved satisfactory. We have had in times of peace only the nucleus of an army, a sort of military police, and a defence against Indians. It is left for these degenerate days to witness the maintenance of military force for the terror and control of our own citizens; and our experience in that direction has been too much like that which made our fathers jealous of standing armies, to encourage the increase of such bodies but for reasons most palpable and imperative. A standing army is the only external force which can destroy our liberties.—*Baptist Examiner.*

MASSACHUSETTS MILITIA.

The militia system has ever been a pet with politicians; and Gov. Banks, after giving it a cold shoulder in his first message three years ago, has since atoned very fully for that slight by an excess of zeal in its behalf. He has made we know not how many elaborate addresses in its praise on sundry muster-fields; and we must do him the justice to say, that he has succeeded quite beyond our expectations in redeeming it for the time being from some of the most serious objections to which it had been so justly exposed. We have no faith in the thoroughness or permanency of its reform, as we deem it in these respects incurable; but we are glad to acknowledge and chronicle any proofs of amendment.

"The enrolled militia of the Commonwealth," says Gov. Banks in his last annual message, "numbers 157,848 men, an increase of 4,277 on the number of last year. The active uniformed militia numbers 5,736 men. Seven companies have been disbanded during the year for non-compliance with the law.

The expenditures of the department during the year, *excluding salaries*, amounted to \$64,057, a reduction upon the preceding year of \$1,372, and, making allowance for the excess of men in 1859 compared with 1858, of more than \$4,000.

THE STATE ENCAMPMENT.

Departing from the general usage, the troops were brought into camp in full force at Concord, during the third week in September last. The camp was established at Concord chiefly on account of advantages offered the troops, more liberal than the terms proposed by those connected with other localities. It was honored by the presence of both Houses of the Legislature, by Major-General Wool, of the Army of the United States, and by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. The general interest of the troops is exhibited in the fact that, of an entire force of 5,736 officers and men, but 413 absentees were reported. It is believed that the drill of the troops was never more constant in camp, their discipline and organization never more effective, and, assuming the maintenance of a well-regulated militia to be necessary, it presented a military force of which any State in the world might be proud.

The advantages of the State encampment were manifold. It cost the Commonwealth and the troops less than the camp of any preceding year. With exception of six companies from the western counties, — whose expenses were returned by the Legislature, — all the troops were, for the first time, without any transport or forage charges whatever, making a sum saved to them upon estimate, of \$4,700. Other charges incidental to this department, including the increased number of men, were \$1,374 less than in 1858; \$8,000 less than 1857; \$12,481 less than in 1856; and including the reduced expenses of the troops, with the reduction to the State, upwards of \$18,000 less than in 1854. The cost of the department, *excluding salaries*, has been for the last six years as follows:

In 1854,.....	\$77,066 11
1855,.....	74,754 56
1856,.....	76,538 76
1857,.....	72,028 46
1858,.....	65,429 53
1859,.....	64,057 64

The troops during the continuance of the camp were constantly under orders. Strict discipline was maintained; public order was in no instance disturbed; intoxicating liquors were, as a general rule, excluded from the head-quarters of commanding officers, and from the field; and the troops received the benefit of extended marches, of drill by regiments, brigades and divisions, and in concerted line and field movements of the three divisions.

But the great public advantages of the camp, in my estimation, is the test to which for the first time it subjected the habits and character of our people. When first contemplated, representations were made by competent police authorities, that with six thousand troops in camp, for nearly five days, with such concourse of spectators, as must be drawn together, it would be impossible to avoid scenes of violence and public disorder, or crime and loss of life. Nearly six thousand troops were in camp for the better part of five days and four nights. A hundred thousand spectators were present in the course of three days of active military duty. No disturbance arose, not an affray occurred, not a fruit garden was invaded, not the slightest injury to person or property was reported. But eleven persons were arrested in the town during the week, of whom seven were discharged without examination, two paid slight fines, and one was bound over for passing a worthless bill — all offences, except the last, of the most trivial character."

Here is doubtless as plausible a plea as can well be made in behalf of our militia system; but, after all, will it, in the judgment of sober, thoughtful men, justify its continuance for an hour? It seems, from the Governor's figures, that it has, during the last six years, cost the State alone an average of some \$72,000 a year, "excluding salaries." The cost to the troops themselves, including time and expenses, must have been several times as much more; and we have seen the sum total expenses of the military display at Concord reckoned, in all, at several hundred thousand dollars. We doubt whether even this sum would cover all the loss to the community; but, were it only a tenth part this amount, what equivalent could it show for even such an expenditure? What good does it all do, or what necessity is there for it? In such a community as ours, with a civil police organized in every city, and in our country towns the whole people a virtual police, we can hardly conceive an emergency among ourselves that could not be fully met without the military. As to defence against invasion, why, since the British troops evacuated Boston more than eighty years ago, not an invader has once set foot upon our soil nor is there the slightest danger that any one ever will. But, if there should, we have in our 160,000 citizens liable to military service on any such emergency, all the defenders we can ever need. Why should the State and individuals spend in time and money several hundred thousand dollars every year to prepare for what is likely never to occur, and, if it should, might as well be met by other means always on hand?

The moral character of the late encampment, so exempt from the evils of former musters, we must regard as a temporary exception to a general rule. The Governor and the prominent officers of the militia had been working hard and long to obviate in that case the objections so justly

charged on these parades. For once they succeeded ; but, however creditable, the success of one year cannot wipe out or countervail the failure of twenty. The general rule is pretty sure to prevail hereafter as heretofore.

ORDINARY TREATMENT OF SOLDIERS.

"There were," says John Henry, in giving his own experience, "on the island in New York, a number of carts, to which eight or ten men were attached, with leather harness, and in them they hauled wood, brick, stone, and did all the work incident to a garrison. But the soldier is better off on an island than on the main land. They generally have the privilege of the island from sun to sun, whereas, on the main land, they are shut up in small forts, perhaps three or four hundred in an enclosure of ten or fifteen rods square, never permitted to go outside without a written pass from an officer, except when they are taken out to work, and then under the command of a non-commissioned officer and a guard. When they have a pass, and stay out a little over the time allotted for their return, the guard-house, for a month or more, is their portion at night, and hard labor by day, with a ball weighing eighteen to twenty-four pounds fastened to the leg with a chain, and a part of their rations are stopped.

I have seen men, for a trifling offence, made to kneel in front of the line, their heads shaved, their clothes patched with all kinds of colors, a ball and chain on their leg, part of their rations stopped, and then sent to work out the remainder of their time on the fortifications at Mobile, New Orleans, or some other sickly place, without pay. In 1820, when I was at Detroit, a detachment of prisoners from Plattsburg, Greenbush, and other places, was brought there, on their way to St. Joseph's. Each man had a collar of iron around his neck ; they were united two and two by a chain, the thumb of the right hand of one made fast to the thumb of the left hand of the other, and in this manner they were marched from the boat to the fort.

I never knew a man of the rank and file to have a bed in the barrack. There are bunks three stories high, each bunk holding two men. They have board bottoms, so that they have one blanket under and one over, summer and winter. While on Governor's island, a man in the same company with myself got some cloth and made a sack, and filled it with the falling leaves of the Lombardy populars, in order to have a bed. He enjoyed it one night ; the next day he was made to throw it away, and take a flogging with a raw hide to pay for the luxury. The life of a slave on the plantation, or a convict in the penitentiary, is for the time being preferable to the life of the American soldier.

CONTINENTAL MONEY :

ONE OF THE FINANCIAL EVILS INSEPARABLE FROM WAR.

Our forefathers drew the sword in part to relieve themselves from the burden of taxes, like that of the stamp act, and the tea duty, imposed by the British Government. Let us see one of the manifold *pecuniary* evils which that war drew upon them in what is called *Continental Money*, issued on the public faith to meet the emergency.

The whole amount of this money, says the biographer of James Sulli-

van, issued from June, 1775, to Nov. 1779, was \$241,552,760. Here was an aggregate of nearly \$400 for every man, woman and child in the land, or of perhaps \$400 for every family, constituting nearly the whole currency. But mark its speedy and rapid depreciation. For one dollar in gold or silver, in Jan. 1777, a year and a half from the first issue, \$1.05 in paper of the United States was received; in Jan. 1778, \$3.65; in Jan. 1779, \$7.45; in Jan. 1780, \$29.34; in Feb. 1781, \$75.00; a reduction in six years of more than seven hundred and fifty per cent.

The State currency in Massachusetts, and probably not less in other States, was equally depreciated. In 1780, four years before the close of the war, what was known as the new emission was made in Massachusetts; but this fell so rapidly in value, that no computation could keep pace with its decline. A bushel of wheat was at one period worth \$75.00, and other articles of common use in like ratio. This currency continued at an enormous discount, till Hamilton's funding system was adopted, and most of the States' currency was not redeemed so late as 1808.

A little reflection will show what a severe, universal pressure this must have brought upon the people. Every dollar of the original \$242,000,000 probably went into circulation among them, and consequently somebody must have lost more than \$200,000,000; an average loss of several hundred dollars for every family in the land, fifty times as much in this way as the colonies had ever paid annually in the shape of taxes or duties. It was causes like these that occasioned the Shay Rebellion in Massachusetts; a rebellion justified by the *principle* of our Revolution, and put down just as the mother country attempted to put down the colonies. So from that day to this, we have crushed in this country rebellion or insurrection only by contradicting the very principle on which we based the war of our Revolution; and in all these cases it would have been incomparably wiser to bear the present evils until moral, legal, peaceful measures could have cured them.

THE MOORISH WAR.—Few readers have as yet any full or distinct idea of this war, of its origin or its object. It is waged with the coast-tribes, descendants of the Riff-pirates, and the people of the northern slopes of the mountain district lying between the Mediterranean and the Great Desert. They are a wild, unmanageable race. In a tour made last year, the Emperor of Morocco, though travelling with a strong escort, yet went a hundred miles out of his way to avoid contact with them; and it is evident, though they are a part of his own subjects, his authority over them is little more than nominal. The cause of the war is thus stated by a writer in London:—

“It is with these tribes that Spain has had cause of quarrel. They were perpetually attacking, assaulting, and otherwise annoying the few Spanish troops by which the two or three points of the Spanish territory on the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar were held. Remonstrance made in due diplomatic form to the Emperor's Government, whatever it may be,

had only produced the answer that the Emperor really could not help it; and a threat of hostilities elicited an intimation that, if Spain could exterminate the whole of the rascally population of the region, the Central Power would rather feel obliged by the transaction than otherwise.

Spaniards regard it as a kind of holy war, and it is certainly favored by the Catholic clergy. The money for it has been obtained, indirectly, at the expense of the English creditors of Spain. By abstaining from all payment of its bondholders for many years past, the Spanish Government has gradually, as things settled down after the civil war, found itself in funds. The English creditors grumble naturally at seeing their long overdue dividends fired away in this useless manner."

A letter from Gibraltar says, "In all the engagements thus far, the Moors, although generally repulsed, have displayed a bravery which their adversaries had deemed them incapable of manifesting. They have frequently marched intrepidly up to the very mouths of the cannon, and plunged their lances or poignards into the hearts of the gunners while at their pieces. Their tactics consist in mustering in large numbers, under cover of some object that screens them from observation, and singling out some apparently vulnerable place in the ranks of the enemy, making a Zouave dash for it, inflicting great injury on the strongly entrenched adversaries, but generally still greater on themselves.

When forced to retreat, they retire to their mountain fastnesses, carrying whatever booty acquired by the sally with them. In fact the warfare they wage is of that guerilla order so successfully practised by some of the tribes of North American Indians, and by the Circassians of the East. If by some chance they are surrounded, disdaining to sue for mercy, they at once put an end to their existence. They ask no quarter, and they give none. Scarcely a Moor has been taken prisoner by the Spaniards; but numerous instances are recorded of their placing their *espingardas* against their heads, and blowing out their brains to escape being made a captive. Indeed, the accounts of the courage they display in the war read as wild and chivalric as those of their ancestors hundreds of years ago, when the exploits of the famous Riff-pirates carried terror to the most distant lands in Christendom, and furnished exhaustless themes for romantic tale and minstrel song.

The number of the Spanish army is estimated at eighty thousand, and accessions are being made to it daily. Their situation, however, is by no means pleasant. They are not only perpetually harassed by the foe, but sickness, resembling the cholera, is busy in the Spanish camp, and hundreds die weekly."

THE MISSIONARY'S TRUST IN GOD.

Some years ago a Christian Missionary at Nablous, Syria, while riding on horseback with a loaded gun, accidentally shot an importunate beggar. The Mahommedan population, already in a state of excitement against the Christians, immediately flew to arms, and vented their anger in acts of violence towards their persons and property. One Christian was killed, another dangerously wounded, and all were placed in such imminent peril of their lives that they fled for safety to Jerusalem. It is not stated for what purpose the missionary was provided with the gun; but, as it is common for Christians, as well as others, to travel in those countries with arms for defence, it may be presumed that it was for this purpose. The un congenial association of a gun with a messenger of the Prince of Peace is at all times to be regretted; and it is probable that on this occasion, but for the gun, none of these disastrous circumstances would have occurred.

Some events in the life of the late Anthony Norris Groves, the Bagdad missionary, afford a comment on these transactions, and a beautiful illustration of the safety of peace principles amongst a people of martial and thievish propensities. Previous to his leaving England, Groves was intending to be ordained as a clergyman, when an acquaintance one day asked him, if he did not hold war to be unlawful. He replied, "Yes." How then, said his friend, can you subscribe that article which declares 'it is lawful for a Christian man to take up arms at the command of the civil magistrate?' Till that moment it had never occurred to him; but on reading it, he said, 'I never will sign it;' and from that moment he gave up his intention of being ordained a clergyman of the Church of England.

His peace principles were before long put into practice. He and his companions travelled from Petersburg to Bagdad unarmed. On the way they met an English officer in the Persian service, who advised him not to proceed on the road they were then going, on account of the unsettled state of the country, and, expressing his wonder at their being unarmed, said he hardly ventured with two battalions of soldiers. "We told him," says Groves, "our confidence was in a higher power than such weapons." In describing some parts of the country through which they passed, Dr. Kitto, who was one of the party, says, "We have scarcely seen a man unarmed, that is, without a gun and dagger, and often a sword and pistols besides. Not only the shepherds and cowherds were armed, but those engaged in agricultural labor were seldom observed without arms at hand." Yet, after all their exposure to these dangers, Groves was able to say, "having finished our long and perilous journey from Petersburg to Bagdad, we can say that we have not lost from a thread to a shoe-latchet; but we have all, with our goods, been brought hither in safety."

During his residence at Bagdad, the city was besieged, and the inhabitants subjected to great sufferings. On this occasion, he says, "We heard the cannons and small arms begin to fire, which informed us that the contest had begun in the city. The report of wars without, and robberies within, kept the inhabitants in constant alarm. The Lord has hitherto extended his sheltering wing over us, though without sword, pistol, gun, or powder in the house; and the only men, besides myself, are Kitto, who is deaf, and the schoolmaster's father, who is blind; but the Lord is our hope and our exceeding great reward." Shortly after he writes, "Our house has just been attacked by a band of lawless depredators, asking for powder and offensive weapons; but I told them I had none. Seeing a carpenter whom I knew, I told him I would let him in, if they promised that no more should come in. They entered, were very civil; and when I forbade their passing over the roof of my house to enter that of a rich neighbor, they did not press it, but took the money I gave them and went away."

While Christians so seldom manifest faith enough thus to carry out the principles of the Gospel, and trust their property and their lives in the hands of Him who has promised to care for those who love and obey him, it is refreshing to meet with an instance of this kind. Yet examples have been exhibited sufficient to warrant obedience to our Lord's commands in these respects, and to trust the consequences to his wisdom. Till Christians entirely give up their swords and guns, can they reasonably expect to have any great influence in inducing the heathen to come under the government of the Prince of Peace?—*Herald of Peace.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

COLD WATER, MICH., JAN. 6, 1860.

Although not regularly working in your cause, I am nevertheless making this the most important theme in all my preaching, and I occasionally deliver a lecture expressly on this subject. I have sold a few books, though most of those sent me last are on my hands. I continue to carry them wherever I go, but generally find the friends of peace supplied, and the enemies pleading poverty. My lecture at Grand Rapids city awoke a deep interest in our cause, and so also a discourse in Cold Water, on "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."

No men have more occasion for forbearance and patience than laborers in our cause. When I hoped that the war spirit had died away, up rose the Texas war, and thousands stealthily crossed the Sabine, while millions gloried at the success of that wicked enterprise. Hope revived again for peace and humanity, when lo! the latent war-spirit breaks out again in the Mexican War, and a host from my own State (Michigan) cross the Rio Grande, a large part of whom never returned. When the faces of our best citizens were muffled in shame for so disgraceful a war, Kossuth comes putting back our cause more effectually than all other influences, stirring up the Puritan blood, waking the remembrance of Hampden, and Cromwell, and William of Orange. Great divines who had condemned our south-western conquests and depredations, now beat their drums to muster. An eminent divine, Chief of the Puritan pulpit in America, delivers in person old cannon balls to the warlike Hun.

Nor is this all. An eminent pulpit orator and popular lecturer, addressing the students of Michigan Union College, grew very eloquent, and exclaimed, in view of the Crimean war just then commencing, "Europe is about to boil as a cauldron, and kings and priests will be poured off as scum." Nearly all the audience were ready to rally in the name of Cromwell, to kill one-fourth of the people of Europe in the hope of civil and religious freedom. That drama has been acted—we know the result, a grand abortion, the loss of 750,000 lives, and myriads of money to no serious benefit.

Next comes John Brown. Not satisfied with pronouncing eulogies on his courage, his integrity, his serenity in meeting death, good men grow mad in their zeal, and endorse the whole tragedy at Harper's Ferry. Most of the John Brown meetings show a spirit two hundred years behind the times. It is the spirit of 1640. It is another edition of the most ultra war spirit in Kansas.

But God forbid that we should ever despair of such a cause as ours. If the Apostles could have seen before them the ten dark centuries, their zeal would not have abated; nor will I be dismayed, though all this discouragement comes over our prospects. I stand on the word of Prophecy—man's destiny is progress. I will endeavor to sow the seed of truth, though it do not germinate in a hundred years.

WILLIAM W. CRANE.

THE HARPER'S FERRY AFFAIR.

This event, though not coming strictly within our province, still has not few very significant bearings that deserve special attention from the friends of peace. It may be difficult, if not impossible, to touch any of them without stirring prejudices likely, on one side or the other, to neutralize whatever we can say; but we will nevertheless venture a few suggestions, and trust our readers to receive them with candor.

We take leave, then, to say that this affair proves the general mind through the land to be sadly deficient and wrong in its *mode of meeting such controversies*. It is not Christian, but directly contradicts the gospel. Neither Christ, nor any of his apostles or early followers, dealt in this way with the great evils rooted in society. There is nothing in the principles or spirit of our religion that allows such resorts as we see in this case on both sides, to violence and bloodshed for the reform of social wrongs. We have, under the gospel, no right to attempt the cure of such evils by such means. It is a process subversive of all order, and must, if pushed to its legitimate results, end in utter anarchy. Still worse, if possible, has the South been in her treatment of those who would not forswear their most settled convictions of right and duty in favor of slavery. There is nothing in the alleged fanaticism of philanthropy to match it. It is a strange, unaccountable epidemic of cowardice, vengeance and terror, more inexcusable than any hair-brained attempt of a score of men under John Brown to overthrow slavery. Both are utterly wrong, and ought not to be tolerated, North or South, for an hour. All such questions must in time be settled, on the principles of the gospel, by the use of only peaceful, Christian means.

Here, then, we see the necessity of *educating* men into right habits of dealing with such questions. Nearly all of us have been educated wrong in this respect, and hence the reciprocal outrages perpetrated by both the opponents and the supporters of slavery. Had John Brown been trained in the pacific principles of the gospel, or had he not abandoned them for those of violence and retaliation, he would never have drawn the sword either in Virginia or Kansas. It is not the Christian way of preventing or curing wrong. So if men at the South had breathed, in this respect, a particle of Christ's spirit, they would never have dreamed of treating the opponents of slavery in the way they have and still do.

It is more than time to learn the hard lesson of bearing the worst evils until they can be cured by *Christian means*. It would be wrong to attempt their cure in any other way. Violence and blood are not Christian methods of securing God's ends; and we must wait till they can be attained by such methods. There is no great evil, like war, slavery or intemperance, that can be removed at once; and we must patiently bear it until it can be cured by Christian means. We have no right in any case to "do evil that good may come;" and ages of patience will be needed before the great evils of society can be entirely done away. Patience is the crowning grace of the Christian Reformer.

Especially must we, in doing away the evils of society, *respect civil government*. There is no safety in any other way. Such was the uniform course of Christ and his apostles. They obeyed the government when right, and, when enjoining what God forbade, submitted to its penalty *without any violent resistance*. They never sought to overthrow it, but worked for their objects as well as they could under its laws. Such a course, even if it fails of its end, can seldom lead to any evil; a merit that can *never* be claimed for measures of violence.

But the chief danger on this subject in our country, *et fons et origo malorum*, lies in our assumed *right of revolution*; a principle underlying in fact our whole government from its start, the claim of the people to resist and overthrow at will the government over them by violence. Now, there is no such right recognized anywhere in the Bible; and in this respect our revolution itself was a palpable violation of the gospel. This claim of the people to have their own way, either with or without the forms of law, and to change the government by violence, is the great source of mischief in a democracy like ours; and on this rock, if anywhere, we are likely to split and perish. All rebellions, and insurrections, and lynch-law in our land, have come from this principle, and all claim the sacred example of our revolutionary sires. In this claim they are right; for our forefathers did act on this principle, and so far, we think, were wrong. There is, on this principle, no permanent security for any government; and every rebellion or insurrection among us, from that of Shay in Massachusetts to that of Dorr in Rhode Island, has been put down only by contradicting the great example of our revolution. We have been obliged, in sheer self-preservation, to repudiate in practice the very principles on which that revolution started and triumphed.

We have long thought, and the time has come to diffuse and familiarize the idea, that we are likely to need the principles of peace much more among ourselves than in our intercourse with other nations. Thus far we have in the main acted on these principles in the settlement of our domestic disputes, in our inter-state controversies; but should we, as we are now in danger of doing, substitute for these the war-principle of reliance on brute force in place of law and reason, our ruin must sooner or later be inevitable, and probably as signal as our past growth and prosperity. •

We cannot now pursue the subject farther; but we have said enough to show the important bearing of our principles on domestic as well as foreign issues. They are in truth applicable to all controversies among men; but it is our province to insist on their application only in the intercourse of nations for the settlement of all their disputes by other and better means than the sword. If every community were properly trained in these principles, there would of course be an end at once not only to war, but to rebellion and insurrection, and lynch law, and all such raids as that of Harper's Ferry. Alas! that Christians themselves should be so slow to learn the truth, beauty and benign operation of these principles!

PEACEFUL ADJUSTMENT WITH CHINA.

Every reader is aware of the unfortunate complications in which England and France have become involved with China through the failure to interchange ratifications of the treaty negotiated with so much success by Lord Elgin. There soon arose of course a blind clamor for a joint expedition to avenge the alleged insult, and compel the submission of China to such terms as the offended powers might choose to demand. In this state of the case, the friends of peace in England, ever wakeful to meet such exigences, sent, late in December last, a large deputation to lay before the Government through its Foreign Secretary, Lord John Russell, an able memorial on the subject, from which we copy a few extracts :—

“It appears to your memorialists, that the mission despatched from England to exchange the ratifications of the treaty of Tien-tsin, was conducted in a spirit singularly at variance with its professed character and object as an embassy of peace. Her Majesty’s Plenipotentiary, from the first moment of his arrival in China, seems to have assumed towards the Chinese authorities a tone of suspicion and menace which could hardly fail to beget mischief, refusing a conference with the Imperial Commissioners who had negotiated the treaty, although they had remained at Shanghai for that purpose, by the express request of Lord Elgin, and insisting upon violently forcing his way to Peking, accompanied by a large naval squadron, and by a particular route, even after he had been apprized that a high officer of State had been sent by the Emperor to receive and conduct him to the capital.

“It is clear from the statements of our own officers, that the hostilities which led to the disastrous repulse on the Peiho were commenced by the British Admiral, acting under the instructions of Her Majesty’s representative, (Bruce); nor can it be deemed unreasonable that the Chinese authorities should resist the passage of so formidable a force into their inner waters, to convoy a professed ambassador of peace; a force which they could hardly have regarded in any other light than as a menace and an affront, adapted, if not intended, to lower the dignity of their sovereign in the estimation of his own subjects.

“Your memorialists are convinced that your Lordship will lend no sanction or support to the immoral doctrine promulgated in certain quarters, that whether we were right or wrong as regards the quarrel at the Peiho, it is necessary that we should inflict summary vengeance on the Chinese in order to maintain the prestige of our arms in the East. This doctrine cannot be more forcibly denounced than in the language of indignant rebuke which your Lordship employed in addressing the House of Commons two years ago. ‘If the prestige of England,’ were your Lordship’s words, ‘is to be separated from the character, from the reputation, from the honor of this country, then I for one have no wish to maintain it. To those who argue, as I have heard some argue, ‘it is true we have a bad case,—it is true we were in the wrong,—it is true we have committed injustice,—but we must persevere in that wrong, we must continue to act unjustly, or the Chinese will think we are afraid,’ I say, as has been said before, ‘Be just and fear not.’

“Your memorialists cannot conceal their apprehensions that large military successes in China may lead to consequences which it is impossible too strongly to dread and deprecate. The authority of the Chinese Government has been already grievously shaken by internal convulsion; and

should a fresh assault from without lead, as may be justly feared, to its being still further impaired, we may find ourselves under the same alleged 'necessity' of making territorial conquests in that country, which has been so often pleaded in excuse of our aggressions in India, until we have become entangled in a web of complications and responsibilities, as regards the Chinese empire, where it would be equally difficult to advance or recede without danger and dishonor."

There is a great deal of significance in this last paragraph, and should the evil forewarned ever come, it would be very likely to alter the world's history for ages. The memorialists, after saying that war, if waged at all, should confessedly be undertaken only on the highest, most deliberate authority of the State, very justly complain that "it appears, by recent practice, as though individual officials in various parts of the British Empire claimed the right to exercise this awful power *at their own discretion*, and to commit the strength, the resources, and the reputation of England, to conflicts of indefinite extent and duration, without either the authority of the Sovereign, or the consent of Parliament." A remark how applicable to our own government, if not to every one conscious of great power, and how pregnant with far-reaching mischief! They also "deeply deplore that the power of this country, which might and should be employed in blessing mankind, by the beneficent influences of Christianity and civilization, should be so frequently exerted for the widely different purpose of carrying fire and sword, among remote and comparatively defenceless peoples, thus prolonging the reign of barbarism and brute force, and erecting formidable barriers in the way of those who are seeking to convey to the heathen the benignant blessings of the gospel, by exhibiting the Christian religion to them as too often in alliance with violence, cruelty and blood." They conclude with the request, that "instructions may be sent to our officials in China to avoid further hostilities with that country, and to adjust our relations with the Chinese Government on the principles of dignified conciliation and forbearance worthy the character of a great Christian nation."

Preparations have been made for very formidable demonstrations against China jointly by England and France; but we are led by more recent advices to hope that the whole difficulty may be finally adjusted without further recourse to arms. The whole commercial world is deeply interested in such a peaceful issue, and we are glad to find that leading merchants in our own country are wisely and very properly using their influence to secure such a result.

COMMERCE ACTING FOR PEACE.—Men engaged in commerce cannot perform a service more useful to the public, or to their own permanent interests, than by using their influence to avert war, or mitigate its evils. We are glad to see them turning their attention to this subject in earnest. We find in a recent report of the Boston Board of Trade, that their Secretary had just received from a similar association at Marseilles, France, a

letter covering a Memorial to the French Minister of State, asking immunity in a time of war to private persons and property, and soliciting that functionary to lay the subject before the expected European Congress. It would be well if every Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce would take similar action on this and kindred subjects of interest to commerce, and the general cause of humanity. Commerce is the offspring and protégé of peace, and *ought* to concern itself in promoting the world's permanent peace. It may, if it will, do much to secure such a consummation.

PEACE LABORS IN ENGLAND. — We learn from the London Herald of Peace for February, just come to hand, that our English friends are earnestly at work, and apparently with good success. The lectures of Messrs. Stokes, Richard, O'Neill and Fry, able and effective champions of the cause, we find reported in different parts of the country. They address themselves in nearly every case to *live issues*, practical questions about which the people are now thinking, and on which the speaker asks for a decision from them — the Quarrel with China, the Rifle Corps Movement, the General Question of Armaments.

OUR OWN LECTURERS. — We have five under commission, besides local agents; but none of them are constantly at work in our service. They would be if they could; but, unlike William Ladd, they have not the means of sustaining themselves, and our income will not enable us to support them in the field. We earnestly wish we could; but we can of course attempt only what our friends give us the means of doing. We have before us now from one of our lecturers, a man of ability and popular talents, whose heart is in our great work, a letter in which he says, "I cannot convey to you the anxiety I constantly feel in regard to my duty on the subject of a *more active* agency for the Peace Movement. * * It does seem that *much more* ought to be done." Yes, a hundred times as much; but we can do only what the friends of peace shall enable us to do. We are amazed, as we have been many long years, that Christians are so insensible to the claims of this cause; but we devoutly pray, as we hope our servants will, for patience to wait and work still.

PREMIUM FOR ESSAYS ON PEACE. *Middlebury College.* — We began some years ago a plan for the establishment of permanent premiums for Essays on Peace in our Colleges, and all our higher seminaries. The health of our Secretary, on whom it relied for success, failed just then, and compelled us to suspend it for a time; but we have not for a moment relinquished the project, and are glad to find some of our friends spontaneously turning their attention anew to the subject. We have recently received from our excellent friend, SAMUEL W. BOARDMAN, Castleton, Vt., a pledge of *twenty dollars* a year for such a premium in Middlebury College. A worthy example, and we hope other friends will follow it on behalf of other seminaries.

Receipts designed for this number, are deferred to our next. To a portion of our friends we owe our obligations for this kind remembrance of our want; and we hope that others will not forget how *much* we need beyond what we are actually receiving.


THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

FOR

MAY AND JUNE.

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1860.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MAY AND JUNE, 1860.

WILLIAM JAY:

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

*Extracts from the Discourse on his Virtues and public Services,
by Geo. B. Cheever, D. D.*

WE have reason to thank God for every good man, whose life and character death has sealed, secure from change, for posterity. We have reason to thank God for every measure of greatness, intellectual, and of position and influence, circumstantial, which are as the propelling forces and machinery of a rocket that carry the light high into the heavens. The beneficent lustre of a good man's example, placed so loftily by position and influence, does not fall when the scaffolding is taken away, but remains, and shines the brighter and more independent and permanent. o o o

From beginning to end, the life of Judge Jay was a great and precious example of public and private virtue. He was one of those whose timely presence might have saved an outcast nation. "Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find A MAN, if there be any that executeth judgment, that seeketh the truth; and I will pardon it." Such a man was Judge Jay; one who, like Abraham, might plead for Sodom; a man of incorruptible principle, a man of tried and steadfast in-

tegrity and courage ; a man who feared God, and fearing God, feared nothing else ; a man who aimed in all things to live as ever in his great Taskmaster's eye ; a steward of large abilities and opportunities, good and faithful, through a period of trial and difficulty ; a diligent laborer for God and man, when he might have been, with good reputation, a self-indulgent idler, or a busy trifler, or merely a prudent manager of his own household affairs, accumulating and enjoying his revenues.

He was born in the year 1789, and we find him at the age of fifteen in Yale College, a close and successful student, and four years afterwards pursuing his law studies in the office of John B. Henry, Esq., of Albany. Here his application to his books was interrupted by a weakness of the eyes, which gradually increased to such an extent, that at length he was compelled to abandon his work, and relinquish all idea of the law as a profession. ◦ * ◦

In 1812, he married, and in 1818, was appointed to the office of Judge of the County of West Chester, which he continued to hold for a quarter of a century, until 1843. He declined every other public office, but was always active in every station and effort of public or private benevolence. He assisted in the organization of the American Bible Society, was one of its founders, wrote in its defence, was one of its Vice Presidents, and, until he felt compelled to rebuke its complicity with the sin and system of slavery in its silent submission to those wicked laws which render the Bible a sealed book to millions, gave to its management his entire confidence, and the efficiency of an active and earnest support.

He was chosen President of the American Peace Society in 1847, and by his able addresses and essays, as well as the weight of his general character and influence, contributed greatly to the spread and power of its principles. It is highly proper that in the analysis of his qualities, in the consideration of what we owe him as a Christian, a Patriot, a Philanthropist, and a Reformer, we should begin the sketch with his position, efforts and principles in connection with this Society. He brought to that connection the whole knowledge of justice and of law, gained from the long study and administration of its principles, and the whole power and activity of opinions grounded on the Word of God, and confirmed by experience, observation, and the knowledge of history. The whole system, science and work, the

beginning, continuance and end of his life and labors, were in that Song of the Angels, whose profound eternal argument and philosophy of benevolence and reform, are at once the impregnable foundations, and the irresistible agencies of this Society.

"GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, AND ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TO MEN." The first ascription in this sentence struck the keynote of his piety and humanity, commanding the whole depths and motives of his being. His labors were all for God and his righteousness; for God as revealed in his Word, for God as the alpha and omega of all glory and goodness, for God with complete submission to God's Word as the supreme, authoritative, all-sufficient guide; for God in the highest, and therefore and of necessity for Him, and by His Word, in the lowest, and with the motives, encouragements, arguments, promises, and fundamental truths of theology as in his Word revealed; for God with all boldness, perseverance, patience, long-suffering, confidence, calmness, and conquering energy and assurance in all the agitating conflicts against wicked men and oppressors.

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace; such peace, and on such grounds, and by such means secured and maintained as God's glory can admit. On the question of Peace, Judge Jay was not a mere theorist, but was remarkably practical, and with great definite purposes ever in his eye, as those best know who are most conversant with his writings and his labors. By his suggestive views, he was the originator of some of the most prominent and effective measures that have been pursued in this great cause of benevolence for the last fifteen or twenty years. He in fact gave rise to all our Peace Congresses, and by his proposition of STIPULATED ARBITRATION, opened a method by which disputes, in every case, may be settled between contending nations without the last mad resort of war, which makes the world a hell on earth in every respect of sin, except its penal inflictions.

Judge Jay's special interest in this cause began at an early period, and was manifested, in his connection with this Society not only by the performance of official duty, but by various able addresses and publications of a practical and masterly character, on the subject of Peace and War. His abhorrence of War, and his earnestness in behalf of Peace, were the result of heart-felt principle and conscience, guided by the Word of God. One of

the earliest of his productions on this subject was the admirable "ESSAY ON WAR AND PEACE; *the Evils of the first, and a Plea for preserving the last,*" published in 1848. He developed, in a powerful manner, the unmitigated wantonness and wickedness of War, its unalleviated miseries, its perpetuated evil consequences, its failure ever to accomplish any pretended good result paraded as its object or excuse. He examined the wars of this century, from that of our Revolution to the French, with those of the vast and tremendous career of Napoleon, to the last of the wars of Great Britain then on record, the unprincipled and inhuman war upon China for the protection and enforcement of the trade in opium. He exposed the pretence of the necessity of maintaining the national honor even by war. "Alas! for Great Britain; for at the very time these words were uttered, she was waging against China one of the most dishonorable and detestable wars that has ever stained her annals. Indeed, it is difficult to point to a war recorded in history, waged more directly against the health, morals and happiness of a numerous people, or from motives more basely sordid, than the British opium war; and yet, he who is now the prime agent and director of this war, talks of the safety of Great Britain as resting on the maintenance of her honor!"

"Would to heaven this rant about national honor was confined to those who are now at the point of the bayonet easing the Chinese of their purses. But we also have politicians who are far more concerned for the *honor* than for the morality of the nation; and these gentlemen have just made the extraordinary discovery that the honor of the Republic requires that her flag shall prove an ægis to villains of all nations who may think proper to traffic in human flesh."

"Perhaps the most sublimated wickedness and baseness in degree, although limited in extent, perpetrated by any civilized government at the present day, is practiced in the city of Washington. There, in the boasted citadel of American liberty, native-born American citizens are seized and imprisoned on *suspicion* of being fugitives from bondage; and when the suspicion is disproved by the non-appearance of a claimant, the prisoners are sold as slaves for life to raise money to pay their jail fees!!"

Judge Jay presented in this volume some impressive and humiliating statistics as the basis of an appeal to Christians in

regard to the awful prevalence of war, and the duty of laboring for its suppression. From the year 1700 to the general peace in 1815, taking the three leading formidable powers of Europe, Great Britain, France, and Russia, along with three of the minor States, and measuring the proportion of time in which each of these countries had been engaged in war during that period, the catalogue is as follows :

Great Britain,	-	-	-	69 years.
Russia,	-	-	-	68 "
France,	-	-	-	63 "
Holland,	-	-	-	43 "
Portugal,	-	-	-	40 "
Denmark,	-	-	-	28 "

No comment could be more terrible upon the moral character of our race than these statistics. No demonstration could be more startling, and illustrative of the necessity of united Christian effort to arrest the sweeping progress of such a habit of calamity and sin. "Can it be possible," asks Judge Jay, "that of all the evils under which humanity groans, war is the only one which religion and civilization, and the active philanthropy of the present age, can neither remove nor mitigate?"

In this volume, Judge Jay first suggested the plan of STIPULATED ARBITRATION, agreed upon by treaty between nations, as the method of settling international difficulties without resort to war. This plan was afterwards defined and proposed more explicitly, and at a later day presented by the American Peace Society to the Senate of the United States, in the form of a Petition for the establishment by treaty with other nations of the proposed method, "binding the contracting parties, in the contingency of any future difference which could not be adjusted by negotiation, to refer the same to the decision of an umpire selected for the purpose, and to abide by the award of such reference." The proposition of this simple and efficient substitute for war, was received and considered by successive Peace Conventions or Congresses in Europe, with admiration for its simplicity and practicability, and the adoption of the plan was recommended to the Governments of the civilized world by a Convention of the Friends of Universal Peace assembled in London in 1843. Successive Peace Congresses renewed the recommendation. It has gained an earnest and admiring consideration, till Judge Jay's confidence, in which he first proposed the

plan, seems no longer chimerical, and his words may yet be fulfilled: "Nor is it the vain hope of an idle credulity, that at last a union may be formed of every Christian nation for guaranteeing the peace of Christendom, by establishing a tribunal for the adjustment of national differences, and by preventing all forcible resistance to its decrees. That such a Court, formed by a Congress of Nations in obedience to the general wish, would, next to Christianity, be the richest gift ever bestowed by heaven upon a suffering world, will scarcely be questioned by any who have impartially and candidly investigated the subject."

But after all, the reliance of Judge Jay for success in any such plan, was upon the power of truth applied to the consciences of men. "That many and formidable difficulties," he says in his volume on *Peace and War*, "must be encountered in inducing this or any other government to engage to submit all its future claims and grievances to arbitration, cannot be denied. But similar difficulties have been experienced and surmounted. The abolition of the slave-trade, and the suppression of intemperance, were once as apparently hopeless as the cessation of war. Let us then once more recur for instruction and encouragement to the course pursued by the friends of freedom and of temperance. Had the British Abolitionists employed themselves in addressing memorials to the various Courts of Europe, soliciting them to unite in a general agreement to abandon the traffic, there can be no doubt that they would have labored in vain, and spent their strength for nought. They adopted the wiser plan of awakening the consciences, and informing the understandings of their countrymen, and persuading them to do justice and love mercy; and thus to set an example to the rest of Europe, infinitely more efficacious than all the arguments and remonstrances which reason and eloquence could dictate."

This was Judge Jay's own chosen work. He appealed constantly to the mind and conscience of the people with the truth. His views of public duty and of true patriotism, his convictions of what a true Christian expediency requires, as the universal peace-policy against tyranny and war, are contained in the opening of the seventy-second Psalm: "He shall judge thy people with righteousness, and the poor with judgment. The mountains shall bring peace to the people, and the little hills by

RIGHTEOUSNESS. He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor." The characteristics of a good judge, a good government, a good man, a good Christian, are here developed, and **RIGHTEOUSNESS** is presented as the only foundation of **PEACE**. The agencies of benevolence appointed of God, and employed on earth, can do His work, can accomplish His purposed mercy, and reveal His glory, only by righteousness. Nothing can stand in the place of that, nothing is to be permitted that overrides or darkens that, nothing but that, nothing other than that, can be of any avail against war and oppression. You are bound by this rule. First pure, then peaceable. It is one of the grandest elements in this cause of philanthropy, that it holds you to such noble and uncompromising principles. It was thus that it drew the mind of Judge Jay to such earnest and unhesitating advocacy; it found an affinity in his nature, and presented an attraction to his energies. His character and life were signalized by the concentration of those energies against injustice, oppression, and war. There never was a country or an age that had greater need of concentrated truth and effort against these prevailing forms of human depravity and madness.

War is the game of usurpers and ambitious kings in imperial and monarchical governments, and of unprincipled and despotic parties and party leaders in republics as of practiced and desperate gamblers. Slavery and war are both assumed and justified by their advocates as among God's grandest missionary agencies of civilization and Christianity on our globe. Judge Jay noted their alliance, their mutual support and permanence, their embrace in our own country, their ravages of horrible treachery and cruelty upon our Indian tribes. A thousandth part of the effort and expense maintained to defraud, drive out, exterminate, and demoralize those tribes, would have subdued them under the beneficent, gentle, and refining power of the gospel; but that course would have restricted the play and power of our own civilizing despotism and depravity, and starved not a few political and regimental adventurers, whose villainies have fattened on the violation of every treaty, and the opportunity of every outrage. Had our government, as a just and Christian government, proceeded on those principles of peace laid down in God's Word, no wars would ever have been waged, no weapons but of divine truth and charity needed. And even now, if the mili-

tary forts were evacuated and churches planted in their stead, if the troops were withdrawn from the Indian territories, and well ordered Christian families, properly selected from the various avocations of civilized life, were planted among them in sufficient numbers to be self-sustaining, co-operating with the Indians in the development of their own resources, and in the functions of civil government, and equitable prosecution of trade and commerce, a glorious result would be gained, honorable and beneficent, at less cost, certainly if morals were taken into view, than the expense of maintaining half a dozen garrisons. But this was never intended nor desired.

Judge Jay had reflected much on the war spirit, policy and system, as the means of sapping and destroying the liberties of our country. He knew the power it gives to despotism, the vantage ground of treason against the Constitution, the opportunity of consolidation, gradual and imperceptible, of all the functions of the government into one supreme uncontrolled responsibility and dominion, the thousand opportunities of increasing patronage, of bribery, of the invasion of law, of establishing precedent against law, the opportunities of wickedness afforded in demanded appropriations for secret as well as open service, the contracts on a vast scale, the corruptions unsearchable, unpunishable, the grants of irresponsible authority, the opportunities of bribery and fraud in the collection, discipline, management and payment of armies and navies. He had watched the corruption of conscience, the perversion of opinion, the sanction and popularity of evil principles, under the pestilential malaria of the war-fever, that in a calm and candid investigation could not stand one moment against the reprobation of God's Word and of common honesty. He had seen the transmutation of such principles into watchwords of patriotism, *Our Country, right or wrong: go it blind!* What wicked usurpation could be judge impossible, with such debauchery of the public conscience? He saw that the next culminating stratagem in the tactics of oppression, setting fast the key-stone in the arch of a despotism that cannot be broken down, might be a war in behalf of slavery, with the whole country engaged in it and pledged to it.

Judge Jay believed that nothing but tyranny, whether in Europe or anywhere else, can issue from the policy that, in anticipation of war, and under profession of a wise and patriotic

preparation for it, maintains, at the command of despots, three or four millions of men at arms in a time of profound peace. Then, if interest requires it, war at once, and then, the war once raging, everything in heaven and on earth, religion, morality, law, justice, freedom, charity, the Sabbath, the Decalogue, the conscience, must be put aside for it. Genuine liberty is at an end, or must consent, as a submissive patriot, to be manacled and muzzled, and to put the fetters and the gag on others, under pretence of a zeal for the glory and salvation of the common country. The very impulses and sentiments of freedom that belong to nature, and cannot be renounced without utter debasement, and that ought to be most carefully protected and trained in all their majesty and fervor, must be stifled with anodynes, while tyranny wakes ; just as a child is put to sleep with laudanum in the cradle, that the unnatural parents may enjoy their fashionable midnight gaieties and revels. In our own country this process is going on. The temptation is mighty, and will soon become irresistible, for a party and a President to rush into war in support of their own administration, and for the renewal of its lease of power. Beyond all question, if a war could be precipitated against Spain for the possession of Cuba, as a slaveocratic preserve for human cattle, the administration that succeeded in launching and manning that public crime, would be the object of public adoration, and would be carried, by an infatuated country, clean through the conflict. Next to slavery, war is the game of our American despots, and war for its support. This game has been already played with pre-eminent success, and the people, whenever it is renewed, seem perfectly blinded as to the cost of it, and regardless of the inevitable reaction and retribution.

Judge Jay deplored this infatuation; he noted its progress, and the frightful destruction of piety and morality in its train; and he deeply felt the necessity of the efforts of this Society, and of every other possible influence and agency against such ruin. His voice was lifted, his pen was employed, with admirable earnestness and vigor in the work of warning and reproving his countrymen, and endeavoring to arouse the Christian conscience of the nation. He was always eminent for his faithfulness in rebuking, on the spot, the treason against God and man, committed by the people, whenever they sanction the detestable com-

pact between tyranny and war. In the city of Boston, at the 25th Anniversary of this Society, he appealed to a then recent crime and disgrace, the memory of which is still a memory of sorrow and shame, and the mention of which makes the ears of every lover of liberty tingle; he referred to it as a proof, that "the very profession of a soldier, even when temporarily assumed by the militia, is adverse to the spirit of liberty. Instant and unlimited obedience suspends, for the time, reason, and conscience, and humanity. The streets of Boston lately witnessed a formidable array of dragoons, artillery and infantry, all armed for deadly conflict, and ready at command to shed American blood on American soil; yes, the blood of such of their fellow-citizens as were known to be zealous friends of liberty, and the inalienable rights of man. Ah! these republican soldiers had been converted into the body guard of a slave-catcher, and were aiding him to surrender an innocent native-born American to an unmitigated despotism." "False alike is the patriotism," added this true patriot, "that rejects the obligations of religion, and the statesmanship which confides the prosperity and liberty of a nation to the guardianship of the sword." "The love of personal freedom is a passion, shared alike by the good and the vile; while a disinterested regard for the rights and liberties of others is not the product of the battle-field, but the fruit of a heart purified by influences from above."

On another occasion, Judge Jay remarked, "We hear much of late as to the importance of Conservatism, as it is called. Is it true conservatism to obliterate, in the masses, the sense of justice, the feelings of humanity, the distinction between right and wrong? The only conservatism to which I look for the protection of my rights and my property, is the inculcation of that HIGHER LAW, which, with the authority of Deity, and the sanctions of the invisible world, says to each individual, high or low, rich or poor, DO JUSTLY, LOVE MERCY, DO TO OTHERS AS YOU WOULD THEY SHOULD DO TO YOU. But alas! this law is sneered at by men whose all depends on its observance. Well may we tremble lest God should apply to our nation the maxim of his moral government towards individuals, WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH, THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP."

The uncompromising spirit and principles of Judge Jay are those on which alone the Peace Society can constitute an agency of dignity and power. We cannot, for the sake of peace,

compromise a single principle of righteousness. It would be madness, it would be the suicide of our cause ; it would be a provision for our destruction in the very foundations on which we erect our building. It would be like opening our own veins, and drinking our own life-blood, in the vain imagination of thus renewing the nourishment by which the vital fluid may be kept in circulation. It would be an expediency of which Coleridge so admirably portrayed the madness, in the illustration of digging down the charcoal foundations of the temple at Ephesus, to provide fuel for the fires upon its altars. A Peace Society is nothing, but by the righteousness and truth of God applied with inexorable firmness to the conduct of nations as of individuals.

It was Judge Jay's inflexible integrity of principle, and steadfast adherence to his conscientious convictions of the immorality of war, and the iniquity of the war-spirit, that dictated his admirable letter on the military enthusiasm excited in this country by the visit and speeches of the eloquent Hungarian chieftain, Kossuth. This letter was addressed by Judge Jay, in 1852, while President of the American Peace Society, to Rev. Dr. Beckwith, its well known Secretary. As peace men and as patriotic citizens, Judge Jay thought we were called upon to resist the war-policy of foreign intervention with the sword, in behalf of human freedom. But the great power of this letter was in the terrible sarcasm with which the facts of our own history were brought to bear upon the inconsistency, the hypocrisy of intervention in behalf of liberty abroad, while we war against the rights and liberties of millions at home. "Is it decent, is it compatible with truth and candor, for a republic like ours, which tramples in the dust THREE MILLIONS of its own people, annihilating all their rights, civil and religious, reducing them to the condition of beasts of burden, and enacting that every good citizen is a slave-catcher, — is it decent, I ask, for such a republic to affect a zeal for human rights so ardent, as to make war upon every foreign nation that denies to a portion of its subjects an elective government or universal suffrage? Surely, I need not allude to our slave-hunts, and our treason trials, to prove that we are not precisely qualified by our own practice to assume among the nations of the earth the part of champion of the rights of man. Kossuth is not probably aware that the United States have claimed the same right of intervention for the suppression of human liberty, which Russia has exercised, and for which he invokes upon her the execrations

of the civilized world. Let me call your attention to some historical facts." Judge Jay then recapitulates the illustrative events of our history in reference to St. Domingo, Hayti, Mexico and Cuba. Thus was this Christian patriot always vigilant and faithful in rebuking and warning his countrymen.

He was equally faithful in regard to the church and the ministry. "Many of the clergy," said he, "have acted as the tools of politicians. The church in this country, *taken as a whole*, is the mighty buttress of WAR AND SLAVERY, and if it is not also of the rum-traffic, it is because the latter is ceasing to be popular and genteel. I remember when a bishop of my own church proclaimed to the public, under his own signature, that the triumph of temperance societies would be the triumph of infidelity! He would not say so *now*; but slavery is still popular, and he is now its avowed champion."

"It is understood that a minister is at full liberty to preach *morality in the abstract*, but it is none of his business to *apply* gospel principles to the ordinary affairs of life, when such application would interfere with the political or pecuniary interests of his hearers, or with their prejudices or pleasures. He may enforce the general duty of *justice*, but not in relation to the treatment of *colored* men. He may tell us that God is love, and that we ought to love all men; but he may not denounce the *WAR-SPRIT* as contrary to the law of love, nor may he condemn a profession which consists in human slaughter. Thus great sins find a most comfortable lodging-place in the very temple of God."

Here we see the fundamental grounds of Judge Jay's claim to the character of a great practical Christian philanthropist. His policy, as well as his piety, was rooted and grounded in the Word of God. His piety was not one thing, and his policy another, his piety angelic, his policy that of the Jesuit; but the same principles that directed, and the impulses that inspired him as a Christian, also guided his determinations as a Statesman. He took the highest comprehensive view of our national and moral responsibilities, and threw himself, with great power of argument, intensity of feeling, and perseverance of effort, into the battle of Christian truth and righteousness against slavery and war. The cause of Peace he knew to be most intimately allied with the cause of human freedom against slavery. The worst wars that ever desolated our globe have been wars of oppression, wars of conquest, for the very purposes of bondage.

And the oppressor sanctifies his slavery as a system by the very first war he succeeds in provoking against it, because he assumes to be the injured defender of his vested rights. In our own country's history, even within the short period of fifty years, more than one war has been undertaken and maintained for the consolidation and defence of this wickedness. In the purposes and progress of the Florida and Mexican wars, Judge Jay has traced, with a fine and masterly hand, our nation's peculiar guilt. The facts, as he unveils them, are revolting every step of the way. Perhaps the embrace of war and slavery never was witnessed on earth in more disgraceful, hideous, tragic forms than in the prosecution of the Florida atrocities. The brave and unoffending Indians were massacred by the United States government, as a sacrifice for the Moloch of slavery. It would scarcely be possible for a Christian nation to commit a greater, more detestable wickedness, than the waging of that wholesale, diabolical, exterminating murder, under the name of war. Mr. Giddings, as well as Judge Jay, has made this palpable, with proof that amazes and horrifies the mind, that such transactions, as of the malice of the infernal world, so fiend-like, and with such malignant object and end, could be endured and adopted in a nation not only not pagan, nor savage, but civilized, and enlightened by the Word of God. He has drawn aside the veil of obscurity and falsehood, and opened up to view the realities of this vast and dreadful crime.

As the advocate of Peace, Judge Jay relied wholly on the gospel. He believed that in giving us the gospel, God has bestowed all that is necessary to secure peace, all the power for this object that we need, if we will be faithful with it. The thorough legitimate use of the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, will prevent the necessity of any recurrence to any other sword. The true and faithful application of the fire of God's Word, will prevent the necessity of any other fire, any other musketry. But the Word of God has never yet, except at brief intervals, been tried. Its power has never, a hundredth part, been put forth, not even with such restraint as that which blasted and drove out of heaven the rebel angels, but without annihilating them. With the angels of its lightnings once loosed, and its vials poured forth, there would be no more possibility of questioning its divine omnipotence or its plenary inspiration.

NATURE OF THE SOLDIER'S PROFESSION.

Use has so long familiarized the practice of war, that it is very difficult to conceive aright its real character. Its supporters and admirers would be shocked at a minute, thorough, fearless analysis of its moral elements. What is it, in sober truth, but legalized, wholesale robbery and murder? In what respects, if any, does it differ from such deeds?

Take a case in point. Every reader must remember what was called at the time, the "Salem Tragedy." Joseph and Francis Knapp, distant relatives of a rich old gentleman in Salem, by the name of White, instigated Richard Crowninshield, by the offer of a thousand dollars of the plunder, to kill the old man, and seize his treasures. Crowninshield, entering the house of his victim at midnight, and creeping softly up stairs to the room where he was sleeping, struck him over the head with a bludgeon, and then turning down the clothes, stabbed him several times in the heart with a dagger. Everybody called him a hired assassin; and he would have been hung as an atrocious murderer, if he had not in his prison hung himself. The two Knapps were tried, convicted and hung for hiring Crowninshield to assassinate Mr. White.

Here is a clear case of hired assassination; and wherein does it differ from the profession of a soldier? Doubtless there is *some* difference; but in what does it consist, and to what does it amount? How far are the two professions or acts alike?

Let us look at the facts. Here is a nation of ten, twenty, or fifty millions, that hire you, as one of their soldiers, to kill whomsoever they may wish to have killed, and promise to give you, besides your food and clothing, some ten or twenty cents a day. The nation, indignant that the Chinese spurn their opium, or that the Affghans reject their favorite ruler, or that the Seminoles will not give up their lands, the inheritance of fifty generations, to some avaricious white men, order you to go and kill them, burn their dwellings, and butcher, without distinction or mercy, thousands of unoffending men, women and children.

We see now the facts in the two cases; and what is the difference? The deed is the same, except that in one case a single man was killed, and in the other thousands, or scores of thousands. The motive, too, is essentially the same — with the em-

ployers, self-aggrandizement; with the hired agents, pay. The difference, for there is some, will not redound much to the soldier's credit over the assassin. The soldier hires himself to millions of men called a nation; Crowninshield hired himself to only *two* men. The soldier hires himself out to kill *whomsoever* the nation may wish to have killed at *any* time; the assassin engaged to do a *specified act*, to kill a *single* man at a given time, and that man named beforehand. The soldier is hired to kill by the month or year; the assassin was hired by the job. The soldier is a day-laborer in the work of blood; the assassin is a jobber at the same trade. The assassin is better paid than the soldier; for the former was promised a thousand dollars for killing one man, while the latter might kill a hundred in a day without getting half a dollar for the whole. The soldier agrees to kill any and all whom the nation may bid; and, if required to shoot his own father or mother, brother or sister, wife or child, he must shoot them, or be shot himself; whereas the assassin, had he refused to kill the old man according to agreement, would not himself have been liable to be hung. The soldier makes a fearful bargain; for, though aware that if he refuse to kill any whom the nation may bid him kill, he must himself be put to death, he nevertheless enters into the bloody compact, not knowing but he may be ordered to shoot or stab his own parents, wife or children. Not so bad the assassin's bargain. Had Crowninshield engaged to kill at any time anybody whom the Knapps might wish to have killed, with the understanding that he should himself be put to death if he ever refused to kill any one they should bid, there would be a pretty close analogy between his case and that of the professed soldier. But the assassin's position was not so terrible. The soldier must kill *whomsoever* his employers may bid him kill, or the terms of his contract make him liable to be shot or hung himself.

Now, let every reader judge between the two, and tell us, if he can, why a hired assassin, like Crowninshield, should be hung as a monster of wickedness, while the soldier, hired by twenty or forty millions to do the *same* deed *by wholesale*, is admired and eulogized *as a hero*? To kill *multitudes* at the bidding of millions, is deemed patriotic, glorious, Christian, worthy of songs, and eulogies, and monuments; but to kill *one* man at the bidding of another one, is denounced as base, infamous, diabolical, deserving

of the gallows, of eternal infamy. Well did Bishop Porteus say,

“One murder makes a villain:
Millions a hero.”

Now, is it possible to gainsay this view of the soldier's profession? Must he not in time come to be classed with the hired assassin, and be held in far deeper abhorrence than the hangman? How much longer will men of any principle, conscience, or self-respect, hire themselves out to the work of robbery and murder? How long will professed Christians, or any Christian community, respect or even tolerate the military profession, the trade of human butchery?

GEN. HAVELOCK:

OR THE WARRIOR. AT BEST A VERY DEFECTIVE CHRISTIAN.

Much has been written eulogistic of this distinguished individual. At his death, men of all ranks, profane and religious, on both sides of the Atlantic, vied with each other in doing him honor. The religious press was not behind in paying homage to the Christian warrior. The London Daily News said of him, “He is evidently a Christian warrior of the right breed; a man of cool head and resolute heart, who has learnt that the religion of war is to strike home and hard, with a single eye to God and his country.” Says the American Presbyterian, “Much as we deplore war, and deeply as we lament its horrors and its sins, we yet rejoice to recognize (in Gen. Havelock) the truly Christian soldier. In him is distinctly recognized the consistent Christian, as well as the brilliant soldier.” In view of such sentiments, doubtless entertained by the vast majority of the Christian church, is it wonderful that such fulsome praise is bestowed upon men of arms? Is it not plain that, with these views, it will be long, very long, before the nations learn war no more.

But I began this article with the intention of examining a little more carefully into the private life of this celebrated Christian hero, or, as one writer declares, this “model of a Christian hero.” His life has been written by Brock in England, and Headley in the United States. Brock evidently is the more reliable, because he was a fellow-countryman, and had access to the most trustworthy sources of information placed at his disposal by Gen. Havelock's family and friends.

It is not my purpose to make extended observations upon his early life. It seems that in 1823 he avowed himself a regenerated disciple of the meek and lowly One. To such an one, it would seem that the soldier's profession, in every way at variance with the Christian profession, could have no charms, and that he would have taken the earliest opportunity to retire from its scenes of strife. Here follow his own words from his own diary:

"1838. Promoted to a captaincy after serving 23 years as a subaltern officer.—1839. Marched to Bhawalpore. Fort Bukkur surrendered. Marched into Scinde. Retraced our steps, and crossed the Indus. Stormed Ghuznee. Marched to Cabool. — 1842. Havelock commands the right column in the first attack on Mohammed Akbar's camp, for which he is afterwards promoted to majority by brevet, and receives the cross of Companion of the Bath." These extracts do not show any distaste or disinclination to the murderous work of war. Not a word is uttered of his deep conviction of its barbarous, not to say unchristian character.

On the death of his brother, who was killed in battle in 1848, he thus writes to his sister:—"In a cavalry action, fought on the 22d of November, our beloved brother William met a soldier's death, at the head of his noble and cherished dragoons. There our gallant brother fell, but not until his regiment had sustained a heavy loss, and he had conquered the admiration and sympathy of every brave man that can look with *delight* (!) on acts of a kindred spirit with his own." What sentiments for a Christian to utter at such a solemn time! p. 63.

Again he writes to the same in 1849: "My regiment (the 53d) having been ordered into the field, I obtained permission to proceed to join it. The expense of the trip proved to be great, and I made a great sacrifice of money in leaving my appointments here (Bombay.) But ever considering that duty is the first consideration, I did not hesitate." His idea of duty, as it was a voluntary act of his own, was evidently ambition of distinction on the battle-field. This will be more distinctly seen in the sequel.

Shedding tears over a novel, and revelling in human suffering on the field of battle, seem hardly congruous acts. He writes to his wife, in 1853, "I am in the midst of Uncle Tom,—and, shall I confess it?—twice shed tears over it last night." Where were his tears for the victims of his numerous battles, in which he had displayed his prowess? Anxious, as a military man always is, he awaited with great anxiety news of the British army in the Crimea. In a letter to his wife, dated Dec. 18, 1854, he says, "My patience is rewarded by the intelligence of the *glorious but sanguinary* action of the 5th November, in front of Sebastopol. *I wish my boy George to be fully instructed regarding these matters.*" Here is the callous, hardened warrior, instinctively on the scent for blood. His stand-point of view is not that of the moralist, not certainly that of the Christian, but simply that of a military man. One would think that a Christian father, of all things, would dread to have his children enter upon a soldier's life. Instead of this, Gen. Havelock is *anxious for it*, and sends home particular directions in these words, "I wish to draw your attention particularly to the boy's *military* education. I wish this boy to have advantages I never possessed, in a really good *military* education." How little does this seem like the Christian father!

• Havelock's age did not impair his thirst for war. At 62, being appointed to command the 2d division of the army, destined against Persia, he

writes, "When the post of honor and of danger was offered me by telegraph, old as I am, I did not hesitate a moment. The wires carried back my unconditional and immediate acceptance." Robbery is not usually a source of congratulation to a Christian, and yet we find this *pious hero*, with his son who, having finished his military education, had joined his father in the scenes of Indian strife, quite jolly at the capture of some property from the poor Persian soldiers. Havelock says in a letter, "H. and I have a captured Persian tent over us, and we are as jolly as the two parsons you and I met in the railway carriage. *The work*" — his work of blood and vengeance — "*inspires and animates me, and God is with me!*" Blasphemous! God with a man in such deeds! Strange mingling of devotion and robbery! And when it is remembered that he entered upon this "animating" work of pillage and murder, of choice and preference, it is clear how low and sensual must have been his views of the religion of the Prince of Peace.

Havelock's constant recognition of divine Providence as directing and governing his movements, is a singular infatuation for one acting in direct violation of every precept of the New Testament. When disappointed in not being able to bring his troops into action, he writes, "I had hoped that my troops would have won laurels, but Providence decreed it otherwise." Eager for the fray, the venerable hero writes, "I have *some hope* of being sent from Bombay to China." Where the battle-tide raged, there he hoped to be.

The proper subjects of prayer are those which involved our own interests in connection with those of our fellow-creatures. We should expect this "model Christian hero" to utter his frequent petitions in this direction; but how are we astonished to hear him declare, "One of the prayers, oft repeated throughout my life since my school days, has been answered, and *I have lived to command in a successful action!*" This was the battle of Futtehpoore, over which he gloated in a letter to his wife, July 13, 1857. That was the successful command for which his life-prayers had gone up, a field of human slaughter, and the destruction of his enemies. It was after this battle, that in cool blood, without judge or jury, he caused, in military mode, one of the so-called rebels to be executed; and he called this justice! Justice with a vengeance!

Christians, of all men, are to shun the very appearance of evil, and give countenance to no devilish actions or principles. Gen. Havelock, as an amateur sportsman, delighted in the exhibitions his command gave of their physical courage. He says, speaking of the battle before the taking of Cawnpore, after different portions of his troops had been engaged, "The opportunity had arrived for which I have long and anxiously waited of developing the prowess of the 78th Highlanders. Their onset was irresistible, and in the excitement he exclaimed, 'Well done, 78th!'" This 78th, so highly applauded, was the same of which the London Morning Star thus speaks on *reliable authority*: "It is said that at Cawnpore and the neighborhood, the Queen's 78th regiment put to death no fewer than

10,000 people, or, according to another version, killed all the natives they could get at, whether men, women, or children!" On the day after the battle, Havelock issued a general order, in which he speaks especially to them thus: "You have not degenerated." To the 64th, another bloody regiment, he says, "You have put to silence the jibes of your enemies throughout India. Your fire was reserved *until you saw the color of your enemies' moustachios* — this gave us the victory." On what *Christian* principle could he appeal to passions so low and base as these?

Havelock admired brutal courage, and highly commended his own son for its exhibition. Of him he writes, "I never saw so brave a youth as the boy H. He placed himself opposite the muzzle of a gun that was scattering death into the ranks of the 64th Queens', and led on the regiment under a shower of grape, to its capture. The grape was deadly, but he was calm as if telling George stories about India." The atrocities, according to the London Star, committed by British soldiers, exceeded in horror, if it were possible, those perpetrated by the Sepoys; and yet Gen. Havelock has tears and indignation for the one, but not a word of reproach for the other. How unlike the Master who wept over the desolations of Jerusalem, as he surveyed it, and beheld its coming doom! To Havelock the natives were all "wretches," "miscreants," "monsters," that well deserved their fate.

Our admiration has been so boldly challenged for Havelock, as "every inch a soldier, and every inch a Christian," that it is quite time to scrutinize well his claims. These specimens may suffice for the present; but we have not yet done with a name that has so widely misrepresented and debased our religion of Peace.

C. S. M.

MEMOIR OF CAPT. BATE.

"The subject of this memoir, a captain in the British navy, was killed during the attack upon Canton, in December, 1857, while attempting to set the ladder for an escalade. According to the correspondent of the London Times, he had volunteered on a service of 'imminent danger,' at a time when 'a storm of balls and rockets was coming from the wall. He was in the act of taking the distance from the ground to the top of the wall, when a shot from a gingall struck him in the right breast. He fell straight on the ground, and never moved afterwards. Such was the untimely end, at the age of thirty-seven years, of one of the most manly and courageous men in the British navy, who was loved by every one in the fleet, from the Admiral down to the youngest boy.'

"But it is something higher than personal valor and professional capacity, and the stirring details of a British sailor's life, that gives an interest to this memoir. Besides all these, there is the exhibition of a *noble Christian character*, in one who daily sought, *in all he did*, to act in a way that

would be *pleasing to God*. The story of his persevering faithfulness, in the discharge of duties which took him for years, 'out of the pale of civilization,' and of the cheerful spirit with which he met repeated disappointments and trials, and of the triumph of his faith in all, cannot fail to encourage and strengthen every reader who sympathizes with him in the great object of life."

The above notice is selected from one of our best religious *Quarterlies*, the February number of the *New Englander*, simply as a specimen of the manner in which military and naval heroes are held up to public view, not only as men of courage and conduct, but also as *eminent Christians*.

Now, we do not question the assertion that Capt. Bate may have been a Christian, nor do we deny that there may have been eminently pious distillers, nor that there has been a respectable and truly pious class of rum-selling deacons and church-members. Nay, we are not prepared to deny that there have also been pious, godly officers of slave-trading ships, as for example, that eminently devout man, John Newton, who was for years the captain of one. Indeed, as we become better acquainted with men, we are never prepared to deny, that seeming incompatibilities may be combined in the character of a real Christian man.

But why are such incompatibilities found? Very plainly because the Christian is misled by education, custom, and a corrupt public sentiment. What is needed to render a real Christian consistent, is rightly to instruct him on those points in which he errs. So thoroughly has the nature of the liquor-traffic been discussed, that the charity which "hopeth all things," refuses to believe that the ordinary distiller or liquor dealer is a sincere disciple of the Saviour. Though pious John Newton was the captain of a slaver, yet the charity that "believeth all things," cannot conceive of a pious, praying captain of a slave ship at this time. What would the public think of the grave biographer of an eminently pious distiller, or of a very godly, praying negro-trader? Could they be persuaded that it could be otherwise than a burlesque on the Christian profession? Upon these points public sentiment is enlightened, and therefore correct; but how with a pious, praying officer in the British navy, or of our own, "one who daily sought in all that he did, to act in a way that would be pleasing to God?"

Let us examine into the nature of the contest which resulted in the instant death of not only Capt. Bate, but of many others, innocent men, women and children, as well as of soldiers and sailors. The world knows, that for many years the British East India Company, engaged on a grand scale in monopolizing the opium trade within its own dominions, first buying it of the producer, at to him starvation prices, and then, contrary to the laws of China, and with the full knowledge of its deadly influences, smuggling it into the Empire, as a regular business. The evil at length became such, that just, but stringent measures were adopted by the Chinese Emperor to abolish it. This led to a war, in which the British

government willingly engaged, to avenge the breaking up of the smuggling of opium. At the cannon's mouth, and after the wanton destruction of thousands of lives, the Chinese government was compelled to pay the expenses of its own chastisement, and the opium trade was renewed by force of arms. Since that time the aggressions of the British have been continued, and the doctrine that *might gives right*, has been practically maintained, and enforced by British agents, and British ships. Instead of taking the position of an enlightened Christian nation, desirous of commending itself and its religion to a barbarous people, its policy has been to awe them by its power to do them mischief, and to demand and secure its own pecuniary interests, regardless of the rights or happiness of those with whom it has intercourse.

To this system of fraud and force combined, Capt. Bate appears to have lent all his skill and energy. When the people of Canton repelled the attack of their enemies, he volunteered to expose himself to "imminent danger," in order to facilitate the scaling of the walls, and the storming of the city. He was willing to risk his own life, in order to destroy the property and lives of thousands of innocent victims. In this murderous attempt, he fell. He died the death he sought to inflict upon others. Such was the conduct of him, who gave "the exhibition of a noble Christian character, one who daily sought in all he did to act in a way that would be pleasing to God."

In all candor, allow me to inquire if there is not as much need that the ethics of the war system should undergo a thorough investigation and discussion, as that of the liquor traffic, or of slaveholding? When will the time arrive that every man shall be held responsible to God and society for his acts, as much in wholesale murder, as in his capacity as a private citizen?

S. Y. E.

The closing questions of our correspondent cover a broad field, and one on which the great mass of Christians, probably nine in ten, are almost as wrong in their habits of reasoning, if they reason at all on the subject, as all Christendom was about the slave-trade at the time when Clarkson and Wilberforce began the work of its abolition. We trust our friend will continue the discussion, and bring the general question more widely before the Christian public in other Christian periodicals.

Ed.

INCREASE OF THE WAR SYSTEM.

As nearly as can be ascertained, the European war-system has increased fifteen-fold since the commencement of the Christian era. The armed men in Europe at that period were about 300,000; they are now, of all ranks, including the navies, about 4,500,000. The system has baffled, and continues to defeat, the combined influences of both religion and civilization; and this it does by enlisting both alike in its corrupt and guilty service. It has bribed each alternately, and induced them both, like another Judas, to sell the Prince of Peace for paltry "pieces of silver." Consequently, they are shorn of their strength, and, denuded of their true power, they lie asleep in the lap of this treacherous Delilah.

That nearly five millions of men, in the prime of life, should be taken from industrious pursuits, and placed upon the funds of the several European communities,—where, from the nature of their position, they become consumers of the produce of other men without being producers themselves,—is a burning shame, and a perpetual injustice. By this mischievous arrangement, the industrial portions of all these communities are injured, in a very material degree, by being compelled to support a large number of men, who are able, but not permitted, to support themselves. The total loss to Europe, including Great Britain, cannot be less than £117,000,000 (\$585,000,000); and according to this calculation, the industrious classes of Europe will have sacrificed at the shrine of war, during the present century alone, no less a sum than the enormous one of £7,020,000,000 (\$21,100,000,000); and this, be it remembered, is the loss of labor alone!

Great Britain has taken far too large a share in this system of extravagant expenditure. If we go back no farther than 1835, we find that the entire outlay for war amounted to a little above £14,000,000; but the average for the year 1860, including the expense of collecting, will exceed £30,000,000, or above double that of 1835. But, large as this expenditure is, an increase is inevitable, unless an early change shall pass over the views of the government. And where is this system of folly and extravagance to stop? Are the nations of Europe, and the toiling millions of Great Britain, to be for ever borne down by this incubus of a war policy in times of peace? And if in these years of peace the burden is thus oppressive, and the load increases in weight and magnitude from year to year, what will be the case in a period of actual war? Is the industry of a whole continent to be drained of its last coin, to support a system that can return no solid advantage for the amazing outlay by which it is supported? In one word, is this false policy to be pursued for ever? Yes, even for ever, unless the wisdom and good sense of the world shall supply a substitute. That substitute will be found in a permanent Congress of the Nations.—*William Stokes.*

ROBBERIES OF WAR.

Common robberies are induced by want; but war commits them by choice, and often robs only to ravage. A man who rushes to the highway to rob, maddened by the sight of a famished family, may plead powerful temptation. But armies rob, burn and destroy in the coolest malice. See a file of men, well fed and well clothed by a great and powerful nation, proceed on a foraging party. They enter a retired vale, where a peaceful old man by hard-handed toil, supports his humble family. The officer coolly points with his sword to the few stacks of hay and grain, laid up for winter. Remonstrances are vain — tears are vain. They bear off his only supply; take his cow, his pet lamb; add insult to oppression, and leave the ruined family to an almshouse or starvation. Aye, but the poor old man was an *enemy*, as the war phrase is, and the baughty soldiery claim merit for forbearance, because they did not conclude with turning down his house.

The seizure or destruction of public stores, is not less robbery. A nation has no more right to steal from a nation, than an individual has to steal from an individual. In principle, the act is the same; in magnitude, the sin is greater. All the private robberies in a thousand years are not a tithe of the robberies of one war. Next to killing, it is the very object of each party to burn and destroy by sea, and ravage and lay waste on land. It is a malign and inexcusable barbarity, and constitutes a stupendous mass of theft.

In one of the Punic wars, Carthage, with 100,000 houses, was burnt and destroyed so that not a house remained. The plunder carried away by the Romans, in precious metals and jewels alone, is reported to have been equal to *five millions of pounds of silver*. Who can compute the number of similar events, from the destruction of Jerusalem to that of Moscow? Arson, that is the setting fire to an inhabited dwelling, is, in most countries, punishable by death. But more of this has been done in some single wars, than has been committed privately, since the world began. When some villain sets fire to a house and consumes it, what public indignation! what zeal to bring to justice! If, for a succession of nights, buildings are fired, what general panic! Yet how small the distress, compared to that which follows the burning of an entire city. In one case, the houseless still find shelter, the laborer obtains work, the children have food. But oh, the horrors of a general ruin! Earthquake is no worse.

It should not be overlooked, that a great part of the private robberies in Christendom, may be traced to the deterioration of morals, caused by war. Thousands of pirates received their infamous education in national ships. Thousands of thieves were disbanded soldiers. War taught these men to disregard the rights of property, to trample upon justice and refuse mercy. Even if disposed to honest labor, which a military life always tends to render unpalatable, the disbanded soldier often finds himself unable to find employment. The industry of his country has been paralyzed by the war, and the demand for labor slowly recurs. The discharged veteran therefore is often compelled to steal or starve.

Thus war, by its own operations, involves continual and stupendous thefts, and by its unavoidable tendencies, multiplies offenders, who in time of peace prey upon community.—*Dr. Malcom.*

BRITISH BUDGET IN 1860.—The British Chancellor, (Mr. Gladstone), has recently brought forward his budget for this year, which shows the steadily increasing expensiveness of the war-system. Indeed, it has *no* natural limits; and, if allowed to proceed unchecked by some healthy control, it will continue to demand so long as there remains the least ability to supply. That, in a year of general peace, an expenditure for war purposes should amount to the large sum of £29,000,000, (\$748,500,000) is unparalleled in the history of Great Britain. Never before, in any former period of peace, has it reached a sum so frightful; nor ever in any period of actual warfare, except on two occasions, namely, the latter years of the great French war, and during the Russian war in 1856, and 1857. It is a larger sum than the annual average expended on the forces during the first sixteen years of the great French war, that average being £29,237,819; and, notwithstanding the extraordinary expenditure incurred by the Russian or Crimean war, the sum demanded by Mr. Gladstone for war-purposes during the present year, exceeds the average of the last ten years by £6,250,065. The average annual war expenditure for those years, including the heavy additional costs of the Russian war, amounted to £23,449,935, but in the year of peace 1860, (China alone excepted) an illustrious Chancellor of the Exchequer, a man pre-eminently favorable to a pacific policy as an indispensable condition of enlarged commercial success, is compelled to ask for £29,700,000, for war-purposes alone! Where is this frightful extravagance to stop?

There is yet another view to be taken of the fatal tendency of the war-system to an exorbitant increase, and that is in the startling disproportion between that increase and the corresponding one of population. According to the best authorities on the subject, the population of the United

Kingdom has increased since the Revolution in 1688 rather over three-fold; but the *direct* war-expenditure (exclusive of interest for the National Debt) has advanced in the same period more than *twelve-fold*; or, in other words, war budgets have travelled upwards of *four times faster* than the law of nature in the supply of population. This is "National Protection" with a vengeance !)

A PART OF OUR OWN WAR EXPENSES.

The payments of our general government for war-purposes, form only a part, a small part, of what our own war-system, though our own army and navy are comparatively so small, costs in a time of peace. Still, the following appropriation bills now before Congress, show how large a proportion of our expenses are for objects connected with war:—

For Pensions,.....	\$849,000
“ Military Academy, over.....	180,000
“ Indians,.....	1,907,000
“ Consular and Diplomatic expenses,.....	1,082,000
“ Fortifications,.....	605,000
“ Army,.....	13,984,000
“ Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Expenses,.....	5,870,000
“ Sundry civil expenses,..	3,491,000
“ Navy,.....	11,182,000
“ Deficiencies of Post-office Department, nearly.....	6,000,000

Total,.....\$45,140,000

Just analyze these items, and you will find six of the ten are for war purposes, and amount to \$28,707,000, or more than three-fifths of all our national expenses. This, too, after large reductions from last year, when the expenditures for the same general objects reached, if we remember right, some \$35,000,000 in all. The army and navy alone eat up more than twenty-five millions, (\$25,166,000,) besides nearly a million for pensions, and more than \$600,000 on fortifications. In a right state of public opinion, such as the friends of peace are gradually creating, how superfluous, and worse than useless, would be nine-tenths, if not nearly nine-hundredths, of these expenses.

A CONGRESS OF NATIONS.

I. *Its composition.*—The members of this Congress should be civilians *exclusively*, and on no account whatever ought military men to be appointed, unless, as may sometimes happen, a military man has resigned the profession of arms altogether, and become, to all intents and purposes a civilian. In that case only he would be equally eligible with other competent men.

The number of members appointed by the different nations should be, it is presumable, according to population, at least no better or more rational basis appears at present before the world. And, assuming this as the rule, the members might be apportioned thus:—To each nation having a population of thirty millions and upwards, three members; to each nation with a population under thirty millions, but above fifteen

millions, two members;—and to each independent state with a population under fifteen millions, one member. This would give thirty-three members in all, and these would be divided among the nations of Europe in the following manner:—To Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia, three members each. To Prussia, Spain, and Turkey in Europe, two members each; and to twelve smaller European states, with populations varying from one and three quarter millions, as in Saxony, to eight millions, as in Naples and Sicily, one member each. Thus Europe would be supplied with a permanent council of grave, judicious, thoughtful men, as a standing safeguard against war. This council might meet twice in the year in some capital city, taking the capitals in rotation, and if deemed advisable, in alphabetical order.

II. *Special objects of attention.*—The objects of such a Congress, or the questions of business at its meetings, would be such as these:—

1. To decide upon all disputed questions then pending between any of the states represented in the Congress, and to be empowered to make all due enquiries and examinations necessary to a full knowledge of the matters on which their decision will have to be pronounced.

2. To advise upon such other questions as are likely to occasion disputes between any of the nations, but which, by judicious counsel beforehand, may be amicably arranged between the disputants themselves.

3. To prepare a new code of international law, which shall serve as an authority and text-book on all questions affecting the international relationships of the different governments represented in the Congress. This would be best done, probably, by collecting and collating the maxims of state policy, now lying scattered in the works of the great masters of international law, such as Vattel, Puffendorf, Burlanqui, Grotius, and others, reducing them into one system, and adapting them to a policy of international peace. Aids to this object could easily be supplied from other authorities on political economy among all the states represented in the Congress, and so harmonized into one great system as to furnish a more complete code of law for international purposes than Europe has hitherto possessed. At present, the maxims of international law are widely scattered, often confused, and frequently contradictory. It would be a priceless boon to Europe and to the world, were they harmonized in one system, and published under the weighty authority of a Congress of the nations. Yet even this system of authorized law, it should ever be remembered, will not be permitted to interfere with the independent right of monarchs, nor with the creeds, or internal regulations of the various independent states, represented in the Congress. The province of such a code will be that of international policy alone.

4. To facilitate to the utmost the commercial intercourse of the nations on the broadest possible scale. The Congress might very properly recommend, subject however to the approval of any nation concerned, the removal of artificial restrictions upon commercial enterprise, and an opening up of the resources, whether of natural production, or of manual labor, or of scientific skill, with which a beneficent Providence may have favored any particular people, to the honorable commerce of the world. Nor would such a Congress overstep its legitimate jurisdiction, were it occasionally to remind the nations, that thrones and governments increase their own safety in the same proportion that their people prosper by an unfettered commerce with the world at large. These would be the principal objects of a permanent Congress of the nations.

III. The MEANS of accomplishing this important work are, also, to be considered in the light of suggestions, upon which great improvements may be made, or far better substituted in their place. Yet the following are perhaps worthy of consideration:—

1. A central committee should be formed in one or other of the great centres of London, Liverpool, or Manchester, to form and superintend an organization for this express purpose, with power to raise funds, print and circulate information tending to enlighten public opinion on the subject of a permanent Congress of nations, to address the crown or the parliament from time to time, and to issue such statistical and other papers as the progress or the exigencies of the question shall be found to require.

2. To form local or branch committees in all the large towns throughout the kingdom, with a view to a systematic and efficient circulation of necessary information upon the general object, and to obtain an extended co-operation in the work of establishing a permanent Congress among the nations.

3. To open up correspondence with the leading capitals and other large towns on the continent of Europe, for the purpose of enlisting influential men in all those places, in favor of an object which it is known many among them already approve, and which it is believed an accredited invitation will induce them to further.

4. To publish, at an early period, in the French, German, Russian, and as far as may be, in other continental languages, a programme of the nature and objects of this movement, and earnestly to invite general co-operation throughout those countries, in the great work of establishing a permanent Congress among the nations of the European world.—*William Stokes.*

AMERICAN NAVAL PUNISHMENTS.

There is no tyranny on earth more absolute than that which exists in the naval services of all countries. The terrible punishments which long disgraced the British service, were for years constantly and boldly denounced in Parliament, in the press and in popular works. This did much to ameliorate the condition of the sailor by curbing the passions of officers, and limiting the power of inflicting punishment. Much good has been effected; but there still remains much to be done. Our own navy is by no means free from the charge of undue cruelty, and there cannot be a doubt that a thorough reform is necessary, and demanded by the spirit of the age.

The modes of punishment are various, depending greatly upon the fanciful malice of the officer. We constantly see accounts of cruelties on shipboard; but most of these cases are confined to the merchant-marine, where there are no uniform modes of punishment, the tyrant generally resorting to any and the most cruel means that his inhuman heart at the moment dictates. But in the government service they have, since flogging has been abolished, introduced a series of punishments, which, carried to the extent that they are, and have been, render them still more cruel than flogging. If a man gets intoxicated, and makes a little noise, *bucking and gagging* is resorted to. The prisoner is first double-ironed; a bar is then passed through between the knee and elbow joints, and a stick, about six or eight inches in length, is then forced between his teeth, and fastened with strings at the back of the neck. In performing this operation, the prisoner is very often beaten in a shocking manner. The case of young Ritter on board of the Brooklyn, which remains fresh in our memory, is an instance of this mode.

The punishment called *the spread-eagle* is peculiarly distressing and painful. Secured by their bare wrists to the shrouds, men have been left hanging for hours under the terrible heat of a vertical sun. The effect of

such a frightful exposure must tell upon the man all the rest of his life. To say the least of it, it is barbarous and brutal. So thought the citizens of Philadelphia who witnessed the spread-eagle punishment on board the steamer Walker, and were so excited by the exhibition that they made unmistakable demonstrations of interference, which resulted in the sailor being released, but in a fainting and miserable condition, his probation being endured under the fervor of a midsummer sun.

The third and by far the most inhuman and deadly of all the ingenious works of punishment-torture is *the sweat-box*, which consists of an upright box, in height and circumference adapted just to contain a man of ordinary size. Into this premature coffin the wretched victim is thrust, the perforated lid is closed, and the maddening system of *sweating* begins. The situation of this torture-box is generally on the lower deck, in near proximity to the galley, and out of the way of the fresh air. Men have been known, after having been confined in this living tomb, to fall utterly insensible on the deck, when the door was opened. Of all punishments, this is the most dangerous and appalling. It is fitted only for the halls of the Inquisition.

There is yet another mode of correction adopted on board men-of-war—that of solitary confinement for from fifteen to thirty days in a cell but little bigger than the horrible sweating-box. We were told of one case, on the coast of Africa, where two men had served twenty days of their thirty days imprisonment, but were released after the expiration of two-thirds of their sentence, because they were in a raging fever, which prostrated them for months, and from which they never fully recovered.

Such practices are an outrage upon humanity, and disgrace the age in which we live. Some mode of punishment must be put in force, but these brutalities which are worthy of a past age must be abolished, for they shock humanity, and disgrace the government which legalizes them by its presumed sanction.—*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Paper*.

BRITISH NATIONAL DEBT—ITS RISE.—It began in the reign of Charles II, about 1672, when £650,000, about \$3,000,000, was borrowed of the bankers and other capitalists of London, on pledge of the taxes, but; the government not keeping its promise of repayment from the taxes, many of those who advanced the money were ruined. The revolution of 1688, and the establishment of William and Mary on the throne, added about £2,000,000, or \$10 000,000, more to the sum. In 1721 the wars with France and Spain were found to have run up the debt to £54,000,000, or nearly \$270,000,000. In 1784, the war with France and Spain, and the American Revolution, had increased the debt to £240,000,000, or about \$1,200,000,000. And in 1815, at the close of the long war against France, it reached the highest figure at which it has ever stood, namely, £860,000,000, or \$4,300,000,000. From this time up to the commencement of the Crimean war, it was reduced about £100,000,000, or \$500,000,000; but the Crimean war added, £45,000,000 more, bringing it up to £805,000,000, or \$4,020,000,000. The rate of interest on the debt has been much reduced. At the beginning of the last century it was 8 per cent.; now it is reduced to 3½ per cent. Such has been the increase in wealth in England, that it is computed the debt is not now so burdensome to the nation as it was a hundred years ago, when it was not one-tenth part of its present magnitude.—*Boston Jour.*

CONTRASTS OF WAR AND CHRISTIANITY.

Let us put the main aspects of the two side by side, and see how far they agree. Christianity saves men; war destroys them. Christianity elevates men; war debases and degrades them. Christianity purifies men; war corrupts and defiles them. Christianity blesses men; war curses them. God says, thou shalt not kill; war says, thou *shalt* kill. God says, blessed are the peace-makers; war says, blessed are the war-makers. God says, love your enemies; war says, hate them. God says, forgive men their trespasses; war says, forgive them *not*. God enjoins forgiveness, and forbids revenge; while war scorns the former, and commands the latter. God says, resist not evil; war says, you may and must resist evil. God says, if any man smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also; war says, turn *not* the other cheek, but knock the smiter down. God says, bless those who curse you; bless, and curse not; war says, curse those who curse you: curse, and bless not. God says, pray for those who despitefully use you; war says, pray *against* them, and seek their destruction. God says, see that none render evil for evil unto any man; war says, be sure to render evil for evil unto all that injure you. God says, overcome evil with good; war says, overcome evil with evil. God says, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; war says, if you do supply your enemies with food and clothing, you shall be shot as a traitor. God says, do good unto all men; war says, do as much evil as you can to your enemies. God says to all men, love one another; war says, hate and kill one another. God says, they that take the sword, shall *perish* by the sword; war says, they that take the sword, shall *be saved* by the sword. God says, blessed is he that trusteth in the Lord; war says, cursed is such a man, and blessed is he who trusteth in swords and guns. God says, beat your swords into ploughshares, your spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more; war says, make swords and spears still, and continue to learn war—until all mankind have ceased from learning it, i. e., fight, all of you, until all of you stop fighting!!

STATE DEBTS IN U. S.—The total debts of the States, including all liabilities, direct and indirect, including loans to railroads, and expenditures for canal and banking purposes, amount to about \$291,895,660. Many of the liabilities incurred, however, for canals, railroads, and banks, cannot be considered in the light of any direct charge upon the people, as they in most cases pay their interest and sinking funds to the State, and in some cases they yield a surplus revenue to the treasury. New Jersey has no direct debt, but an indirect liability on account of canals and railroad bonds of some seven millions, which forms no tax upon the people. Connecticut, Delaware, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, have no debts at all, neither direct nor indirect.

PUBLICATIONS ON PEACE.

I. THE TRUE CHRISTIAN PATRIOT. *A Discourse on the Virtues and public Services of the late Judge Jay, delivered before the American Peace Society, at its late Anniversary,* by GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D. D. Boston: Published by the American Peace Society. pp. 58, octavo.

We are glad to welcome at length this able and eloquent discourse on the late excellent President of our Society. Though delayed, by circumstances not under our control, beyond the usual time, his many friends and

admirers will find it a truthful exhibition of his character and services on which they will delight to linger in remembrance of his high and manifold excellences as a Christian Patriot, Reformer and Philanthropist.

II. CONGRESS OF NATIONS: *A Permanent European Congress, as a Substitute for War in the Settlement of International Disputes.* By MR. WILLIAM STOKES, Manchester, (Eng.)

A lecture by an able lecturer long engaged in the service of our cause in England. It gives a brief but clear and pretty full general view of the subject it discusses. It is truly *multum in parvo*, and very creditable to the author as an advocate of our cause. We are glad to find such proofs of interest by our English co-workers in a part and aspect of this great Christian reform, to which we in this country have in years past given very special attention. We shall lay this document under contribution to our pages.

There are other publications on various topics touching our cause, which have been for some time in our hands; but we have not yet had time to examine them sufficiently for a proper analysis and description of their contents. Our friends in England are gradually accumulating materials for a Peace Literature that will ere long become of great permanent value. These are from various classes in society, ministers, statesmen and professional authors, coming forth from minds of much culture and power to discuss different aspects and bearings of this great theme, hardly second in real importance to any one now before the world.

THE HARPER'S FERRY AFFAIR AGAIN.—Our short article on this topic in our last has called forth, as we expected it would, comments and inquiries from a number of correspondents. We cannot in this number renew the discussion, but must reserve it for a future occasion. It does indeed involve a variety of serious and far-reaching inquiries; and we are glad to see the interest awakened in the subject. We observe that all our correspondents have, in one way or another, misconceived our argument; and this just shows the necessity of examining the subject with more care and thoroughness.

CORRECTION.—In our last, there was a misprint of "750" instead of "75 per cent." p. 60. We supposed every reader might correct the mistake for himself, as a *reduction* of "750 per cent." is so clear an impossibility; but we thank a friend for calling attention to it.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY.—The American Peace Society will hold its next Annual Meeting in Boston, May 28, in Park Street Church. The meeting for business in the vestry at 3 P. M., and the public services in the Church, at 7 1-2. The Annual Address is expected from Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, N. Y.

Boston, April 16, 1860.

WILLIAM C. BROWN, *Rec. Sec.*

Sudbury. —Jonas Hunt,....	2 00	
Sewall Hunt,.....	2 00	
Thos. P. Hunt,.....	1 50	
Others, smaller sums,....	6 50	— 12 00
Concord. —J. M. Cheeney,....	2 00	
C. L. Haywood,.....	2 00	
N. Brooks,.....	2 00	
Others,.....	2 00	— 8 00
Hartford, Ct. —		
Judge Williams,.....	20 00	
Thomas Smith,.....	13 00	
F. L. Gleason,.....	5 00	
L. Bourne,.....	3 00	— 41 00
Plantville, Ct. —T. Higgins,...	30 00	
Uxbridge. —Estate of Dea. B. Bullard; final payment by		
Exr. E. Bullard,.....	169 65	
Rockville, Ct. —A. Bailey,....	3 00	
B. B. Beckwith,.....	1 00	— 4 00
Vernon, Ct. —A. Kellogg,....	2 00	
Hubbard Kellogg,.....	6 00	— 8 00
Springfield. —Geo. Merriam,...	5 00	
Chicopee. —J. K. Fletcher,....	2 00	
G. Simmons,.....	1 00	
C. M. Kendall,.....	3 00	— 6 00
Chicopee Falls. —E. Carter,....	5 00	
Others,.....	2 00	— 7 00
Easthampton. —		
S. Williston,.....	10 00	
H. G. Knight,.....	10 00	
Others,.....	3 00	— 23 00
Northampton. —		
Henry Bright,.....	5 00	
J. D. Whitney,.....	2 00	— 7 00
Sunderland. —S. Ware,.....	2 00	
Others,.....	4 10	— 6 10
Amherst. —Prof. Hitchcock,....	2 00	
Prof. Tyler,.....	2 00	
Judge Dickinson,.....	2 00	— 6 00
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Shelburne Falls.—		
N. Lamson,.....	5 00	
Friend,.....	50	— 5 50
Brattleboro', Vt. —		
N. B. Williston,.....	7 00	
Clarke Jacobs,.....	5 00	
Judge Clark,.....	3 00	
A. Van Doorn,.....	3 00	
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W. P. Wheeler,.....	3 00	
Asa Duren,.....	3 00	
Daniel Adams,.....	2 00	
Others,.....	4 00	— 12 00
Fitzwilliam, N. H. —		
Eben Porter,.....	2 00	
Levi Towne,.....	2 00	
Others, 1 00 each,.....	4 00	— 8 00
Fitchburg. —Benj. Snow,....	5 00	
E. Torrey,.....	2 00	
Josiah Sheldon,.....	2 00	
S. M. Dole,.....	3 00	
T. R. Boutelle,.....	3 00	
Others, 1 00 each,.....	14 50	— 29 50
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John Tappan,.....	10 00	
T. D. Quincy,.....	2 00	
John Field,.....	25 00	
J. W. Converse,.....	5 00	
M. Grant,.....	5 00	
Friend,.....	1 00	
J. H. Rivers,.....	3 00	
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R. I. Peace Society,.....	40 00	
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Benj. White,.....	5 00	
Henry Cushing,.....	5 00	
Fred. Fuller,.....	2 00	
J. N. Mason,.....	3 00	
Obed Brown, Fund,.....	50 00	— 115 00
Stoughton. —N. Pierce,.....	2 00	
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Benj. Chase,.....		— 4 00
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Howard Malcolm,.....	5 00	
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B. Bigelow,.....	2 00	
B. F. Wood,.....	2 00	
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Worcester. —S. A. Pratt,....	5 00	
James White,.....	5 00	
Benj. Goddard,.....	5 00	
Ephraim Mower,.....	5 00	
Samuel Perry,.....	2 00	
D. H. Perry,.....	2 00	
Lewis Chapin,.....	2 00	
Albert Curtis,.....	2 00	
H. S. Washburn,.....	3 00	
Levi Hardy,.....	3 00	
J. D. Russell,.....	2 00	
N. G. Maynard,.....	2 00	
Charles E. Brooks,.....	2 00	
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S. Lawrence,.....	2 00	
E. Lovell,.....	2 00	
Jos. White,.....	2 00	
Others, smaller,.....	7 50	— 13 50
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S. Strong,.....	2 00	
L. B. Walker,.....	2 00	
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K. C. Gleason,.....	2 00	— 6 00
Others,.....	2 00	
Dracut. —Sam'l Worcester,....	2 00	
Others,.....	2 00	— 4 00
Lawrence. —L. Morrison,....	1 00	
J. R. Rollins,.....	2 00	

T. B. Coolidge,.....	2 00	—	5 00	Exeter, N. H.—	
Albany, N. Y.—				C. G. Odiorne,.....	5 00
R. M. Van Sickle,.....	2 00			Robert Shute,.....	2 00
Others,.....	5 00	—	7 00	W. Odlin,.....	2 00 — 9 00
Webster,.....	8 60			Great Falls, N. H.—	
Chicago, Ill.—.....	3 00			C. E. Bartlett,.....	2 00
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Cherry Valley, Ill.—.....	1 38			Dover, N. H.—	
Belvidere, Ill.—.....	2 40			A. A. Tufts,.....	10 00
Beloit, Ill.—.....	2 60			A. Folsom,.....	5 00
Kankakee, Ill.—.....	3 00			P. Cushing and brother,.....	8 00
Rockford, Ill.—.....	3 00			W. Woodman,.....	2 00
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New Ipswich, N. H.—.....	2 50			Durham, N. H.—	
Bedford, N. H.—.....	4 35			Geo. Frost,.....	2 00
Hollis, N. H.—.....	3 96			Benj. Thompson,.....	5 00 — 7 00
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Beverly.—John Tuck,.....	2 00			Willard Judson,.....	5 00
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James Bryant,.....	3 00			Henry Capron,.....	3 00
Caleb Wallis,.....	2 00			Smaller sums,.....	7 50 — 22 50
Seth Dodge,.....	2 00			Slatersville, R. I.—	
Others,.....	5 50	—	16 50	A. Tolman,.....	3 00
Milwaukee, Wis.—Wm. Ellis,.....	1 00			Geo. W. Holt,.....	3 00
Syracuse, N. Y.—J. H. Cobb,.....	2 00			Smaller sums,.....	3 50 — 9 50
So. Dedham.—Joseph Day,.....	3 00			Woonsocket, R. I.—Jno. Osborne,.....	2 00
C. G. Morse,.....	2 00			Millbury.—H. Ormsby,.....	2 00
Otis Morse,.....	2 00			A. Woods & Son,.....	2 00
Others,.....	3 00	—	10 00	L. Dwinell,.....	2 00
Sharon.—Benj. Ide,.....	2 00			Tyrus March,.....	2 00
L. W. Morse,.....	5 00			Other smaller sums,.....	13 00 — 21 00
L. D. Hewins,.....	2 00			W. Brookfield.—	
O. Johnson,.....	1 00	—	10 00	Baxter Ellis,.....	3 00
No. Easton.—Oliver Ames, jr.,.....	5 00			J. Dupee,.....	2 00
Easton.—Lincoln Drake,.....	5 00			Smaller sums,.....	6 00 — 11 00
E. J. W. Morse,.....	2 00			Warren.—L. J. Knowles,.....	3 00
Henry Daily,.....	1 00	—	8 00	N. Richardson,.....	2 00
Foxborough.—Jas. Daniels,.....	3 00			Others,.....	3 00 — 8 00
Daniel Carpenter,.....	2 00			Ware.—Jos. Cummings,.....	2 00
Others,.....	5 50	—	10 50	Geo. H. Gilbert,.....	3 00
Abington.—Jos. Cleverly,.....	2 00			Others,.....	2 00 — 7 00
J. Whitmarsh,.....	2 00			Enfield.—Rev. Dr. McEwen,.....	10 00
Z. Torrey and wife,.....	5 00			Edward Smith,.....	4 00
Others,.....	4 75	—	13 75	Others,.....	2 00 — 16 00
E. Abington.—.....	4 50			Townsend.—	
No. Abington.—Jas. Ford,.....	2 00			Col. in Congregational Church,.....	9 00
Josiah Shaw,.....	2 00			E. Weymouth.—.....	2 50
Others, smaller,.....	4 50	—	8 50	No. Weymouth.—Jos. Loud,.....	2 00
N. Bridgewater.—F. Ames,.....	2 00			Jos. Loud, jr.,.....	3 00
M. Faxon,.....	3 00			Jas. Torrey,.....	2 00
Others,.....	4 00	—	9 00	P. Blanchard,.....	2 00
Campello.—Bela Keith,.....	3 00			James Jones,.....	2 00
C. P. Keith,.....	2 00			E. Humphrey,.....	3 00
Carey Howard,.....	1 00	—	6 00	E. Bates,.....	2 00
New York.—John Jay,.....	25 00			Sam'l French,.....	2 00 — 18 00
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So. Weymouth.—				E. Pierce,.....	50 — 7 00
Jacob Loud,.....	3 00			South Abington.—Martin Stetson,.....	5 00
Josiah Read,.....	2 00			Walpole, N. H.—S. N. Perry,.....	70 00
N. Shaw,.....	3 00			Batavia, Ill.—	
Others,.....	2 50	—	10 50	Judge Lockwood,.....	5 00

William Coffin,.....2 00	Marion, N. Y.—Richard H. Lee,..2 00
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William Steele,.....1 00	Samuel Adams,.....5 00
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Byron, N. Y.—M. G. White,.....1 00	W. H. Wetherbee,.....1 00 — 11 00
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Scotland.—J. M. Leonard,.....3 00	Medford.—Chas. Brooks,.....2 00
Dedham.—Dr. Burgess,.....10 00	Samuel Train,.....3 00 — 5 00
Jas. Downing,.....5 00 — 15 00	Reading.—Stephen Foster,.....1 00
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C. M. Bailey,.....5 00	H. N. Jones,.....2 00
Smaller sums,.....3 50 — 8 50	C. Whitney,.....1 00 — 3 00
Farmington, Ct.—A. Thomson,.....5 00	Rollins, Mich.—W. Beal,.....1 00
Woburn.—A. Thompson,.....3 00	J. T. Comstock,.....1 00 — 2 00
L. Thompson,.....2 00	Addison, Mich.—William Lamb,.....2 00
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P. English,.....2 00	Andover.—Samuel Farrar,.....3 00
Smaller sums,.....5 00 — 16 00	Others,.....3 00 — 6 00
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Abington, Ct.—by Dea. E. Lord,.....5 00	Others,.....2 00 — 6 00
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Total,.....1,722 22

N. B. The last acknowledgments were in the October Advocate.

ANNUAL ADDRESS.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

FOR

JULY AND AUGUST.

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1860.

THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE

JULY AND AUGUST, 1860.

ADDRESS

Delivered before the American Peace Society, at Boston, May 28, 1860,

BY SAMUEL J. MAY, OF SYRACUSE, N. Y.

" Towns deserted, burning village,
Murder, rape, destruction, pillage;
Man compelled man's blood to shed,
Weeping, wailing, want of bread;
Commerce checked; grave citizens
Armed with swords instead of pens;
Harvests trampled, homesteads burned,
This is war! why isn't it spurned?

Wives made widows, virgins ravished,
Human blood like water lavished,
Every kindly feeling outraged;
Every evil passion engaged;
Our humanity denied,
Christ forsaken, God defied,
Demons worshipped, hell let loose,
This is war!! what can be worse!" — *Bowring.*

Mr. President, Ladies, Gentlemen, Members of the American Peace Society,—These and other questions respecting the terrible custom of war, need still to be pressed with all the earnestness of true philanthropy; yes, with shame be it said, in this latter half of the nineteenth century, need to be pressed upon the so called Christian nations not less than upon others! Not less do I say? nay more than upon others! The nations called Christian are the most powerful upon earth. They profess the religion which alone prohibits war. With them therefore rests the responsibility for the continuance of this most savage custom. Never, until they have abandoned it, will other nations be persuaded that it can be laid aside.

And with what propriety, with what justice to the name and spirit of Jesus, can a nation call itself Christian, so long as it rejects or

refuses to obey the peculiar, the distinctive principles of the Great Teacher? When we have pleaded for the abolition of slavery, we have been often rebuffed by the confident assertion, not wholly unwarranted, that neither our Saviour nor his apostles explicitly prohibited that gigantic wrong. But no one will venture a like assertion respecting war. If any thing was spoken of as sinful by Christ and the first preachers of his Gospel,—if any thing was forbidden by them—it was the indulgence of those lusts and passions which impel men to fight, and which are called into fiercest exercise in war. Need I quote any of their well known words to this effect? Here are a few of them. “Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God. Love your enemies. Bless them that curse you. Avenge not yourselves. See that none render evil for evil to any man. Lay aside all malice. Have peace one with another. If thine enemy hunger feed him. Overcome evil with good.” Thus, in language the most unqualified and comprehensive, is prohibited the whole spirit of war—anger, revenge, retaliation, violence. That Jesus Christ meant to teach, and introduce among men, a new method of treating the injurious and inimical—a new method by which to overthrow the empire of wrong, and establish the kingdom of righteousness on earth—is evident from his own conduct. He did not organize his followers for the protection of his person, or the maintenance of his cause. In the day of his utmost peril, he made no appeal to the common people, who had heard him gladly, and were at times eager to make him their king. He took no advantage of the hatred of their Roman conquerors, which was hardly suppressed in the bosom of the Jewish nation, but was ready at any moment for revolt. At no time did he show any confidence in “the arm of flesh.” He came to inculcate far higher principles than had been taught by the vulgar heroes, who had overthrown tyrants before his advent—or by those who, since then, have followed their example rather than his. If the life, the preaching, the death of Christ has taught us any thing, it is, *that no cause however righteous, that no life however valuable, may wisely, safely, effectually be maintained or defended by violence, by bloodshed, by doing any harm to the erring, injurious party.* It is love only that can conquer hate. Good only can overcome evil. Right alone can suppress and supplant the wrong. Only so far as this great lesson is learnt and practised is there, can there be, any true Christianity on earth. The apostles of our Lord so understood it. They inculcated the same pacific principles; and manifested the same pacific spirit. Their disciples, and those who were instructed by them—the members of the primitive church—were sons

and daughters of peace. It is true the early Christians often resisted unto blood, "but it was the resistance of unyielding faith, and the blood of the unconquered martyr." Those who were baptized into the spirit of the new religion, the Gospel of Christ, would die rather than violate its distinctive principle. They would not become soldiers. They would submit to scourging, imprisonment, death rather than fight. After Christianity had spread over almost the whole Roman Empire, which then embraced the greater part of the known world, Tertullian says, of a larger part of the armies, that "not a Christian could be found amongst them."

And was not this to be expected from what is almost universally believed to have been the song of the angelic choir at the birth of Jesus—"Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace; good will amongst men?" Was it not too in accordance with what the teachers and professors of Christianity, at the present day, with rare exceptions, revere as "the sure word of the Hebrew prophecy," that the long promised one would inaugurate a reign of Peace, a kingdom of righteousness and love upon earth? the fulfilment of the glowing predictions of the ancient seer, which closed with the assurance, that "swords should be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks, and the nations learn war no more?" With these prophecies, which we hold sacred not less than the Jews, can we wonder that they refuse to accept our Christ—and point to the wars and warlike attitude of all Christian nations, as proof that the true Messiah cannot have come?

Of all the corruptions that since the third century have so deformed Christianity, that it can now hardly be identified with the religion taught by Jesus and his apostles, no one has so disfigured it, as the doctrine that men may avenge themselves; may and should return evil for evil; that it is praiseworthy, glorious to hate, destroy, exterminate our enemies. No infidelity is so disastrous as that, which has led men to doubt the power of love, the crowning attribute of God. No denial of Christ is so complete as that, which refuses to accept the peculiar, the distinctive precepts that he gave. It would be as consistent with his religion to lie, to steal, to blaspheme, to worship idols, as it is to fight.

Will any one answer me that men are so made, that they must and will fight; that there is a law of their nature, a law inscribed upon the very constitution of man prior to any revelation that has been given to him, which impels him to fight? that there is really no other way for us to preserve our natural, political or religious rights? To say this, is to say that God is the author of this direst evil, this "most fruitful

parent of all crimes," this most dreadful scourge of the human race,—the mother of slavery and human degradation. If our Creator has indeed made us so, that war is necessary, or expedient, the suffering may be ours, but the discredit, the shame reverts back to him.

Oh no, cry the apologists for war, frightened at the thought of charging God with such folly and wickedness, oh no—we mean that war is one of the bitter fruits of the apostacy; not in accordance with the original intention of the heavenly Father, but brought upon our fallen race by the transgression of our first parents. Well, then, if this be so, I demand, why do those who have risen with Christ, who are redeemed by him from the curse of the Fall, why do they give any countenance to this work of the Devil? Why do not they renounce war as peremptorily, as promptly as they renounce adultery, blasphemy, idolatry? Why do not they regard war, always speak of it, always treat it as a work of the Great Enemy of our race; and hold those who prosecute it as the children of the Evil One, unregenerate, reprobate, enemies of God as well as man? If war be indeed one of the evils brought upon the world by the wiles of Satan, the Power of Darkness, how can men and women, who have been brought into the "marvellous light of the sun of righteousness—the love of Christ," how can they treat with any honor the men, who have distinguished themselves in this service of the Father of lies, and of all mischief? How soon will the purpose for which the Beloved Son of God lived and died be accomplished, if those who claim before the world to have been regenerated by his spirit, to have experienced the power of his grace, continue still to do the very things, indulge the passions, perpetuate the wrongs, which he so emphatically prohibited? What progress can the Gospel make in the world, if those who acknowledge Christ to be their Master, continue to disobey his most peculiar commandments, and give themselves up to the guidance of his especial antagonist and enemy—baptizing with their prayers, celebrating with their Te Deums the cruel deeds, from which his most loving heart would recoil with horror—yes, bearing his cross, the emblem of the great self-sacrifice, before them as they go, maddened with revenge and hate to slaughter thousands, for whose spiritual redemption, as well as for theirs, he died—aye, filling the churches dedicated to his religion with costliest monuments, (as you may see all over Europe and throughout Great Britain,) in admiring commemoration of those, who have distinguished themselves on the field of battle. What evidence then have we, can we have, of the progress of Christianity on earth, so long as we see those nations, that profess to have embraced it, keeping themselves always prepared for

war; expending immense sums of money in the manufacture of deadly weapons; the erection of frowning fortresses on land, and ships of war to traverse the seas; compelling most of their male subjects or citizens to do military service; training them from early manhood in the arts of human destruction; and crowning with peculiar honors those, who distinguished themselves in the conflicts or artifices of war? What evidence is there that such nations are Christianized—that they have any true faith in Jesus—any correct knowledge of his Gospel, any just respect for his authority? Why ought we not as soon to acknowledge the Christian claims of daring, unprincipled speculators, reckless gamblers, if they only cry Lord, Lord, and *profess* a zeal for Christ? Nay, with what face can we stand aghast at the worship of Juggernaut, so long as we countenance the worship of this more savage and bloody idol? And how can we presume to send our missionaries to convert the Heathen to our religion, so long as we allow that it gives its sanction to a custom, which “makes man a demon, and turns earth into hell.”

You would remind me, perhaps, that the moralists of no Christian nations sanction offensive, aggressive wars—that it is only for the sake of self protection they would have their several nations keep themselves armed; and only *defensive* wars, that any of them would justify. Ah! this is one of the chief delusions, which have cheated the so called Christian world of the truth as it is in Jesus, on this paramount subject. So long as nations keep prepared for war, and the people are trained and disciplined for it, so long will they be in perpetual danger of getting involved in it. The injuries or offences, that they may receive, will be exaggerated. The dogs of war are always impatient for a fight—and those, who hold them in leash, are too easily persuaded to let them slip. No—this pretence of the Christian statesmen, and moralists, that they mean to sanction only defensive war, is too transparent not to be easily seen through. Napoleon the First, solemnly averred that he had never waged any but a defensive war—*i.e.* a war that was necessary to enable him to maintain his assumptions and accomplish his purposes. And Archdeacon Paley, who until lately, has been the favorite teacher of morality in Great Britain, so defined justifiable wars, as well nigh to cover from condemnation all those of the French Emperor.

Strictly speaking a defensive war is hardly practicable. It matters not how nearly a national conflict may have been, or may have seemed to be in the commencement, strictly defensive; it must soon become offensive, aggressive,—“be carried into Africa,” as was said of old,—

or it will be unavailing. The measure of vengeance must exceed by any amount the measure of injury sustained; and so take the wrong upon its own side, or it will only enhance to itself the evil it was invoked to avert, or repel; and the defensive party will be overwhelmed in their own discomfiture, and accumulated loss and shame.

No, such statesmen and moralists cannot be sincere. If the so called Christian nations were, in good faith, determined to sanction only defensive war, they might and would obviously and easily combine to protect each other forever from the recurrence of this direst of national calamities. All the nations combined might require of each nation to disband their forces, excepting such only as should be found necessary for the maintenance of internal order—a mere armed police. The nations united as a whole in the policy of peace, might forbid any one of the confederacy to make war upon another for any cause whatever—the whole standing ready and pledged to repress at once by their united forces the belligerent act of the offending member, and, if you please, visit it with such punishment as should be thought just and proper, in such cases. This course, though not in harmony with the principles of the Gospel, which this Society is endeavoring to disseminate, would be consistent with the doctrine of the right of self defence. It would be the wisest and most merciful application of that doctrine to national practice; and it would undoubtedly be adopted, if the nations were sincere in their professed intention to justify only wars of defence. The fact that they do not unite in prohibiting war, and compelling each other to adjust any difficulties, that may arise between them, in accordance with the award of an impartial umpire, shows that the so called Christian nations have no faith in the Prince of Peace.

Indeed they press upon us sundry reasons for not “beating their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning hooks, and learning war no more.” Some of these let us now consider and scrutinize.

Most, if not all, of the reasons alleged in justification of a resort to war, are based upon the assumption that the accumulation of property, the maintenance and aggrandizement of national organizations, and certainly the attainment and preservation of Liberty are the *chief* concerns of mankind. The intellectual culture, the moral discipline, the spiritual progress of individual men are regarded, by the advocates of war, as matters of minor consequence. The welfare of the human soul is not taken into account by them. So far from estimating the soul as Jesus did,—so far from believing with him, that if men, as individuals or communities, could get possession of all the wealth and power of the world, by the sacrifice of their integrity, their purity or benevolence,

they would impoverish themselves in the exchange ; so far from believing this, the advocates of war insist, that the exclusive occupancy of some small part of the earth's surface : the protection of the commerce, of a nation ; and certainly the attainment and preservation of political prominence (not to mention more trifling pretexts) are objects of sufficient moment to justify a nation's plunging into the commission of wholesale, indiscriminate slaughter, and the indulgence of the most diabolical passions ; yes, warrant a nation in bringing untimely death upon thousands and moral ruin upon tens of thousands of its own subjects, to say nothing of the destruction of the bodies and souls of at least as large a number of their enemies.

Well was it said by Cowper, one of the few Christian poets, " War is a game, which, were their subjects wise, kings could not play at." If the people did but perceive and consider how little their highest interests, their true welfare as rational and moral beings, is cared for by the men, who play with their bodies the dread game of battle—who, for some purpose of national aggrandizement, or for some stake of party or personal ambition, dispose of them as if they were of no more worth than the pawns upon a chess-board, or the pins upon a bowling-alley ; I say, if the people were wise, if they did perceive and consider this, they would no longer consent to be played with, wasted, used up, as if they were mere tools in the hands of others. They would not submit to be cheated out of their homes, their comfort, their property, much less of their morals and their lives by the phantom of an imaginary interest—an interest, which, if it may seem real to the few, who are instigators of the war, has no reality to the many, who are summoned to sacrifice for it all they possess in this world, and to darken their hope of an inheritance in another world. Why, for what adequate benefit, should thousands of men be required to leave their homes, and the peaceful trades or handicrafts, by which they earn bread for the loved ones, who make their homes the dearest spots upon earth ? Why should they be rigged out like puppets ; trained to move as those who work the machinery of an army may please ; be exposed to a moral atmosphere, which, it is generally acknowledged few can breathe without contamination ; and, when they have become prepared for the fell purpose of the despots, who manage them, be brought out into the light of day to kill or be killed by fellow men, whom they never saw, with whom they can have no cause of quarrel, and on whom, let the provocation be what it may, they are bound, if there is any truth in Christianity, not to avenge themselves ! Can this ever be right ?

If there be, as we profess to believe there is, a moral Governor of the world, whose power is almighty, whose wisdom and goodness are perfect, who has the hearts of all men in his hands,—if, I say there be a God in Heaven, who presides over the affairs of Earth, can it be ever necessary that men should thus butcher one another, by wholesale, in order to effect any of the purposes, which He approves? Oh no! oh no! To insist that war is necessary is to imply that there is no God.

And yet, we often hear men, who would recoil from the suspicion of being Atheists, stoutly urging that war is sometimes necessary, *in order to establish or maintain the rights, the sacred rights of man.* Ah! The rights of what men, I fain would know. Surely not of those, who are persuaded or forced to fight the battles, to sacrifice their limbs, health, morals, if not lives in the hellish conflict. No, “War oppresses the industrious poor to settle the disputes of the luxurious rich.” It crushes, uses up, annihilates thousands of men of low estate, to resent the insults, gratify the pride, or extend the domain of the ambitious and haughty. Certainly there is great injustice and cruelty in extending the privileges, or even securing the rights of one portion of the human family, by the destruction of the virtue, the comfort, the rights, it may be the lives, of another and a much larger portion.

I seriously ask, I press the question home, is men’s liberty so essentially abridged, are their highest dearest rights so utterly set at naught by any of their enemies, as by those, who compel or persuade them to become *soldiers*? Surely there is no system of oppression so stern as the discipline of an army. There is no subjection so entire, so abject, except it be that of field slaves upon a cotton or sugar plantation. Look at it for a moment. The bodies of soldiers are clothed just as their masters please, and are fed by measure from their masters’ cribs. They must stand up at the word of command, and may not lie down without permission. They must move or halt and keep their persons just in that position, which others see fit to order. Worse than all this, their minds as well as their bodies are put entirely at the disposal of officers. They are not allowed to judge of the propriety of any action they are required to perform; nor to choose to do otherwise than they are commanded to do. Whether willingly or not, they are trained to the work of murder; and driven to slaughter others by the fear of disgrace, if not an ignominious death. They are compelled to repress, if not to quench the spirit of humanity in their bosoms. “Men, who have nice notions about religion,” said Lord Wellington, — “have no business to be soldiers;” “The worse the man, the better the soldier,” — said

Bonaparte: "If we do not find soldiers corrupt, we must make them so." Entire subserviency—prompt, unquestioning, unscrupulous obedience are the highest virtues in the camp; and, on the field of battle, utter self-abandonment in the fury of conflict; skill and success in butchering human beings is the glory of the soldier. The Zouaves were the idols of the French populace last year. Those men, who were notorious for their vices and crimes, some of whom were reputed to be very demons in character, were almost worshipped by the people because of their desperate valor.

The morals of the military system are, if possible, more corrupt and corrupting than the morals of the slave system. He, who commands the army, is the one to whom the highest deference must be paid. He is to be obeyed rather than God. His edicts none may disregard with impunity. It matters not how grossly those edicts may violate the humane feelings of the soldier, or his sense of right, they must be implicitly obeyed. Thus are the rights of conscience ruthlessly trampled under foot. Insubordination to the will of the military chieftain is the highest crime a soldier can commit. He may more safely disobey all the commandments of the Decalogue, than refuse submission to his superior. The Church of Rome never set herself up above God so explicitly, as does the military department of every human government.

When it was urged, that General Taylor, and General Scott, who were signalizing themselves in the butchery of the poor Mexicans, had avowed their disapprobation of that war, deeming it unnecessary, waged without sufficient cause, for a most unworthy purpose; when it was suggested, that they were therefore especially guilty before God for taking any part in it, as they were at liberty to resign their commissions, it was promptly replied on all hands, oh no! 'It would be dishonorable in them to resign. They are soldiers, and must of course do whatsoever the government requires at their hands, let their own private opinions be what they may be.'

Could the authority of the Most High be more completely set aside? A soldier is required to merge himself, body and soul, in the plans and purposes of his human masters. He must go forward without hesitation, to do anything he may be commanded to do, not stopping to inquire whether it be right or wrong. Nay worse, with his eyes open clearly seeing the thing commanded to be wrong, he must nevertheless do it. Such is the doctrine upon which the military system rests; such the doctrine that is accepted throughout Christendom. How wicked, how impious then, is it for any man to become a soldier. He ought to refuse to submit to the degradation, as did the primitive

Christians. He ought to refuse, though it should cost him his life. Better to die at the stake a martyr to principle, than to be a soldier. The etymology of the word shows how much of self-abandonment it implies. The soldier is a *sold* man. He is one, who has parted with himself for a price, to do the bidding of another; parted with his right of private judgment, his will, his conscience. We all have shuddered over the fictitious tales of men, who have sold themselves to the Devil. Why should we shudder less at these actual sales, for the most diabolical purposes.

If now I have given a true description of the military system, what cold hearted mockery it is to propose by such means, to obtain or preserve the rights of man, or the blessings of liberty. The condition of soldiers is the condition of slaves. Indeed Dr. Franklin said "the slavery of the soldier is worse even than that of the negro." How then can it be any more just or right to reduce a portion of the subjects or citizens of a country to the slavery of a military life, in order to enrich or aggrandize another portion, than it is to reduce some men to domestic servitude for the pecuniary benefit of others? When last year, in Europe, I met thousands of my fellow men hurrying to the battle fields of Magenta and Solfarino, clad in the livery of their respective armies, I said to them in my heart, 'poor fellows! you are going as victims to be crushed, mentally and morally, if not physically, beneath the car of an Idol worse than Juggernaut. You are going to be immersed, perhaps drowned in the slough—the physical disease and moral filth of the camp, or in the bloody vortex of the battle-field. If you are slain, no note will be taken of your fall, excepting to add so many more units to the number of the lost. We shall hear less of you individually, than of the wounded horse of your commander, or of the button that perchance may be shot off from his coat.' No, a common soldier, though a sensitive, affectional, rational, immortal being, is lost sight of in an army. He is but a fraction of that living mass, that is to be wielded by the despotic will of a fallible man; and that man is to be crowned as the victor in a conflict, where the triumph was really won by the valor or persistence of individuals, whose names may never be known. Oh! there is nothing that offends, that shocks me, so much, as this annihilation of the many for the aggrandizement of the few. The newspapers told of General Taylor's beating Santa Anna, and of Napoleon's conquest of the Austrian Emperor, and of the slaughter of their armies, as if the soldiers they had used up, in their games of Beauna Vista and Solfarino, were of no more account than the marbles, that are won and lost by our boys in the streets.

How is it that statesmen and politicians have so long had the effrontery to pretend—and the people have so often been beguiled into the belief, that the cause of liberty was to be advanced, and the dearest rights of man secured, by the operation of the war system, which puts into the hands of a few the most absolute power over the bodies and souls of thousands; utterly annihilates the independence of individual man; and trains all who are brought under its influence, in the habits of implicit obedience, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the most reckless violation of the common rights and feelings of humanity.

Tell me not, that Slavery unfits men for liberty, and at the same time ask me to believe, that they, who have been trained up under the discipline of the army or navy, are fitted to appreciate the prerogatives and discharge the duties of freemen. “War generates more profligates than it destroys.” “War renders men callous to the feelings and principles of humanity.” I submit, therefore, what will a country gain, that goes to war even for liberty, though she may break the yoke, which a foreign tyrant had imposed,—what will she gain, if by so doing she must train up tens of thousands of her own citizens to return into her bosom, and poison the fountains of social virtue and domestic and public peace?

Nothing, in our country, hinders the general reception of the truth on this subject so much as the success, and assumed benefits of our Revolutionary War. My hearers, the true history of that conflict has not yet been written. Few, I suspect, have duly contemplated it, in the light of the Sun of Righteousness. The man who, of all that I know, seems to me to have looked at it from a Christian point of sight more intensely, to have searched into it, with the eye of a disciple of Jesus, more diligently than any other—the late Rev. Sylvester Judd—passed away before he had reported all that he discovered of the unchristian traits, and disastrous effects of that war. But let me put it to yourselves; do you suppose the thousands, who lost their lives, or the lives of their fathers, husbands, sons in that war; the thousands more, who were doomed by it to drag out the remnant of their days in decrepitude, sickness, poverty, and the tens of thousands, who sacrificed their innocence and purity of heart, who were corrupted, depraved, who became profane, licentious; do you suppose, if all those thousands could testify, that they would pronounce our Revolutionary War a blessing? I tell you nay. To the vast majority of that generation, which fought the battles, endured the hardships, incurred the losses, moral and pecuniary, incident to that conflict, we cannot doubt that it was a calamity, which they never ceased to deplore.

It remains yet to be proved, whether that war has been, or is to be, on the whole, a blessing to after generations. It is true, the people of our country may have accumulated wealth much faster than they might have done, if the Revolution had not taken place. But the amount of our riches is no index to our true welfare.

“ Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
When wealth accumulates and men decay.”

And has not the manhood of our countrymen fearfully decayed? So it appears. Are the noble sentiments of the patriots of '76, is their generous spirit, their respect for the rights of man, their love of impartial liberty, still prevalent throughout the land? Everybody must say no! The light that was radiated upon this nation at its birth, seems to be obscured. The men of our day (too many of them) seem to be more earnest for their parties, and even for their pence, than for their principles. And the glorious, gospel Declaration, with which our Fathers heralded their conflict for independence, has been impiously pronounced by some, and is practically regarded by most of our countrymen now, as “a mere rhetorical flourish.” This would not have been the result, if the revolutionists had contended for their rights in a Christian way.

I know we are accustomed to boast mightily, that our Fathers first unfurled that standard, upon whose folds are inscribed the “natural equal, inalienable rights of man.” And yet (oh! mountains fall and hide the shame) there is not another nation upon earth, that is outraging these rights so egregiously as we are. Well may *four millions, five hundred thousands* of the inhabitants of our land rue the day, which delivered this country from the dominion of the British Crown; for, had it not been for that event, they would probably be now rejoicing in the boon of freedom, with the emancipated in the British West Indies. If it be our Nation's glory, that she first unfurled the banner of universal liberty, it surely is her shame, that that banner has been snatched from her hand and borne outward, whither we as a nation are afraid to follow; for while monarchical England has set her bondmen free, we Republicans, Democrats, are insisting before the world, that it would be unsafe to give liberty to men, who are enslaved. Sentiments in favor of the freedom of all men, claims that were urged on behalf of the colored population — freely uttered, and kindly considered in Virginia, Maryland and other Southern States, at the time of the Revolution, and for twenty years afterwards, are now spurned, hunted, persecuted to the gallows and the stake, nay, struck down in the very Senate Chamber of the nation. Such outrages would not

have disgraced our country, if our Fathers had contended, and taught their children to contend for their rights, by Christian means.

If it be an eternal principle in the intellectual and moral world, as well as the physical, that *like begets like*, then we may not reasonably hope to promote peace, good order, respect for the domestic or civil rights of man, by the violence, uproar and cruelty of war. Just as reasonable would it be for the sober part of the community to set about drinking up all the intoxicating liquor in the land in order to protect themselves from the harm, which the intemperate may do; just as reasonable to inject into our own veins the virus of a raging pestilence, in order to check its progress, as it is to cherish in the bosom of our community the spirit of violence, of war, in order to repress the enmity and prevent the aggressions of other communities, or of individuals in our midst. It is only by steadfastly adhering, as individuals and a community, to the humane, benevolent, long-suffering principles of the Gospel, that we can help to persuade mankind to adopt them.

To insist that men are such beings, that they must and will fight, is to insist that they are brute animals—dogs, bears, tigers—and not rational and moral beings. To maintain that the human race is so constituted that wars are inevitable, are necessary, is to charge upon the Creator the inability, or the indisposition to save his earthly children, from the “most awful and comprehensive form of wickedness.”

Notwithstanding the impiety of the imputation, the advocates of his wholesale ruin of bodies and souls, tell us that war is sometimes necessary, to prevent or repel an aggression upon what is called the territory of one's country. Ah! ah! by whose authority was the surface of God's earth divided and subdivided, and its several portions appropriated by this nation or that? Who drew the lines and demarcations, over which any of the children of men may not freely pass and repass, to gather as they can the fruits of *honest* enterprise and industry? Who decreed, that rivers or mountains, or even oceans, should make enemies of fellow men? Surely this was not the gracious intention of the heavenly Father. It directly contravenes one especial purpose of the mission of his Beloved Son. Christ is the Prince of Peace. He would bring all nations into harmony. He taught that the true interests of humanity are everywhere the same. His Gospel will not have accomplished “that whereunto it was sent,” until all kindreds, tribes, nations of men flow together in a common brotherhood. It is the especial mission of those individuals, and nations that have received the Gospel, to promote this union. Whoever, whatever, would

prevent this union, should be accounted unchristian, anti-christian, inhuman.

Political rulers are they, who keep the people aliens to each other. It is the policy of kings and statesmen to uphold those national distinctions, in which they find their own personal aggrandizement. To perpetuate those divisions it is, that armies are maintained, and wars often waged; and the people, not being wise, allow their kings and rulers to play with them the horrid games of war. Yet; not to mention the thousands who are slain, what shall it profit the mass of those who may escape the conflict, although a territorial boundary may, by the issue of a battle, be fixed for a season in one place rather than another? Of what avail, to the people of either country would have been a sanguinary conflict with England respecting Oregon, for which some of our statesmen and demagogues were so eager, a few years ago? Would it have changed the location of the territory? Would it have improved the character of its climate, or the quality of its soil? Would it have increased the capacity of its rivers and water-courses to bear the burdens of produce or importation, that the future inhabitants may need to commit to them; or to carry the machineries, that may hereafter be constructed on their banks? Not at all. Not at all. What great interest of humanity, then, could have rendered it necessary or advisable that the people of two nations should have been embroiled in a war; thousands of them have been slain; thousands more have been maimed or enfeebled for life; tens of thousands have been depraved in their habits and principles, and hundreds of millions of dollars squandered, in order to determine whether the disputed territory should thereafter be accounted a part of the British Empire, or of the North American Republic? Surely that was a question the common people did not raise, and never would have raised. It was started by the statesmen or demagogues, or land speculators of either nation, for the sake of personal, partizan or national aggrandizement. And great cause had the people to rejoice, that they abandoned their foolish and wicked project.

After all that has been said of the folly and wickedness of resorting to war in any case, I have no doubt that the belief still lingers in many minds, that war has been necessary, and may be necessary again, as a means of self preservation, national as well as personal. But all history teaches that War is the great destroyer, rather than preserver of human life. There can be no doubt that the resort to violent measures, by nations and individuals, has been the cause of the death of thousands for every life it has been the means of preserving. Several distin-

guished men have made computations of the human beings, who have perished directly and indirectly, by War. Dr. Dick estimates the number at 14,000,000,000. The famous Edmund Burke placed the number much higher, even as high as 35,000,000,000. But take the former calculation, the smaller number; and then let any one reckon up all the *unresisting* men, women and children that have been killed; all that have been murdered by robbers and pirates; all that have perished passively by the hands of political or religious persecutors; and double and quadruple, aye, increase the number a hundred fold, and he shall find the whole to be but an insignificant fraction of the above-mentioned victims of war. History reiterates what Christ predicted—
‘all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.’

If, in this connection, my hearers, you will consider what have been, on the whole, the results of war, you will be satisfied, I think, that it is an expedient, to which an enlightened spirit of self-preservation would never lead communities or single men.

Were it right in the sight of the Almighty Father, the sovereign disposer of all events, for men to resort to violent physical means to repel aggressions; to prevent a repetition of injuries, or even to obtain or preserve their liberties, we may fairly presume that He has ordinarily given victory to the injured, suffering party. But it has not been so. After all they may have said about the justice of their cause, in any case, or the necessity of the measure, war has ever been regarded by its most strenuous advocates as a *game of chance*; and with the greatest reason.

In 1820, a number of competent gentlemen, members of this Society, diligently examined the histories of all the wars, of which there are any sufficient records, since the days of Constantine. They inform us that during the period named, there were two hundred and eighty-six distinct wars. Of them, one hundred and twenty resulted in the success of the aggressive party; the same number resulted in favor of the defensive party; and that forty-six were indecisive, having terminated without advantage to either side.

A few years ago, the world was witness of a signal event, which went as far as one example could go, to prove that war is not the means appointed, or approved of God, for the redress of grievances however intolerable. I allude to the downfall of Poland. Did ever a people have a juster cause for war? Did ever a people fight more valiantly? How intently did the nations of the earth behold her struggles! How deep was the sympathy of millions in her cause! How ardent the hopes, how fervent the prayers, which went up for her deliverance!

But she fell before her ruthless enemies. She fell probably to rise no more. A heavier yoke was fastened on her neck.

I deeply sympathized in the general feeling. While the issue of the contest was pending, I cordially united in the wish—the prayer—that Poland might be victorious, for I knew that she had been oppressed. But when that Providence, without whose knowledge not a sparrow falls, permitted her to be brought under a severer bondage, I presumed not to doubt the wisdom of the dispensation. Indeed, it seemed to me strikingly adapted, and therefore perhaps graciously designed, to teach the nations a lesson of inestimable importance; to dispel that delusion under which so many of our race have been hurried into the field of battle, trusting that the Almighty would assist them *there* to maintain the right. Oh! that the calamity of Poland would impress this truth upon the hearts of all suffering men, *that war is not the best, is not the right way to throw off oppression, or to avert an injury*. Then would the heart of Humanity rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of the hope of that blessed day, when righteousness and peace shall prevail throughout the earth.

Another event transpired in our own country last year, which gave us a most impressive illustration of the truth, that physical might is not always with the right; that success does not always crown the efforts of the injured party to obtain their rights, or redress their wrongs by violent measures. I refer, of course, to the memorable affair at Harper's Ferry.

If fighting were the method appointed or approved of by the heavenly Father, there could be no conflict in which we should so confidently look for victory, as in one dared for the delivery of millions, who in our country are suffering the most abject slavery, that is to be seen any where upon the face of the earth. And it were easy enough for Him, who hath all power in his hand, to vindicate the cause of the *weakest* against the mightiest. This is the faith, we are told, the very sentiment, that roused and sustained the patriots of the Revolution, in their unequal contest with Great Britain.

Long contemplation of the wrongs and woes of the millions in our land, subjected to a bondage, one hour of which, as Mr. Jefferson said, is harder to endure than whole ages of that against which our fathers rebelled—long contemplation of the wrongs of the enslaved, at length roused to his daring attempt the hero and the martyr of Harper's Ferry. He knew that his cause was just. He meant to use no violence, if it could be avoided; to spare none, that should be found necessary. He was led to believe that the bondmen would rush to his standard, in

such numbers as would overawe their oppressors, and ensure them a bloodless deliverance from their grasp. He believed that, if compelled to *fight* in defence of his undertaking, men enough would come to his assistance, that would easily overbear all who might attempt to withstand him. Moreover, he felt solemnly assured, that, if there were any truth in the leading doctrine of our American Revolution, any reason in the resort of our Fathers to the trial by battle, he would be wholly justified in his attempt, even though it should involve our country in the horrors of another civil war.

I frankly declare, I am unable to see the incorrectness of the reasoning, or the immorality of the course of John Brown, if the doctrines and spirit inculcated by our Fathers of 1776, and the example set by them were wise and Christian. The probability of their success was not much, if any, greater than his. The justice of their cause was far less.

Yet the hero of Harper's Ferry failed. He was taught in that hour that the God of the oppressed is not the God of battle; that the doctrine and spirit of Moses and David are not sanctioned by Christ and his apostles; that there is another and a better way of overcoming any evil than by killing or harming the evil doers.

Nothing daunted by his failure, with a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man, he humbly accepted the high lesson, which Providence gave him, and rose from the prostration of a fallen hero, to an almost unexampled sublimity as the *martyr of impartial liberty*. Words were spoken by John Brown at the tribunal where he was condemned to death, words were written by him from his prison house, that can never be forgotten. A spirit went forth from his bosom on the gallows, that has quickened the heart of humanity in the cause of our enslaved countrymen, as it was never moved before. His death is working, and will work in their behalf, a far mightier, happier, holier result, than would have been accomplished, if he had slain hundreds of slaveholders, and given deliverance to thousands of their bondmen. *The martyrs, not the fighters, have been and will be the seed of the Church, the saviours of mankind.*

Fellow laborers in the cause of Peace, the Providence of God has given men no encouragement to resort to weapons of violence and death, even in defence of their dearest rights. Whenever a people resort to such weapons, they commit their cause to *the chance of battle*. Suffer not yourselves, nor others, to be beguiled of the truth on this momentous subject, by the occasional result of a war, not even by that of our Revolution, the issue of which is not yet fully known. If success in

war is evidence of the Divine approval, then must we conclude that the conquerors of Poland were in the right; that all the wars of Bonaparte but the last were justifiable; that Charles XII. of Sweden, and Frederick the Great, and Gengis Khan and Tamerlane, and Alaric and Attila, and all the *successful* warriors that have scourged mankind, were approved and assisted by God. But from this decision, I trust, all would recoil.

The great lesson, which Christ teaches and History confirms, is, that it is unwise, as well as unchristian, for men or nations to resort to weapons of violence, in order to redress their wrongs, or to vindicate their most precious rights. There is never any certainty, that the injured party will be successful in such a conflict. The Almighty promises his grace to the meek, not to the valiant; his support to those who confide in the power of his Holy Spirit, which is continually working in the hearts of men to will and to do of his good pleasure; and not to those who trust to brute force or stratagem.

To invoke the benignant Father of all men, as the patron of battle, seems to me as impious as it would be to call upon him to preside over any other scene of reckless indulgence of human passions,—to preside over a desperate game of chance, a duel, or that disgusting pugilistic contest, at which the eyes of millions in England and our country have been gloating for the last three months, with an eagerness of interest, that would be shocking even in savages. And I cannot see why it would not be just as consistent for a Christian minister to play the priest at the combat of Heenan and Sayers, as to be the chaplain of an army.

The religion of the Gospel utterly prohibits revenge, wrath, violence, without which there can be no war. The Providence of God has given no approval of bloodshed and murder. Indeed it has signally justified the declaration of Jesus, that the use of the sword only leads to the multiplied destruction of life.

The folly of the custom of war is exceeded only by its wickedness. It is the height of foolishness, it is madness, to commit the protection of our dearest rights and interests to the chance of battle. There is never any certainty that the injured party will be successful in war. Physical might is, by no means, always with the right. *But moral might is always with the right.* Why is it that so few men have yet received this great truth, which Providence has been teaching from the beginning of man's probation, and which is so plainly declared in the Gospel of Christ? *Moral might is always with the right!* When men really believe this, they are invincible. William Penn believed this,

and dared to plant his colony in the midst of savages, without a single weapon of defence. There they lived, as long as our Republic has been in existence, maintaining the good order of civil government without a standing army, a militia, or even an armed police; there they lived in peace and unexampled prosperity, so long as this faith and a pacific spirit prevailed in the councils of the Colony; there they lived unharmed in the midst of warlike Indians, for more than seventy years, while the Colonies of New England, and other parts of the continent were embroiled in wars, suffering and committing atrocities of cruelty, the narration of which would make our blood curdle with horror.

The Quakers in Ireland believed in the might of the right. They believed that "when a man's ways please the Lord, He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." They believed in the power of Love to restrain the violence of men, to turn their hearts from evil intentions, and to convert enemies into friends. During the whole of the terrible civil war, which raged in that Island in 1798 and 1799, those followers of the Prince of Peace were in continual danger; their properties and their lives were frequently threatened by one of the contending parties, and then by the other; sometimes they were in imminent peril. Nevertheless, they were steadfast in their adherence to their principles. They would not arm themselves, nor put their confidence in armed men. They would take no part, directly or indirectly, in that ferocious strife. They persisted in treating members of each party with kindness, and faithfully rebuking both of them for their folly and sin. They were sustained; and fully justified the wisdom and power of the pacific course, which they had pursued. At the end of the war, it was ascertained and made public, that only two, out of the twenty thousand Quakers, who lived in that part of Ireland where the conflict raged, only two had been slain; and they had lost their faith, and betaken themselves to a fortified place for protection. The rest had come out of that fiery trial unscathed. Even their dwellings and fields had been spared. In the midst of [the desolation, which the fury of the combatants had spread far and wide, there were to be seen *uninjured* the houses and the properties of "The Friends."

Did time permit, a few more examples might be given of the safety of those who "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God." The only reason why Christendom is not filled with the fruits of the spirit of Christ is, that Christians, so called, have not put on Christ, they have not the same mind that was in him; have not his faith, his hope, his charity.

Mr. President, Members of the Peace Society, the reform for which

under your auspices, I thus plead, is as broad as Humanity ; and rests upon principles as deep as the foundations of the moral government of God.

Whenever or wherever *men* are to be dealt with, whether as individuals or communities, let us confidently rely upon the principles of the *nature* which the Creator has given them, and trust to the influence of his own ever-present, holy, loving spirit upon their hearts. Faith in Humanity, and faith in the Providence of that benignant Father who has the hearts of all men in His hands, will give us that moral power by which all evil doers may be overcome, the violent restrained, and the kingdom of Peace and Righteousness be established upon earth.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY :

ITS THIRTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY.

The Society met May 28th, 3 P. M., for business, in the vestry of Park Street Church, Boston, and adjourned, a quorum not being present, to 7½ P. M., for the public services.

At 7½ P. M., the Society met in Park Street Church. In the absence of Dr. WAYLAND, the President, Hon. AMASA WALKER, one of the Vice Presidents, was called to the chair. Rev. WILLIAM JENKS, D. D., of Boston, read the 72d Psalm, and offered prayer. A brief abstract of the Annual Report was read by the Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Beckwith, on behalf of the Board of Directors. The Chairman, after some account of his mission to England last year on behalf of our cause, introduced, as the speaker of the evening, Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, N. Y. At the close of his Address, listened to with much interest by a small but select audience, the Society, on motion of Rev. F. W. Holland,

Voted, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Rev. S. J. May for his able, earnest and seasonable Address, and that a copy be requested for the press.

The Annual Report of the Directors, and that of the Treasurer which had been duly audited, were both adopted. On motion, it was voted that the Society adjourn, to meet for the choice of officers at the call of the Executive Committee, and that the present officers meanwhile continue in office till successors are chosen.

R E P O R T .

In every good work there is need of patient, unfaltering trust in God, but in none more than in the great reform which seeks to eradicate from every Christian land, the immemorial custom of war. Next to paganism, it is the master evil of our race, and so deeply imbedded in the worst and strongest passions of our nature, so incorporated into the whole frame

work of government, so woven into the web and woof of society, linked with such a multitude of personal interests, fostered by so many prejudices of education, and upheld everywhere by such a vast amount of money, talent and official influence, that it might well seem to defy all efforts for its removal or serious abatement. There is, in truth, no sure hope except in the promise of God; but with the angelic announcement at Bethlehem of Peace on Earth as the birth-song of our religion, and the oft-repeated prophecy, that under its full legitimate influence, the nations shall one day beat their swords into ploughshares, and learn war no more, we assuredly have the most ample encouragement in our work, and every reason to believe it will, in God's good time, reach a success as signal and glorious as the world has ever witnessed.

For such a consummation, however, we must both *wait* and *work* in the calm, cheerful patience of Christian Reformers. We cannot expect it in full to-day or to-morrow, this year or the next, in our day, or even in that of our children. In this cause we labor chiefly for generations yet unborn, and are scattering seed whose fruit will be gathered long after we shall have gone to our final account. We have indeed witnessed already results sufficient to reward us a thousand times over, but only a fraction of what is needed and is yet to come. Had we seen far less fruit in our own day, we should still have rested in full assurance, that a harvest, rich and glorious, will at length come in God's promised time. That time we can well afford to wait, and shall not wait in vain. We are scattering his own seed, and may safely leave the result in his hands. We are planting a tree whose leaves shall be for the healing of all nations from the evils of war; and, however many ages may elapse before it reach complete maturity, it will in the end shed over the whole earth the fulness of its benign influences. It is ours to use the means divinely appointed for this end, and then trust the promise of God to crown them in due time with success. Whether successful or not now, we have no right, as believers in his word, to doubt for a moment the perfect triumph that is sure to come in the end.

The events of the past year, especially the rise and results of the late Italian War, teach many a pregnant lesson on this subject, but none that ought to diminish either our faith or our zeal. They should rather strengthen and stimulate both, and constrain us to gird ourselves anew for this great work. We see how strong a hold the war-system has on all Christendom; what a fearful capacity of mischief it keeps continually in its iron grasp; how easily it can, at almost any moment, pour its avalanche of evils over a continent, if not over a world; to how large an extent the great interests of mankind are held every hour at its mercy; how little control the nominal Christianity of Christendom has over this terrible evil, before which the Pope himself seems powerless to restrain his own followers from mutual butchery; and how vain the hope that the gospel itself, as hitherto understood and applied, can ever put an end to this giant sin and scourge. It is truly a vast work, only just begun; but it would seem as if the

events of the past year must, if anything ever can, stimulate the friends of God and man to a large increase of effort in its prosecution.

In this great reform, before it can be fully accomplished, the mass of Christians must be enlisted as a work properly and pre-eminently their own. No single organization can achieve it; and the chief mission of the Peace Society is to keep the object duly before the public, to show what needs to be done, and stimulate the friends of God and man to do it. We never dreamed that a handful of men associated in this reform could themselves use a thousandth part of the means requisite for its full and final success. Such an idea would have been a glaring absurdity. It must be the joint labor of millions; and our Society can at best do little more than wake the Christian community to their duty on the subject, and supply some helps and motives to its proper performance. They must themselves do it by enlisting in it those permanent, all-pervading influences which mould or sway society. It clearly cannot be done at once. Such a chronic evil as war, so nearly coeval with human depravity itself, so deeply rooted, and so widely diffused, can never, by any amount of means, be cured in a day or an age. Its entire, permanent cure may prove the work of all future time, a reform to end only with the world itself.

The reason is obvious. All society, Christian as well as pagan, has been, from time immemorial, educated wrong on this subject, and needs to have in this respect its general habits of thought and feeling recast in the pacific mould of the gospel. Men have been trained to war; they must henceforth be trained to peace. We must reverse in this regard the whole current of past ages. We must give all society a new education on this subject; and for such a purpose we must set at work everywhere the agencies or influences that form a controlling public opinion on every such question. The fireside and the pulpit, our schools and our presses, we must enlist as the chief nurseries of character, and the mainsprings of all moral, social and political influences. We must secure especially those higher seminaries where are trained the virtual law-givers of public opinion, the men that mould or sway society and government — our legislators and teachers, our editors, authors, and men in the learned professions. Win these, and in time we shall gain all. It is on such permanent, all-pervading influences we must put our trust, under God, for the steady progress and ultimate triumph of this cause.

Here we have the cheapest and most effective system of means possible for our purpose; and our chief responsibility and labor as a Peace Society is to keep all these duly at work everywhere in this great reform. Our first co-worker is the Christian mother in the nursery, by the cradle of her little one; and around her cluster the gentle yet potent influences of the hearth and family altar. Next come teachers in infant, primary and Sabbath schools, where we find in embryo the elements of all society and all governments. Make these what they might and should be, and the ultimate result we seek would follow in time as a matter of course.

The whole system of popular education must, also, become a nursery of

Peace. It can, with ease and certainty, be made so ; and we are glad to see it lending its aid more and more to this great Christian reform. Juster views on this subject are coming to prevail in the general education of the young ; works less tinctured with the war-spirit, are now issued for their instruction or amusement ; and we find in this respect a marked and very auspicious improvement in most of the text-books prepared for our seminaries of learning. True, the progress is slow, yet sure and very hopeful. We cannot expect society to throw off at once the exuviae of its old war-habits, and form in their place those required by the gospel in its purity and strictness.

We feel, moreover, a special anxiety to enlist in this cause the permanent influence of our higher seminaries. We cannot forego their aid. The future leaders of society, gathered in these nurseries of knowledge and character at the very seed-time of life, must, if possible, be won to right views on this subject ; and hence we have formed the plan of establishing in all our colleges and professional seminaries, premiums for essays on some important topics connected with the cause of Peace. In every one of these institutions, several hundred in all, we propose, and have to some extent, arrangements already in progress for the purpose, to offer a prize of some twenty or thirty dollars often enough to keep the subject in this way before every generation of students. The process may be slow ; but it is pretty sure in time to gain our object.

Still more ought the Pulpit to become everywhere an ally and champion of this cause as a part of its mission. The ministers of Christ ought all to be leaders in such a reform. We should expect this, as a matter of course ; and, if they were, how easily, and in how many ways, could they advance it. Touching the great mainsprings of moral power in every community, they might, if they would, prevent at once all actual war in Christendom, and put an end at length to her whole war-system. It could not live long under their united frowns ; and in no slight degree are they as a body responsible for the continuance of its enormous evils. Often and earnestly have we reminded them of this high responsibility, urged them to exert their utmost power in behalf of a cause so peculiarly their own, and furnished them with our helps in pleading its claims. Our Periodical, as its organ, we send gratuitously to every one that preaches regularly on the subject once a year, and gives his people an opportunity of contributing to the object. We have brought the subject before the ecclesiastical bodies of nearly every denomination in the land, and repeatedly procured from them resolves 'commending the cause as eminently entitled to the cordial co-operation and support of all Christians.' We cannot doubt the sincerity of such resolves ; and though we have so much reason to deplore the strange, inexcusable apathy of most Christian ministers, there are, in the aggregate, not a few impressed with its great importance, and inclined to press its claims upon their people. To this service we would fain urge them all ; and, if true to their trust as ambassadors of the Prince of Peace, how much could the 40,000 preachers of his gospel in our own land do for its perpetu-

al peace! That gospel, rightly applied, would put an end to all war; and such an application they are bound everywhere to make. Let them all do their whole duty on the subject; and the custom would ere long cease from the land.

There is another engine of still more ubiquitous power to be permanently enlisted in this cause—the Periodical Press. Of newspapers alone there are said to be in our country more than 4,000, not a few of them dailies, with an aggregate of more than 400 million sheets a year. What an array of moral power! and all this we hope yet to see at work everywhere for the great cause we plead. It cannot be at once, or very soon; but it may and will be in time. With this view we induce as many as possible of our friends to write on the subject for the periodical press; and we furnish all our religious newspapers, and the most widely circulated of our secular ones, with our own periodical, and some of our other publications, as helps in bringing the subject before their readers. How many minds we may thus reach, or how much light we diffuse, it is of course impossible to say; but it is certainly an easy and very hopeful way of sifting the subject into the community, keeps attention awake more or less to its importance, and can hardly fail to work in time a general, decisive change for the better. In no other way could we do so much with so small an outlay. It is drop by drop that wears away the rock; and by such silent, ubiquitous influences on the public mind we may hope in time to create a popular sentiment that shall at length make war, like snow beneath a vernal sun, melt away from every land blessed with the light of the gospel.

Such are some of the incidental agencies or influences we are setting at work in this cause; but, besides all these, we ourselves directly employ the press and the pulpit much more than could have been expected from the slender means at our command. With funds that would seldom have met one half the current expenses of an ordinary church in New York or Boston, we have from the start sustained a regular and generally increasing scale of operations. For more than forty successive years we have issued, as the organ of our cause, a periodical devoted exclusively to its advocacy, with a circulation at times of more than ten thousand copies, and now sent to all our higher seminaries of learning, and to all the leading periodicals, religious and secular, in our country. We have stereotyped nearly a hundred tracts, and published a number of volumes, part of them quite large, that have in some cases been scattered by thousands and tens of thousands throughout the land. For nearly twenty-five years we have had in our service a Secretary whose whole time and energies have been devoted to the cause, and have also kept in our employ from two to five or six lecturing agents in different parts of the country. All this, indeed is a mere fraction of what *needs* to be done; but it is certainly more than could have been expected in a cause so strangely neglected, and compelled from its start to force its way through almost every conceivable obstruction and discouragement.

However full the past year may have been of events and alarms seemingly ill-boding to our cause, we think, after all, that its general prospects have seldom been more hopeful than they are at this moment. We have had most appalling glimpses of what war is beneath the meridian blaze of the nineteenth century in the very heart of Christendom; and this startling experience of its evils, with the general frown of the world upon its suicidal folly, and the fact that public opinion virtually compelled its abrupt termination after two or three months, is clearly reacting in favor of a policy that shall supersede the sword by rational, peaceful methods of adjusting national disputes. Already are light, order and hope emerging out of the recent chaos; and from the events of the past year there is likely to arise a surer and more permanent peace among the nations of Europe. Men seldom learn much practical wisdom except from bitter experience; and the terrible lessons crowded into a single month upon such battle-fields as Magenta and Solferino, cannot, in an age like ours, be entirely lost upon either people or rulers. They can hardly help seeing, as the two Emperors practically confessed in their treaty so hastily concocted at Villafranca to prevent the further effusion of blood, that all such sacrifices of life and treasure are a wanton, suicidal waste, leaving every point in dispute to be settled after all by other means than mutual slaughter—either by agreement between themselves, or by reference to umpires. A lesson, so patent to common sense, ought surely to have been learned at much less expense; but, if it could not be, it may have been worth, at the rate usually paid by nations for such bitter experience, all the more than five hundred millions of money, and the one or two hundred thousand lives, sacrificed in working out that fearful problem of mischief, folly and crime.

The year has teemed with events of unusual interest on the question of Peace—the close of England's struggles with her subjects in India; the rise of new difficulties, so foolishly raised between her and China, boding another war; the friendly adjustment of our long-pending controversy with Paraguay; the prompt arrest of our incipient troubles with England in Oregon; the suspension, for the time, of filibustering by our citizens against Cuba, Mexico and the feeble States in South America; the silly, quixotic raid of Spain into Morocco; the annexation of Central Italy to Sardinia by a simple vote of the people, the herald of changes that may peacefully revolutionize in time all Europe in the interest of freedom and popular rights; one of the most hopeful political omens of the year, if not of the age. Such are some of the leading events of the year, but to which we can make only these passing allusions.

The course and scale of our Society's operations have been the past very much as in preceding years. From the legacy of William Ladd, though awarded to us by the court more than a year ago, we have as yet received nothing; and when the expenses of management and litigation are all deducted, the sum total secured in the end to our cause, is likely to be much less than its friends have been led to expect. What still remains is now

in trustworthy hands ; and in the course of this year we shall probably ascertain the net proceeds of the noble liberality of our Founder.

FINANCIES.—The balance-sheet of the Society, for the year is — Receipts \$3,481,30 ; expenses, including investment of legacy, \$3,223,02 ; leaving in the treasury \$208,28.

AGENCIES.—The Secretary, who had been compelled for more than four years to suspend speaking in public, has at length re-entered the field where he used to spend his chief strength in lecturing from three to eight times a week. He hopes with due caution to renew in full the labors of former years in this department. Besides his services, and those of eight or ten local agents acting gratuitously for the cause in their immediate vicinity, we have had under commission, though laboring for us only a part of the time, a General Agent, and four other Lecturing Agents, chiefly at the West. We hope our General Agent, Rev. C. S. MACREADING, of the Methodist Church, will ere long devote his whole time and strength in our service. He has long been inclined to do so, and the friends of peace will be inexcusable if they allow so ardent and so able a servant of our cause lack the means of support in a field where he is so much needed.

PUBLICATIONS.—The press, as our chief instrument, we have kept at work to the full extent of our means. We have during the year stereotyped only two new tracts, making Nos. 72 and 73 of our duodecimo series ; but we have issued new editions of quite a number, and of one of our stereotyped volumes. Of our periodical, the *Advocate of Peace*, we have published, during most of the year, a larger number than usual, and are now sending it regularly to our higher seminaries of learning, and to all our religious, and the most widely circulated of our secular newspapers. It is, also, furnished, partly by contributions for this specific purpose, to an increasing number of Christian ministers, in particular to all the missionaries, both home and foreign, in the service of the American Missionary Association. It *ought* indeed to be to *all* our home and foreign missionaries ; and, if our friends will provide the means, we shall very gladly send it to them all.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.—This Society is the great champion of our cause for Europe ; and from the monthly reports in its organ, *The Herald of Peace*, we learn with what wisdom, energy and success they are prosecuting this arduous work. They keep constantly in the field lecturers of distinguished ability ; and by a wise and zealous employment of the press, the pulpit and the platform, they are doing much to set public opinion right on this subject. With them it is a great practical, all-absorbing question ; and with admirable tact, courage and persistence they grapple it, and combat it at every turn. Their example is worthy of all imitation by the friends of our cause everywhere.

Near the close of last June, our Committee, learning his purpose to

visit England, commissioned one of our Vice Presidents, Hon. AMASA WALKER, to lay before the London Peace Society several resolutions of ours on the subject of Disarmament. That Society called a special meeting in London to consider the subject, when Mr. Walker was heard at length; and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. "That this meeting greets, with great satisfaction and pleasure, the presence amongst us of our honored friend, Mr. Amasa Walker, both as representative of the American Peace Society, and on account of the high esteem we cherish for him personally, and for the long and valuable services he has rendered to the cause of peace.

2. "That the meeting fully acknowledges the vital importance of the sentiments embodied in the resolutions of the American Peace Society, communicated by Mr. Walker, in relation to the system of rivalry in armaments which is weighing so heavily upon Europe; and the duty of the friends of Peace to use their utmost efforts to urge upon the attention both of governments and peoples the manifold and ruinous evils which spring from that system, and the necessity of adopting some practical means for introducing without delay the process of mutual and simultaneous reduction of armaments.

3. "That we desire our friend Mr. Walker, to convey to our fellow-laborers in America the warm expression of our sympathy and friendship, and the pleasure with which we have witnessed their faithful and persistent advocacy of the principles of peace through evil report and good report."

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.

This noble Society held its forty-fourth anniversary in London, May 22d. "The assembly," says the *British Standard*, "was, as usual, very large, and strongly marked by intelligence and respectability. The excellent Chairman, HENRY PEASE, M. P., introduced the business in one of those reflective, solid, and discreet addresses which always characterize the Society of Friends. The Report, of course, dealt mainly with the events of the year, which it discussed with its customary vigor, fidelity, and eloquence. It was a masculine oration of 'peace on earth and good will towards men.'" We have not space to copy in full these proceedings, but give enough to show with what liberality, zeal and energy our brethren in England are prosecuting their part of this great work.

FINANCES.—The receipts, including a balance of \$2,722 for the last year, amount, in our currency, to \$16,605, and the expenses to \$9,947, leaving in the treasury, \$6,658, with which to start the operations of a new year. Here are some ten thousand dollars spent during the year in the cause, and an overplus amounting to more than our friends in this country have ever contributed in any one year, and nearly twice as much as they gave last year. With such proofs before them of interest in the cause, our brethren in England may well say:—

"The Committee are happy to report that their finances are in a satisfactory condition. Soon after the last annual meeting, a few friends of the Society met in conference, when its financial state and prospects were laid

before them. It was shown that one or two special funds, from which the Committee had been accustomed to derive help, had become nearly exhausted; while by the death of the late honored president another munificent source of supply has been dried up. It was felt, therefore, that it was necessary to make some larger provision for the future than the ordinary income of the Society afforded. No sooner was this made known, than the friends of the cause rallied around it with cheerful and generous liberality. Several gentlemen put down their names as subscribers of £100 a year, others of £50, £30, and so on. So that, though up to this time no general appeal has been made to the supporters of the institution, this list already amounts to more than £1200; some of it being promised for only one year, but *the greater number of subscribers*, it is believed, *likely to be permanent*. The Committee feel great encouragement from this spontaneous and cordial display of liberality on the part of their friends."

Here is an example of liberality worthy of all imitation. God grant it may be imitated and even exceeded in the country where this cause first started under the labors of Worcester, and the warm sympathy and zealous co-operation of such men as Channing. We find, among the items of receipts, no less than \$2,850 from legacies alone; nearly three thousand dollars in a single year. Will not the wealthy friends of peace in our own land imitate such an example, and thus enable the Peace Society here to carry forward its great work upon a scale more commensurate with its magnitude and importance?

PUBLIC MEETING. — Of the speeches made on this occasion by Rev. C. Stowell, Rev. John Burnett, and Rev. Dr. Burns, those veteran champions of the cause, we may hereafter give some specimens; but we can now copy only the resolutions to which they spoke, as indices of the whole proceeding: —

1. "That this meeting deeply deplore the recent revival of the war spirit in this country, as indicated in the diffusion among the people of the love of arms and military display, in the hostile and irritating tones towards other nations adopted by speakers in Parliament, by the press, and too often even by the pulpit; and in the sudden popularity acquired by brutal and brutalizing sports which are at once dishonorable to our national character, and debasing to our national morality. That in view of these grievous results, flowing from a policy of international hostility and suspicion, this meeting avows its conviction that the spirit of mutual kindness and conciliation which Christianity inculcates, is the truest guide for communities as for individuals, and affords the best safeguard for national, as for personal, security and honor."

2. "That this meeting cordially rejoices in the Treaty of Commerce lately formed between England and France, as 'laying broad and deep foundation in common interest and in friendly intercourse, for the confirmation of amicable relations between the two countries;' and earnestly hopes this measure will be followed by negotiations for a simultaneous reduction of those enormous armaments, now yearly augmented on a principle of reciprocal rivalry, to which there is no limit, but which more and more exhausts the resources of the people, and jeopardizes the continuance of peace, by keeping the nations in a constant state of mutual suspicion and jealousy."

3. "That the events that have recently occurred in China and Japan af-

ford further illustration of the truth, that a policy of violence and contempt is not that which is best adapted to promote either commerce or Christianity among the semi-civilized nations of the world; and this meeting earnestly hopes that the Government of this country, taking lessons from past experience, will instruct its official representatives, as well as our countrymen engaged in commercial or other transactions in those remote parts of the world, that they cannot expect approval and countenance from this Christian nation, except as their own conduct is marked by justice, moderation, and mercy, in their intercourse with the natives."

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT.

Not to be discouraged by unfavorable circumstances.—That the passing appearances of the times are unfavorable, cannot be denied. A vague and ominous misgiving, begotten by past wars and by present preparations for war, is diffused throughout Europe. Public feeling in our own country has become morbid in its excess of suspicion and alarm, and the fashion of the moment has served to throw a meretricious glare around military ideas and pursuits, by which the minds of multitudes have been dazzled. If, therefore, their cause rested upon the ebbing and flowing tide of circumstance and opinion, they might at such a crisis yield to discouragement and despondency. But founded, as they believe it to be, upon principles that are fixed and imperishable, they feel that they ought not to be much moved from their steadfastness by those fleeting shadows of chance and change. Unless all the lessons of philosophy and experience are to be ignored, the true progress of humanity and civilization must be in the direction in which they are laboring. Unless all the teachings of Christianity are to be set aside as cunningly-devised fables, the great truths upon which their movement rests, bear upon them the stamp of divine authentication. Unless the hopes inspired by scripture prophecy are to be renounced as delusion, the work in which they are engaged is one in harmony with the ultimate designs of Providence, the triumph of which cannot be of doubtful accomplishment. They trust, therefore, they may without irreverence describe their own feelings in the language employed by those engaged of old in a still higher and more arduous enterprise: "We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair."

The Report reviews the difficulties in China at some length, and adds some remarks deservedly severe upon "some friends of missions who not merely justify, but encourage, and even invoke, acts of violence and blood on the part of the British Government towards the Chinese and other races, on the ground that *war is to open the way for the Gospel.*" The Italian war, the new impulse given by it to the military mania in England, and the system of rivalry in armaments to which the governments of Europe are so blindly devoting themselves, form the chief topics; after which follows a brief review of what the Society has done during the year, by four lecturers pretty constantly in its employ, and by a variety of publications, amounting "altogether to some 300,000 copies."

Special need now of efforts in this cause.— "Never was there a time when the existence and exertions of a Peace Society were more imperatively needed than they are at present, to bear a testimony for a portion of God's truth and of man's highest interest, which is grievously neglected, and in danger of being utterly swamped in the rising deluge of enthusiasm

for military display and brute force. It is impossible for any thoughtful observer to doubt, that, ever since the Russian war, public sentiment in England has been suffering a grievous moral deterioration, if the Christian standard of morality is the highest to which a nation's heart can be conformed. For, instead of the spirit of benignity and brotherhood which Christianity commends, the national mind has been pervaded by a hard, coarse, material sentiment, which finds vent in a mingled strain of terror and defiance, which it is not pleasant for any one who respects the dignity of his own country, to hear; puts its sole trust in the muster and display of physical force; and laughs to scorn all faith in the influence of intelligence, of commerce, of civilization, of Christianity, or indeed of any principle save that of mutual fear, as of the smallest account in regulating the conduct of states towards each other.—Of late this spirit has taken new and strange developments among us, in the revived popularity of coarse and disgusting exhibitions, which we had hoped had passed away for ever before the advancing light of intelligence and religion. We have no right, however, to be astonished at it. It is a perfectly natural result of the rampant war-spirit that has been abroad for the last few years, and abroad by the sanction and encouragement of many who were thought to be the special guardians of a Christian civilization among us. And it may, perhaps, serve to awaken salutary reflection in the minds of some of our religious teachers in pulpit and press, who have been stimulating the war-spirit, and glorifying "muscular Christianity," as to whereunto this thing may grow, when they see the worship of brute force which they have helped to promote, culminating in triumphal ovals given to the champions of the prize-ring, such as are rarely accorded either to genius, or virtue, or piety; while these brutal displays themselves, though in flagrant and acknowledged violation of law, are made the subjects of formal and elaborate eulogy by Ministers of State in the British Parliament, on grounds and for reasons which would equally justify admiration for pirates and highwaymen; nay, for the very lowest order of brute beasts, who often display in still higher perfection the same qualities for which these pugilistic heroes have won for themselves such distinguished patronage and panegyric.

This, then, is not the time in which the Friends of Peace should desist from their labors. Nor have they any such intention. Long experience has enabled them pretty accurately to count the cost of the course they are pursuing, and are still determined to pursue. By some they will be pitied as impracticable dreamers; by others they will be denounced as disloyal subjects; by many their objects will be misunderstood, and their motives misconstrued; but in these respects they will fare no otherwise than all have done who have dared to be faithful to unrecognised or unpopular truth. There is in every age a large class of minds, to whom all the aspirations and efforts of humanity to attain a higher development, appear only as fitting objects for scepticism and scorn. No great moral reform which has gladdened the hopes of the world, but has had for years to run the gauntlet of these men's derisive laughter. They laughed at Clarkson and Wilberforce, when they lifted up a banner in the name of the Lord against the infinite iniquities of the slave-trade. They laughed at Buxton and Sturge when, taking up the work which their illustrious predecessors had commenced, they demanded the total abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions. They laughed at Romilly and Macintosh, when they strove to purge our statute-book of that sanguinary criminal code which was a dishonor to our country and to our age. They laughed at Carey and Marshman, when they conceived the sublime enterprise of converting India to God. They laughed at Cobden and Bright, when they struggled to unfetter our commerce, and to obtain untaxed bread for the

people of England. And no doubt the same class will assail with the same weapons all our efforts to substitute right for might in the intercourse of nations, and to abolish the unutterable wickedness and folly of war. But we trust that not for all this, and much more than this, will the humblest member of the Peace Society forsake his post, or desert his banners. For, if we may borrow our imagery from the camp of our opponents, peace hath her conflicts no less severe, and her victories far more renowned, than those of war. But they are conflicts undertaken for no selfish purpose, and waged with no carnal weapons. They are victories followed by no wail of agony, blotted with no stain of blood. Still the struggle must no doubt be long and strenuous, and to each who engages in this holy war, may be addressed the language of the poet, written on a battle field, contrasting the moral with the material warfare. Pointing to those sleeping below, he says:—

“Soon rested those who fought; but thou
Who minglest in the harder strife
For truths which men receive not now,
Thy warfare only ends with life.

Yet, nerve thy spirit to the proof,
And blench not at thy chosen lot;
The timid good may stand aloof,
The sage may frown — yet faint thou not.

Nor heed the shaft too surely cast,
The foul and hissing bolt of scorn;
For with thy side shall dwell, at last,
The victory of endurance born.”

THE TESTIMONIES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN AGAINST WAR.

General Washington wrote thus, “It is time for mad heroism to be at an end.”

Dr. Franklin said, soon after the close of the American Revolution — “There never was a good war, or a bad peace.” — “All wars are follies, very expensive and very mischievous.”

President Jefferson wrote thus: “War is entirely inefficient towards redressing wrong.” — “War multiplies instead of indemnifying losses.”

Lord Brougham said, “I hold war the greatest of human crimes.”

M. Necker said, “War suspends every idea of justice and humanity.”

Dr. Channing said, “The true principle for a nation is to suffer wrong, rather than to do it.”

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ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S REPORT.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY *in account with JOHN FIELD, Treasurer.*

RECEIPTS —

Balance from last year's account,.....	\$ 163.95
Sundry receipts acknowledged in Advocate of Peace,.....	3,089.98
Interest and sale of publications,.....	177.37
	<u>\$3,431.30</u>

PAYMENTS —

For rent and care of office, postage, stationery, meetings, &c.,.....	\$ 267.84
For stereotyping, paper, printing, binding, engraving, and other expenses relative to publication,.....	1,314.56
For services of agents, and their travelling expenses,.....	1,115.63
Investment of legacies in part,.....	500.00
Interest on loan,.....	25.00
Balance to new account,.....	208.28
	<u>\$3,431.30</u>

BOSTON, MAY 28, 1860.—I have this day examined the above account of JOHN FIELD, Esq., Treasurer of the American Peace Society, and find the same correctly cast and vouched.

JULIUS A. PALMER, *Auditor.*

* See p. 87. As no meeting of the Society could be held before the issue of this Advocate, the last year's list of officers is necessarily published here, though two or three declined a re-election, whose places are to be supplied.—ED. ADV.


THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

FOR

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

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1860.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1860.

THE FLUCTUATIONS OF REFORM.

The friends of Peace, like those of every other reform, must expect, as a matter of course, occasional drawbacks. The great sea of minds moved by it, will have now and then its fluctuations, its high and low tides; and even when the general progress of the cause is clear and unquestionable, it may seem for a time to stand still, or even to drift backward. Such is the case alike in individuals and communities. We see it everywhere, and in all history; and, whether we can account for it or not, the fact is patent enough to all thoughtful observers. The grand, all-embracing reform for the world through all ages, started from the cross more than eighteen centuries ago, is itself a standing and startling illustration of this law; and all minor reforms, from that of the Reformation under Luther to those which have in subsequent times sought the removal or abatement of social abuses and wrongs in different countries, will be found to have followed the same law of general progress accompanied with occasional fluctuations.

Such fluctuations are inseparable from all reforms; but in the cause of Peace they have been fewer and less serious than in almost any other. Where can we find one more steady or more uniform in its progress? Efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade, for the abolition of slavery itself, or for doing away intemperance, or other great social evils, have been attended with more frequent and often more discouraging drawbacks. Through how many disastrous failures have

political reforms, attempts to establish the great right of self-government by the people, been obliged, age after age, to pass in fire and blood. Scarce any of these reforms has made surer or more rapid progress than that of Peace, or now has better prospects of complete success in the end. We cannot pause here to prove this point in detail; but it is capable of ample and triumphant illustration.

Will you, however, point us to the rise and outburst of the war-spirit within the last ten or fifteen years on both sides of the Atlantic? We admit the facts, but insist that they are all consistent with the belief of a general progress in the right direction on this subject. They do indeed prove the mass of minds sadly wrong; but, after all, we contend that they are less wrong now than they were when the Peace Reform began. After all the wild war-spirit developed in our own conflict with Mexico, and during the Crimean and Italian wars, we think it clear that neither the popular feeling, nor the controlling public opinion, nor the international policy of Christendom, is by any means so bad as it was fifty or a hundred years ago. There has been a marked and most hopeful progress towards a better state of things. Peace is more uniform, more reliable, and much longer continued, than in ages past. There is a stronger, more habitual aversion to war. Neither rulers nor people are half as much inclined as they once were to rush into it, but vastly more disposed to settle national controversies by other means than the bloody and brutal arbitrament of the sword. Negotiation, reference, or some other mode of peaceful adjustment, is fast superseding war as an arbiter of national disputes; and when war does come, it does not continue more than one-tenth as long as it did in former ages. The new public opinion created by the friends of peace, soon compels the parties to stop fighting, and resort to some rational, peaceful methods for settling the controversy. We grant that there is still a great deal to deplore on this subject in the present habits of Christendom, and we see clearly enough that the Peace Reform has only just begun its great work; but the sun at noon is not plainer than the general fact, that there has been, and still is, a marked and very hopeful progress on this subject, and that there is rising slowly, yet surely, a new and better order of things.

We have little patience with the loose, random talk that we frequently hear on this subject even from some intelligent men. It seems to us that they *must* know better; but, without stopping to correct their mistakes, we now address ourselves to those who would fain do whatever can be done for the extinction or abatement of this huge evil hanging

as a mammoth incubus on the bosom of Christendom, and wasting even in peace more life, money and moral power than would suffice, under God, to evangelize a score of such worlds as ours. We would fain re-assure the faith of such men in the feasibility and the actual advance of this cause; nor, if they would look at the matter aright, would they need much reflection to see that no cause is in truth more feasible, more sure of ultimate triumph, or at this hour making, on the whole, more hopeful progress.

HOW TO SUPERSEDE SOCIETIES FOR SPECIAL REFORMS.

We have long heard the claim that the Church, or the gospel in her hands, is the proper and only effective reformer of society, and that her agency might and should supersede all special efforts for the reformation of social wrongs.

Now, there is so much truth in this, that we wish it could, in its exact and full import, be brought to bear on all who claim the Christian name. It is true that they are, or should be, God's chief, if not sole, co-workers in reclaiming mankind to himself, and in making such an application of his gospel to all forms of error, sin and misery prevalent in any land blest with its light, as shall reform society of its manifold abuses and wrongs. They have in their hands the power requisite for this purpose, the gospel as God's appointed cure for all moral evils; and, if they would faithfully apply this divine and sovereign remedy, we see not what would be left for reformers outside of the church to do.

"Sad, indeed, is it," says Prof. C. D. Cleaveland, in his forcible exposition of *True Gospel Preaching*, "that there should be a necessity to form an association *outside* of the Christian Church to do the work peculiarly appropriate to the Church itself; for the very existence of an anti-slavery, a peace, or a temperance society, is a standing rebuke against the Church of Christ. If, at the Reformation, the Christian Church had incorporated into its faith, preaching and practice those principles of the Christian religion which the friends of Peace, Temperance and Freedom have arrayed against every form of oppression and wrong; if every Christian denomination, Papal and Protestant, had simply but firmly taken the consistent course that the Society of Friends has taken against the three great scourges of the human race, INTEMPERANCE, SLAVERY and WAR, there would now be no need

of any such organization. As the Rev. Albert Barnes has well said, 'There is no power out of the Church that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained in it;' and the same may be said of the two other gigantic evils that now, all over the world, 'make countless millions mourn.' "

In the work of social reform, then, what is the mission of the Church? Simply to *apply* the remedy which God has put into her hands. They are responsible, not for the result, but solely for a right application of this divine catholicon for the world's evils. If it is what it professes to be, and what God promises that it shall prove on a proper application of its principles, all forms of human evil must in due time melt away before it. All that God requires of us is to apply it aright; but such an application to the various wrongs and evils of society means a great deal, and demands of Christians vastly more than they are now doing, or attempting to do, in any land. "Who does not believe that the various communications which God has made to the world, from Moses to the Saviour, were designed to remove the evils in the world? And how is this to be done but by a *faithful application of the principles of righteousness*, laid down in the Bible, to *all known sin*? ° ° Our Saviour called his disciples "the salt of the earth,"—the moral purifiers of the world; but "if the salt has lost its savor,"—if the Christian fail to make his principles effective,—"it is good for nothing." All would say that that man would be a fit inmate for a lunatic asylum who, about to preserve his winter meats with salt, should put the meats in one corner of his cellar, and the salt in the other; and he, methinks, would deserve the same place, who would maintain that the principles of the Gospel are to save the world, *without an honest, faithful application of them to all known sin*. When you call to mind that Christ summed up the whole of human duty—all that the law and the prophets taught—in love to God *and* love to man, making the latter of equal obligation with the former; and when you remember, too, the blessed words that announced his coming,—"Glory to God; Peace on earth, GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN," I ask if that is a faithful preaching of the Gospel, in any *truthful and honest sense*, which leaves untouched and unnamed practices which dishonor religion, and degrade humanity, which ignores a system of wickedness that involves the suspension of all the moral laws, and gives ascendancy to all the wicked passions of which human nature is susceptible? Nay, does it not involve a sin of omission of the deepest dye, and one more calculated to advance the cause of infidelity than all the infidel writings in the world?"

"It is necessary to the glory of God, and the good of man," well says another, "that the Gospel be arrayed openly against all popular, social and organic sins, that they may be overthrown as fast as religion advances; and he who so preaches the Gospel as to tolerate and even strengthen systems of sin, does more injury to religion, and brings greater discredit on the Bible, than blasphemers and infidels."

SAFETY OF RELIANCE ON PEACE PRINCIPLES:

ILLUSTRATED BY THE HAWAIIAN MISSIONARIES IN THE MARQUESAS.

G. C. BECKWITH, D. D., *Sec'y of the Am. Peace Society.*

My Dear Brother:—By this mail I take the liberty to send you the Report of a visit to the Marquesas in the Morning Star, as published in the *Friend*, Extra, for this month. This report will, also, be published in a pamphlet by order of the Hawaiian Missionary Society.

All the facts on *war*, and the *speaking* fact, that these peace messengers of Christ and of the Hawaiian churches, and native missionaries at the Marquesas, are really *peace-makers*; that, in the midst of savages the most fierce, of robbery, of war, of cannibalism, they are *safe*; that *the whole Christian party are safe*, and that the shield of the Eternal covers all the friends, the domestics and the scholars of these Hawaiian missionaries, are an unanswerable argument in favor of the doctrine you advocate. It is true, that those who take the sword shall perish with their own chosen weapon. We reap as we sow. According to the measure we mete, so it shall be measured to us again.

Such is the safety of trusting in God; and no sophistry, no sneers, no logic, no history, no experience, no plea of necessity, can overthrow this foundation-principle of the Christian religion, this pillar-truth of our *precious, glorious gospel*. Not that good and peaceful men have not occasionally fallen by the hand of violence, through mistake, or incidentally; but I have yet to learn, that a man, *known* to be a hearty, thorough-going peace man, in principle and in habit—a man abhorring war and strife, and feeling, breathing and living the spirit of peace, has been left to perish by the hand of violence. We do not, of course, include seasons of religious bigotry and persecution, when men became, like Christ, and John the Baptist, and a host of others, mar-

tyrs to their principles. Had the unfortunate Lyman and Munson been unarmed when they entered the country of the Dyacks, and had their real principles and object been known, they had escaped the sad catastrophe which befel them. And the same may be said of the lamented Williams, who fell at Erromango. It is more than probable, however, that all these men believed in the necessity of war, as is still the fact with nine-tenths of professed Christians.

In my late visit to the Marquesas, my views on the peace subject were confirmed, and my heart cheered by what I saw. Those dear, simple hearted Hawaiian missionaries feel a perfect sense of security amidst the most vindictive, blood-thirsty and inexorable savages. They go and come, they sleep unshielded by any human power, and they pass to and fro among hostile tribes without the slightest of fear. They even leave their wives and children for weeks among the savages, without apprehension of violence or injury. Now, these Hawaiian missionaries are, as we suppose, thorough peace men, and their trust in God is simple and literal.

Look, also, at the *Morning Star*. Wherever this peace messenger unfurls her banners, she is safe; and in places where ships, brigs, and schooners have been cut off, and where scores of white men have been sacrificed to revenge or cupidity, she drops her anchor, furls her sails, and rides securely on the waters thronged with war canoes, and bristling with the spears of savages. Her decks and cabin are crowded with fierce warriors; and without a musket or pistol, a cutlass or any weapon of defence, she is safe. Everywhere she is hailed as a messenger of peace. The naked savages of the Marquesas and of Micronesia, *claim her as their vessel*. They welcome her arrival with shouts of joy. They receive her as a friend, loaded with blessings, and filled with love and good will. Her white sails are like the wings of a dove, and her flag is an olive leaf. Everywhere in this ocean, she has a name and a prestige; everywhere she is the guest of the heathen tribes; and everywhere the shield of heaven covers her, and the light of heaven shines upon her. May she never forfeit that protection, or lose that glory which now rests upon her.

While at the Marquesas, I was struck with the difference between our simple Hawaiian missionaries, and those of the French Papacy. The former ask no human shield. No forts have been erected for their protection. No weapons of defence are in their houses. No marines and no soldiers are quartered near them. No arsenals intimidate the savages around them. No war-ship protects them in the har-

bor. No clarion, no bugle, no fife or drum assures them of security. No martial tread proclaims the protecting power of a great and glorious nation. No frowning battery thunders terror upon the savage neighbors which surround them. No threatening of stored vengeance holds back the arm which might smite them. Defenceless to human view, they sleep and eat, go and come, without fear of evil. Securely they live and labor, while the spear of the savage is bathed in savage blood, while the leaden messenger of the warrior lodges in the warrior's heart, and while the fierce cannibal gloats on the flesh of the cannibal.

Not so with the emissaries of the Papacy. Bristling bayonets, crackling musketry, booming cannon, rolling drums, the bugle's blast, the trumpet's notes, the helmed phalanx and the martial display, all admonish the savage Marquesan not to despise the cross, or reject the creed of the Prince of Peace! Perhaps the poor Marquesan has learned, by mournful experience, not to provoke that power which holds the thunderbolt of Jove, and hangs in the terrors of war over them. But we have yet to learn that they have made the first convert to the true doctrines and the spiritual life of the Prince of Peace.

With all their array of means, and with all their characteristic determination, their cause seems desperate in the Marquesas Islands. Their naval and military defences are removed, and with this removal their ecclesiastical corps decreases, their work grows faint, and the prospect is, that the priests may yet abandon the whole field. These carnal weapons make no spiritual conquests. The kingdom of our Lord is not of this world, and it can never ally itself with human policy and physical defenses, without defeat and disaster.

I still sympathize with you, my dear brother, and with all who toil and pray with you in the work of peace. It is an up-hill work. Peace principles make slow progress. History and precedent are arrayed against them. Ignorance, apathy, and indifference are arrayed against them. Prejudice, self-conceit, pride, a false sense of honor, selfishness, jealousy, envy, interest, and the spirit of combattiveness and retaliation, are arrayed against them. Infidelity toward God, and trust in human skill and power, are arrayed against them. Self interest, intensified in the form of political, naval and military glory, is arrayed against them. Kings, princes, rulers, nations, the great and the small, armies, navies, suppliers, and a host not numbered, are against them. And sure I am, that "the old dragon, called the devil and Satan who *deceives the nations*," is against them.

Still "those that be for us are more than those that be against us." The Almighty is with us. The Eternal God is our refuge. Under us are the everlasting arms. Our cause will prevail. "If God be for us, who can be against us?" Though the progress of peace principles is slow, they are nevertheless *sure*. Silent as light, potent as gravity, and sure as demonstration, they move forward. *Onward*, ONWARD, is their entire history. ONWARD is their eternal destiny. They *will* prevail. The eternal fiat has proclaimed it. "God is love." Peace is the central pillar of His throne; a peace, like a canopy of glory, shall spread her wings over his kingdom. "The Prince of Peace" shall reign. The thunder of war shall cease; its weapons and its arts shall be unknown. The earth shall rest from strife, and shall break forth into singing. Hold on, then, soldier of the cross. Never yield to faintness or fear. The cause is *God's*. "Be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, inasmuch as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord."

Your friend and brother in Christ,

TITUS COAN.

Honolulu, June, 1860.

Mr. C. was attending the Hawaiian Anniversaries in H. The Report referred to has not reached us; when it does, we shall doubtless lay it under contribution to our pages.—ED.

MISSIONARIES NOT ALWAYS RIGHT ON PEACE.

The defective views of good men on the question of war, we see in the case of the Protestant missionaries during the Crimean war. Dr. Schaufier, one of the best among them, preached at Constantinople, early in 1855, a sermon, in which, as partly published in the N. Y. Evangelist, he says, "Europe has both the *right* and the *duty*" to wage the war, and "if governments, generals and soldiers comprehended the entire nature of the contest, they might enjoy *unwavering* trust in a righteous providence, and, like Hezekiah, look up for angelic help to smite the northern host in one night."

Mark how devout and hopeful this missionary waxes. While scouting the idea of "the *Russian* host trusting in God as his orthodox children," though "sprinkled by the priests with holy water," he assures us "God heard united prayer," alluding to the prayers of the va-

rious Protestant missionaries in Constantinople for the success of the Turkish allies, "nerved the arm of the weary, and gave victory to the few. ° ° All is not gloom in our religious horizon. Not only is the *cause righteous*, but it is borne upon the hands and hearts of many prayerful people, and *much seriousness prevails* in the army and navy, both English and French. *Never were Bibles, New Testaments and Tracts, better received than by these sturdy men.* The great fast day in England, observed last year, and the great communion day before the British army left Varna, were omens for good, and *never did an army go out followed by more or more ardent prayer*, than the one to these parts. Among them are some men of true faith and prayer. *Before starting on the expedition from here, many young officers were received by confirmation into the Episcopal church*, and although but few of them may have been men born again, still they *did seek God and acknowledge Christ*; and if any of them lie buried at Alma, or Balaklava, or Inkerman, or Sebastopol, *Christian charity is permitted to hope for their souls.*"

These few extracts pretty fairly represent the views then entertained not only by Protestant missionaries in Turkey, but by nearly all Protestant Christendom, respecting a war *now* admitted even by its own partisans to have been one of the most inexcusable, useless and disastrous on record; a war that in two years wasted more property and sacrificed more lives, than the church of Christ has spent during the last five centuries in evangelizing the heathen world! Successful as modern missions have been, we doubt whether they all, put together, have prepared as many souls for heaven as this single war of the Crimea was the means of destroying; and yet here is an intelligent, devoted missionary, one of the best now in the field, lending himself, in well-nigh infantile simplicity and sincerity, to laud this very war as God's crusade for the salvation of Turkey!

How soon and fast is this strange delusion passing away in fire and blood. What is likely to be the result of a war that was to protect Christians in their rights, and permanently open all Turkey to a free and steadily triumphant gospel? Let the scenes of Zaleh, Damascus, and other parts of Syria answer. Strange that the friends and managers of the missionary enterprize should ever, after the teachings of Christ, and the experience of the first propagators of his gospel, look to the sword as a pioneer, an ally, or even a reliable protector of their sacred cause.

HOPE FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

For six or eight years past there has clearly been in Christendom an increased proclivity to war. Ever since the breaking out of the Russian war-fever in 1853, there has come over the nations of Europe a change for the worse, a stronger tendency among them to mutual suspicion, distrust, and enmity. Instead of the spirit of benignity and love which Christianity enjoins and cherishes, there has gradually risen more and more a hard, coarse, semi-brutal sentiment that seeks vent in bluster, menace and terror, as the only means of security for one nation against another. This state of things would seem to be a singular instance of moral retribution for the great crime of Europe in the Crimean war, whose *professed* object was to give its nations security in future. The power of the Czar once paralyzed, the civilized world, it was supposed, might thenceforth betake itself without fear, to cultivating the arts of peace. How strangely has the result belied such a promise! A vague dismay or distrust has ever since overshadowed the nations of Europe, till their state answers to Job's description of a wicked man; "He travaileth with pain; a dreadful sound is in his ears; trouble and anguish make him afraid."

But, despite this temporary unhingement of the public mind, we see no reason to "abate a jot of heart or hope" in the great work of Peace. It is perfectly obvious even to the eye of human reason, when its vision is purged from prejudice and passion, that despite a temporary arrest, and even what may appear a temporary retrogression, all the most powerful and permanent tendencies of the times are setting in strongly in favor of the objects which this cause seeks to accomplish. Strong as are the interests concerned in promoting a policy of distrust and disunion among the nations, there are agents still mightier than they, working in an opposite direction. Commerce is every year weaving the civilized world into a closer texture of unity. Improved means of communication, leading to more frequent opportunities of intercourse, are helping more and more to counteract the folly or the wickedness of those who seek to poison the ears and the hearts of neighbor nations against each other. Mournful as is the perverseness with which men are trying to prostitute the best gifts of God, the most beneficent inventions of science and art, to purposes of human destruction, we shall nevertheless err, as Lord Elgin lately remarked, "if, in our impatience and precipitancy, we lose confidence in the true principles of social and economical science, or blind ourselves to the manifest tendency — a tendency constantly operating, though subject to occasional checks and hindrances — the manifest tendency of such discoveries as those to which Adam Smith, and Black, and Watt contributed, to promote happiness and good will among men."

It is true, also, that the high-priests of letters and religion, who ought to be the jealous guardians of that moral influence which is the antagonist, and is destined ultimately to become the vanquisher, of brute force, often miserably betray their trust. Yet we believe that, in spite of them, the human reason and the human conscience, as they become more enlightened, will more and more revolt against the brutal follies of war. The very extravagance of the military *furor* is self-destructive. The advocates of unlimited warlike preparations, by the excessive vehemence with which they push their advantage, are rapidly working out the *reductio ad absurdum* of their own system. Above all, we cherish the belief, that, notwithstanding some most disheartening indications to the contrary, the spirit of Christianity — a spirit of love, of forbearance, of yearning pity, of infinite tenderness towards our brother man — is gradually, if but slowly, becom-

ing absorbed into the heart of society, and that before its power the War-Demon will have to retreat further and further from the abodes of civilized humanity, and be driven to seek refuge among the wild beasts of the wilderness.

In almost every point of view we may hope. "Even in contemplating this world's affairs," says the author of 'Friends in Council,' "I think we have every ground for hopefulness. I believe that a feeling of pity is rising slowly in the heart of man as the dew upon Mount Hermon, to which the Psalmist likens the happy state of those brethren who dwell together in unity,—a pity compared with which all that mankind has yet known of pity, will seem hardness of heart; that will take the deepest heed of all the difficulties which the more obscure part of the human race has hitherto had to encounter; that will permeate society from the highest to the lowest; that will never rest until it finds some cure for whatever can be cured in human affairs; that will bury in oblivion what should be buried in oblivion; that will try to render all occupations tolerable, and to some extent beautiful; and that will make universal brotherhood something more than a name. To expect that great results of this kind will come without signal and most alarming interruptions, and without most perplexing drawbacks, would be Utopian. A tidal movement of the kind I mean, is not easily to be perceived in one generation; but still I think some intimations of its commencement are perceptible in ours." — *Herald of Peace abridged.*

LORD BROUGHAM ON PEACE.

DUTIES AND DELINQUENCIES OF PUBLIC TEACHERS ON THE SUBJECT OF WAR.

"Eloquence," says Lord Brougham in his recent inaugural address as Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh, "can in these times be worthily employed only in furthering objects little known to, and, if dimly perceived, little cared for, by the masters of the art in ancient days—the rights of the people, the improvement of their condition, their advancement in knowledge and refinement, above all, in maintaining the cause, the sacred cause, of Peace at home and abroad.

Suffer me to dwell somewhat upon the intimate connection of this last-mentioned important subject with the education of youth, the formation of their opinions, the cherishing of right feelings, upon the merit of those whose history is taught, or who are known as contemporaries, at least as having flourished in times near our own. Historians and political reasoners, the instructors of the people, have ill-discharged their duty in this most important respect. Partaking largely in the illusions of the vulgar which they were bound to dispel, dazzled by the spectacle of great abilities, and still more of their successful exertion, they have held up to admiration the worst enemies of mankind, the usurpers who destroyed their liberties, the conquerors who shed their blood—men who, in the pursuit of power or of fame, made no account of the greatest sufferings they could inflict on their fellow-creatures. The worst cruelty, the vilest falsehood, has not prevented the teachers of the world from bestowing the name of great upon those scourges, as if themselves belonged either to the class of ambitious warriors and intriguing statesmen, or to the herd of ordinary men whom successful crimes defrauded at once of their rights and their praises; and to this must be ascribed by far the greater part of the encouragement held

out to unprincipled, profligate conduct in those who have the destinies of nations in their hands.

It is not, however, by merely abstaining from indiscriminate praise, and by dwelling with disproportionate earnestness upon the great qualities, and passing over the bad ones of eminent men, and thus leaving a false general impression of them, that historians err and pervert the feelings and opinions of mankind. Even if they were to give a careful estimate of each character, and pronounce just judgment upon the whole, they would still leave by far the most important part of their duty unperformed, unless they also framed their narratives so as to excite an interest in the worthies of past times; to make us dwell with delight on the scenes of human improvement; to lessen the pleasure too naturally felt in contemplating successful courage or skill, whensoever these are directed to the injury of mankind; to call forth our scorn of perfidious designs, however successful; our detestation of cruel and blood-thirsty propensities, however powerful the talents by which their indulgence was secured. Instead of holding up to our admiration the 'pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war,' it is the historian's duty to make us regard with unceasing delight the ease, worth, and happiness of blessed peace. He must remember that,

'Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war's;'

and to celebrate these triumphs, the progress of science and of art, the extension and security of freedom, the improvement of national institutions, the diffusion of general prosperity, exhausting on such pure and wholesome themes all the resources of his philosophy, all the graces of his style, giving honor to whom honor is due, withholding all incentives to misplaced interest and vicious admiration, and not merely by general remarks on men and events, but by the manner of describing the one and recording the other, causing us to entertain the proper sentiments, whether of respect or interest, of aversion or indifference, for the various subjects of the narrative.

Consider for a moment what the perpetrators of the greatest crimes that afflict humanity, propose to themselves as their reward for over-running other countries and oppressing their own. It is the enjoyment of power, or of fame, or of both.

'He can requite thee, for he knows the charms
That cull fame in such martial acts as these,
And he can spread thy name on lands and seas,
Whatever clime the sun's broad circle warms.'

Unquestionably the renown of their deeds, their names being illustrious in their own day, and living after them in future ages, is, if not the uppermost thought, yet one that fills a large place in their minds. Surely if they were well assured that every writer of genius, or even of such merit as secured his pages from oblivion, and every teacher of youth, would honestly hold up to hatred and contempt acts of injustice, cruelty, treachery, whatever talents they might display, whatever success they might achieve, and that the opinions and the feelings of the world would join in thus detesting and thus scorning, it is not romantic to indulge a hope that some practical discouragement might be given to the worst enemies of our species.

That in this, as in everything else, there is action and reaction cannot be doubted. The existence of the popular feeling in its strength beguiles the historian, and instead of endeavoring to reclaim, he panders to it. Sounder and better sentiments might gradually be diffused, and the bulk of mankind be weaned from this fatal error, of which the heavy price is paid by

themselves in the end. But one consideration, oftentimes referred to, is never to be admitted as an extenuation, much less a defence, of unjust hostilities—the propensity of man to war, called the incurable propensity by those who make no attempt to apply a remedy. This is the very worst and most vulgar form of necessity, denying man's free-will, and impiously making Heaven the author of our guilt. But the absurdity is equal to the wickedness of the pretext. The self-same topic might be used in excuse or in palliation of the ordinary crimes of pillage and murder.

Surely a most sacred duty is imposed upon the teachers of mankind, whether historians who record, or reasoners who comment upon events, to exert all their powers for weaning them from this fatal delusion; to mark as their worst enemies those who would cherish the feelings of mutual aversion or jealousy between nations connected by near neighborhood, which makes hostility most pernicious, and friendly intercourse most beneficial; and, above all, unceasingly to impress upon their minds the contrast between the empty renown of war, with its unspeakable horrors, and the solid glory of peace, as real as its blessings are substantial. It is said that the present ruler of France returned from his successful campaign impressed with a deep sense of its horrors, and that his wise devotion to the peaceful improvement of the country has been stimulated by the recollection of the scenes he had witnessed. Let us hope and trust that no vile flatterer will ever succeed in tempting him to abandon this course and that he will join all virtuous and rational men in discountenancing the feelings which, under his predecessor, were productive of such misery to France and to the world—feelings which imposed and still impose upon all neighboring nations the heavy cost of unceasing watchfulness and preparation.

WRONG PUBLIC OPINION ON WAR:

HOW FAR CHRISTIAN MINISTERS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR IT.

There is a joint, though not equal, responsibility for the wrong views prevalent in the community; but there is a great deal of truth and force in the following extracts from the London Herald of Peace:—

“It is our sorrowful conviction that, to some considerable extent, *the ministers of religion* are responsible for that fearful demoralization of the public sentiment, of which the late prize-fight demonstration is only the last and most salient symptom. For the last seven years they have, as a body, thrown their whole influence into the scale in favor of ideas tending to ‘wars and fightings,’ and the glorification of brute force. There is a class among them, headed by Mr. Kingsley, who have set themselves formally to excite admiration for what they call ‘Muscular Christianity,’ which manifests itself, among other ways, in a prompt, skilful use of the fist. They exaggerate the value and importance of animal courage, and affect a most extraordinary anxiety to impress upon men the necessity of caring for and cultivating their bodies. Not merely as the body is the abode and the organ of ‘the great inhabitant’ which claims kindred with God, but for its own sake, as if muscle were really greater than mind or morals, or as if too little regard for the animal part of our nature were the besetting sin of the generality of mankind.

Another method tending to the same object, is to revive the memory of, and invoke the most fulsome hero-worship for, men in past times, who

were nothing but sheer embodiments of brute force. They are for ever talking in a most exalted strain of the Norse Vikings and Sea-kings; a class of men who, so far as their lineaments can be discerned through the mythical gloom in which they are enveloped, stand forth as mere pirates and freebooters, whose sole delight was in battle and blood, and who passed through the world slaughtering and plundering, without paying the smallest heed to the claims of justice and humanity, or any other rule but that of

‘ the good old plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.’

Next in their estimation and admiration to these old giants, are the men of similar tastes and pursuits in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who with almost as much license swept the seas, intent mainly on two things, namely, clutching gold and killing Spaniards. Strange that Christian ministers, who profess to accept as the highest model of humanity the life and character of Him who went about doing good; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; who, when he suffered, threatened not; should deem it their duty to hold up before the young, as ideals of heroic manhood, men who spent the greater part of their lives, intent upon schemes of plunder and revenge!

The above remarks may apply only to a small class of the *younger* men in the ministry; but we fear it is undeniable that the great majority, of class and age, have of late years done little to restrain, but much to promote, admiration of military exploits and military glory. No one who reads the New Testament with an observant and unprejudiced mind, can fail to perceive the extreme prominence given to the duty of cultivating those dispositions—such as love, meekness, gentleness, patience, long-suffering, forgiveness of injuries,—which are utterly opposed to war. But does the inculcation of these virtues occupy as prominent a place in the ministrations of the modern pulpit, as they did in the instructions of our Saviour and his apostles? We venture to say that, in nine cases out of ten, *when the question of peace and war has been discussed in our pulpits, within the last ten years, it has been for the purpose, not of denouncing, but of defending war*, and that often by a grievous perversion of the plain meaning of the Master's language.

But even this is not the worst. It is a melancholy fact, but it is a fact, and it will answer no good purpose to wink at it, that whenever bloodshed has been carried on or contemplated, whether in Russia, in India, or in China, among the foremost to vindicate those proceedings have been the sworn servants of the Prince of Peace. And when the movement for the formation of Rifle Corps was set on foot,—a movement adapted to diffuse through society sentiments and habits eminently unfriendly to the Christian life,—the clergy, on the platform and in the pulpit, have put themselves forward as its most conspicuous and not most temperate champions.

Thus on all hands do we find the very men who, by character and office *should* be the special guardians of the spirit and morality of the gospel, strenuously, though it may be unconsciously, aiding to substitute for the worship of Love, incarnate in the life of Christ, and confidence in spiritual power which He taught us to exercise, that admiration for military prowess, and that reliance on physical force which the ancient Paganism consecrated. We cannot altogether acquit Mr. Noel himself,—whose published letter on prize-fighting had just been highly commended—“deeply as we honor his character, of some complicity in this error. No man

more openly helped to render the Russian War acceptable and popular. No man indulged in language of more rapturous enthusiasm over the bloodiest exploits of that war. And does Mr. Noel really believe that a people like the English, in whom the combative impulses are usually strong, and who are very imperfectly educated, and still more imperfectly Christianised, can be made familiar for years with tales of blood and vengeance, over which they find their spiritual teachers gloating with exultation, without having their moral nature debased and imbruted, and thus be prepared for eagerly welcoming such spectacles of degradation and brutality as those which he now bewails?"

PEACE OPERATIONS IN ENGLAND.

Peace is the great question all over Europe, touching society at every point, and absorbing or subordinating every other issue. It is there very like the slave question in our own country. It obtrudes itself at every turn upon the public attention, and, like Banquo's ghost, refuses to down at any man's bidding. With an issue of such omnipresent and overmastering interest, it is not difficult in England to gain the public ear; and a few extracts from the late proceedings of the London Peace Society will show with what courage, good sense, and earnest, determined zeal, our co-workers there grapple the hydra:—

1. SUICIDAL FOLLY OF THE WAR-POLICY PURSUED TOWARDS CHINA.—Sanguine were the expectations entertained as to the advantages to the interests of both commerce and Christianity, from the concessions wrung from the Chinese authorities at the mouth of the British cannon. We were told exultingly that this was the right way of dealing with the barbarians; that the way had now been open for our trade and our *religion* by the only means by which that could effectually be done—by terror and coercion. Thoroughly imbued with this spirit, the British envoy, who had been appointed to exchange the ratifications of the treaty of Tientsin, entered upon the mission. And what has been the result? The fair hopes so confidently cherished, have been once more suddenly quenched in blood. Commerce, instead of being promoted, is seriously perplexed and paralyzed. The cause of Christianity, instead of being helped, has been grievously hindered; and 'for the next eighteen months,' says the Bishop of Victoria, writing from Hong Kong, '*I regard missionary operations as practically closed, except in the immediate vicinity of the five consular ports.*'

If ever man bore emphatically the character of an ambassador of peace, whose duty it was to efface irritating memories, and by all kindness and conciliation strive to establish confidence and friendship between two great empires, such was the character sustained by the British minister, when he went forth to China as his Sovereign's representative; but, acting most unhappily on the maxim, so much honored by certain parties at home, that threatenings and terror are the only arguments which semi-civilized nations can understand, he presented himself at once to the Chinese Government in the attitude of suspicion and menace which such sentiments could not fail to inspire. He peremptorily refused to hold intercourse with the high dignitaries of the empire who had negotiated the treaty, and who, by Lord Elgin's express desire, had remained for months

at Shanghai for further conference with our representative; presented himself at the mouth of the Peiho, with actually a larger force to exchange ratifications of peace, than had been employed to carry on the preceding war; insisted upon forcing his way by a particular route to Peking, and recommenced the war by an attack upon the Chinese defences, at the very moment when he had received a communication from a high officer of state, that he had just arrived with instructions from the Emperor to welcome Mr. Bruce to China, and to conduct him with all honor to the capitol. That the Chinese had no other than fair and friendly intentions, had they been treated with ordinary temper and courtesy, is proved by the reception they accorded to the American embassy immediately after the bloody disaster into which our envoy had blundered. 'It is but simple justice to the Chinese authorities,' said the President in his annual message to Congress, 'to observe that throughout the whole transaction they appear to have acted in good faith, and in a friendly spirit towards the United States, and the conduct of our minister on the occasion has received my entire approbation.'

The Committee, fully convinced of the folly and injustice of the course pursued by the British envoy, and knowing well the flagrant and unexpiated wrongs we had already inflicted upon China, felt it their duty to protest against further persistence in a policy which appeared to them pregnant at once with guilt and with danger. By their instructions, therefore, the Secretary prepared and published a pamphlet, containing a full statement of the case, drawn from the official documents; a copy of which was forwarded to every member of both Houses of Parliament, and to many of the principal newspapers throughout the country. A large number of lectures also were delivered on this subject, by their agents, in many of our towns and cities. And, finally, a deputation waited upon Lord John Russell, to present a memorial from the Committee in which they respectfully represented to his lordship, not only the utter injustice of the conflict impending in China, but the extreme peril to which we were exposed, by a further prosecution of hostilities, of becoming entangled in an inextricable web of complications and responsibilities as regards that vast empire; while at the same time they protested against the unconstitutional principle involved in the act of an official who had presumed to usurp the highest prerogative of the supreme government, and to commit this country to a war of indefinite extent and duration without the authority of the Crown and without the consent of Parliament.

2. THE MISTAKE OF THE FRIENDS OF MISSIONS IN RELYING ON THE SWORD.—We have observed, with great sorrow and pain, a disposition on the part of some of the friends of missions in this country not merely to justify, but to encourage, and even invoke, acts of violence and blood on the part of the government toward the Chinese and other races, on the mistaken, and surely we may add the utterly unchristian, ground that war is to open the way for the gospel; as if cruelty, carnage, and lust, could be fitting pioneers for a religion of peace and mercy and brotherly love. Cordially honoring the work in which those great associations are engaged, and even respecting the motive by which their zealous advocates are led astray in this particular instance, we cannot but deeply regret to find open countenance given from such a quarter to the principle of doing evil that good may come. We have ventured, therefore, to address to the directors and other friends of bible and missionary societies, a letter containing a respectful but earnest protest against a doctrine which it appears to us is immoral in itself, and cannot fail, we believe, to exert an injurious influence on the mind and character of those excellent men themselves, who are engaged in the noble enterprise of christianising the

heathen world. But we have seen with the greatest pleasure, that at the late meeting of the London Missionary Society, the directors, in alluding to China, declare their conviction, 'that true patriotism, no less than Christian principle, must inspire the hope and dictate the prayer that the honor of our country, in relation to the Chinese government, may be secured by wisdom and firmness, forbearance and moderation, rather than by martial force and the spirit of revenge; and that the future relations of China and Great Britain may be those of mutual truthfulness, equity and friendship.

3. GLIMPSE AT THE LATE ITALIAN WAR. — Though the actual fighting lasted barely three months, yet if we take into account, in addition to the numbers acknowledged to have been slain in the horrible human shambles at Montebello, Palestro, Magenta, and Solferino, those who died of the diseases which the war engendered, and those who afterwards perished in lingering agony from their wounds, we cannot estimate the loss of life at less than one hundred thousand men; while the cost in money to all Europe occasioned by the war would be very moderately computed at one hundred millions sterling. How far the changes produced by the war may conduce to the lasting happiness of Italy itself, it is far too early at present to judge. But it is already obvious enough that the reconstruction of Italian nationality by foreign arms, so far from having contributed, as we were taught to expect, to the general pacification of Europe, has served only to diffuse a wide-spread and feverish apprehension throughout all nations. For this curse attends upon all wars, that the after-symptoms are generally worse than the disease itself. Like a poisoned arrow, the actual wound it inflicts, deep and poignant though that may be, is a small evil compared with the venom it lodges in the blood, which spreads inflammation through the whole system, and continually threatens to break forth into new and more malignant ulcers, than those which have been superficially healed by the hand of diplomacy.

4. SOME INCIDENTAL EVILS FROM THE ITALIAN WAR. — One of these evils was the occasion and the pretext it afforded for another of those periodical panics by which this country is now regularly visited at intervals of two or three years. This gave, as it no doubt was intended to give, a new impulse to the volunteer movement, which might otherwise have been in danger of languishing. The newspapers were filled with reports of meetings held to form rifle and artillery corps, in which not only military officers and members of parliament, but ministers of religion, freely indulged in the most offensive and irritating imputations against our neighbors, with a view to inflame the passions of the people to the fitting point of military ardor. And this summons of peaceful citizens to arms was taking place at the very time when we were expending from twenty-six to thirty millions a year upon our naval military defences, which, if such things could afford security to a nation, ought surely to have made us secure. This rage of soldiership is calculated to work immense mischief to the country, not only by diffusing through society tempers and tastes utterly at variance with the spirit of Christianity, but by fomenting between neighboring nations those feelings of suspicion and ill-will which it is surely our wisdom and duty to strive to allay instead of exasperating; by withdrawing our young men from those pursuits of self-improvement and benevolent activity in which many of them have become engaged, into a course of life which, to say the least, is of the most doubtful tendency in its influence on their habits both of industry and of morals; and by training one class of our countrymen to the use of arms, which may hereafter tell with most perilous results in times of social and political excitement,

such as have often passed over this country within comparatively few years, and may easily and soon recur, and when these amateur soldiers, habituated to the employment of deadly weapons, but under imperfect military discipline and restraint, are likely again, as we know they have done before, to turn against their humbler fellow-citizens those arms which they profess to take up for their defence; and thus introduce into England those violent and sanguinary political conflicts from which, as compared with other nations, we have been hitherto happily exempt, and exempt, as one principal reason, *because* our people have not been trained to military habits and the use of arms.

5. PREPARATIONS FOR WAR. — It is obvious that what jeopardises the peace of Europe more than any other cause — more than all other causes combined — is that system of rivalry in armaments with which the great governments menace each other, amid perpetual professions of amity and friendship. This system is now acquiring proportions so enormous, and developing itself with such appalling rapidity, as to fill the minds of all thoughtful men with dismay. In our own country especially this demand for increased forces has become a perfect disease. Within fifteen years we have doubled our military expenditure, and, if the principle on which we and other nations have been acting is the right one, we must inevitably go on at the same rate, doubling our expenditure for every fifteen years to come. This prodigious growth in the cost of our warlike establishment far outstrips the growth of the national wealth, unexampled as that is in the history of the world. 'Between the years 1853 and 1859,' said the Chancellor of the Exchequer in introducing his budget, 'while the national wealth grew at the rate of 16½ per cent., the national expenditure has grown at the rate of 58 per cent.'

And what is specially deserving of notice is this, that in the midst of this extravagant outlay for armed defences, so far from enjoying the sense of security, for the sake of which we are told we must submit to these sacrifices, that just in proportion as our establishments are enlarged, do our panics seem to increase in frequency and intensity. The best proof of this is the fact, that at this very moment, when we are expending thirty millions a year for national insurance, as it is called, and while we are boasting of 100,000 volunteers, the press is teeming with pamphlets from military and other authorities, declaring that the country is absolutely defenceless, and proposing further measures, which, if carried out, would involve an expenditure in comparison with which our present estimates would be a mere trifle.

By their lectures and publications, therefore, the committee have labored to expose the ruinous folly of this system, and to incite the nation to demand that the government should enter into negotiations with the other governments of Europe, and especially of France, with a view to a mutual and simultaneous reduction of those armaments which are weighing down the people so oppressively, and keeping the whole civilized world in a state of constant irritation and disquietude. It appears to them that a most favorable opportunity is now opened for some such measure as between us and our nearest neighbors. The Treaty of Commerce recently concluded by the exertions of Mr. Cobden will beyond all question immensely multiply and extend the commercial transactions of the two countries, and thereby, to use the language of Lord John Russell, 'tend to lay broad and deep foundations in common interest, and in friendly intercourse, for the confirmation of the amicable relations that so happily exist between the two countries, and thus make a provision for the future which will progressively become more and more solid and efficacious.'

"Such being the case, why should not an attempt be made to come to some common accord for arresting that insane rivalry in arms which only shows year by year 'increase of appetite by what it feeds on.' 'Let us,' to employ the emphatic language which Mr. D'Isreali uttered in the House of Commons last July, 'let us terminate this disastrous system of wild expenditure, by mutually agreeing, with no hypocrisy, but in a manner and under circumstances which admit of no doubt,—by the reduction of armaments,—that peace is really our policy; and then the right hon. gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, may look forward with no apprehension to his next budget, and England may witness the termination of the income tax.'

COST OF WAR PREPARATIONS IN EUROPE.

It is impossible to ascertain this with accuracy, because some governments publish no financial statement, and others only such as would seem intended on purpose to confuse and baffle inquiry. We subjoin, chiefly from the *London Herald of Peace*, as near an approximation of the truth as possible. It is drawn mainly from the *Almanach de Gotha* for 1860, which professes to give the latest budget of each country that has been made public; but it has nothing later to present to us in regard to *Russia* than the account of 1852. We think the marvel to most readers will be, how it is possible that the charges are not much *larger* in regard to some of the countries enumerated, considering the immensity of the forces they maintain. The estimates are very moderate.

Austria	£10,689,002
Bavaria	756,325
Belgium	1,282,775
Bremen	104,915
Denmark	1,382,982
France	18,558,475
Frankfort	41,105
Great Britain	30,000,000
Hanover	404,077
Hesse, Electoral	172,443
Ionian Isles	25,000
Holland	1,611,719
Rome	401,177
Portugal	893,996
Prussia	5,108,372
Russia	15,419,400
Sardinia	1,491,545
Saxe-Royal	256,570
Spain	4,661,236
Sweden and Norway	994,040
Switzerland	86,440
Tuskany	260,072
Turkey	3,140,660
Total....	£97,742,326

Several states of considerable importance are altogether omitted from the above list, such as Naples, Greece, &c., together with most of the smaller German and Italian states, though all these possess armies. We may very safely assume, that the combined military expenditure of all the states absent from this list, cannot be less than £2,258,684, which is all that is required to make up the total annual cost of European armaments to £100,000,000. An immense aggregate, yet clearly much below the truth, as it allows to each of the supposed four million standing warriors in Europe, only twenty-five pounds sterling; a sum that cannot possibly cover all the expenses of pay, food, clothing, equipment, ammunition, fortification, and the nameless other expenditures incident to the military preparations. We lately saw an estimate, that every soldier in the service of the United States government, cost no less than \$800 a year, eight times as much as the above calculation for Europe.

All this, however, represents only the direct cost which the people of Europe have to pay for the support of war establishments. It by no means represents *all* the loss which society sustains from these immense armaments. To get at this, we must take into account the value of the labor of the 4,000,000 able-bodied men withdrawn from all the occupations of productive industry. For the soldier produces nothing, but helps to consume the productions of other men. A very simple illustration will bring this matter home to the plainest understanding. Let us suppose a family, consisting of father, mother and four or five children, all of whom, being of age to work, bring the wages of their labor into the common domestic stock. But one of the sons is disabled by sickness, or becomes insane; and, to make the analogy closer, let us imagine his insanity to take the form of a violent fear of murder and robbery, which leads him to buy muskets and pistols, and to consume a great quantity of gunpowder in order to frighten away the thieves. It is clear that the family, to whom this unfortunate man belongs, is poorer, not merely by the amount it costs to support him, and to pay for his monomaniac extravagance in fire-arms and gun-powder, but by the amount of wages he was accustomed to earn, but which are now lost to the family.

So it is in the larger family of nations. If four millions of men, in the prime and vigor of life, are taken away from all industrial occupations to handle arms, this cannot be done without inflicting an immense loss on the rest of the community. It would be impossible to estimate the average value of these men's labor at less than £16 a year each. This, multiplied by 4,000,000 would give a total of £60,000,000, which, added to the direct cost of armaments already stated, amounts to the enormous sum of £160,000,000, which the nations of Europe have to pay annually for the gratification of threatening and defying each other, and being ready at the moment to fight each other when it suits their governments to fall out.

But we must remember that this burden, prodigious as it is, is not all that the war-system imposes upon the people. It may be confidently said, that, but for wars and military establishments, there would not have been at this day a single penny of debt owing by any nation in Europe; for though, in a few very rare instances, some portions of the loans by which the existing debts have been created, may have been applied to other than direct military objects, yet it was simply because the ordinary resources of State had been already absorbed in this bottomless abyss of expense, that it became necessary to borrow for other purposes. All this mighty incumbrance resting on the heart of nations, may be most fairly put at the door of the war-system.

How much does all this amount to? As nearly as we have been able to ascertain, it is as follows:—

Great Britain	£868,000,000
France	376,956,650
Austria	239,154,117
Russia	125,857,409
Spain	153,245,394
Holland	90,528,652
Prussia	40,000,000
Sardinia	27,080,809
Belgium	26,145,214
Naples	20,210,945
Portugal	19,122,800
Roman States	17,152,000
Bavaria	14,117,000
Denmark	13,541,666
Greece	8,250,000
Baden	7,000,000
Saxony	6,417,228
Hanover	5,705,011
Turkey	5,000,000
Wurtemberg	4,035,309
Hamburg	3,988,036
Brunswick	966,652
Saxe-Weimar	881,000
Nassau	850,000
Parma	592,000
Saxe-Meiningen	546,269
Frankfort	494,583
Sweden	450,000
Saxe-Altenburg	354,724
Saxe-Coburg Gotha	289,657
Oldenburg	240,000
Switzerland	160,000

£2,077,326,125

Now, these war-debts of Europe, amounting to more than TWO THOUSAND MILLIONS STERLING, entail an annual charge, in interest and cost of management, of *at least* £80,000,000. If we add this to the sum already computed for military establishments, and loss of labor, it will give a total of £240,000,000, as the oblation which European nations have to offer *every year* on the altar of Moloch.

We have no heart to push these startling facts into the multitude of applications of which they are capable. TWELVE HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS wasted every year by Europe alone for war-purposes in a time of peace! The sum well-nigh baffles conception. Between three and four millions a day; more *every day* than the whole Christian church are *now* giving in a year to evangelize the heathen world!

THE RECRUITING SERVICE.—It seems almost incredible, yet is none the less a fact, that of twenty thousand persons who applied for enlistment in the U. S. army, only eighteen hundred were physically qualified for admission! Nine tenths *physically* unfit for the service! Not more than one in nine of the applicants is accepted! This shows with what care war picks out its tools for the work of blood.

RESULT OF THE CRIMEAN WAR ON TURKEY.

"The preservation of the Turkish empire," says the London Herald of Peace, "cost England £100,000,00, and 50,000 human lives, besides the fearful demoralization of the public sentiment, so apparent in every direction, from which we shall not recover for half a century. It led, also, to most of those European complications which have kept us in a state of perpetual disquietude ever since. And with what result? With the result of consigning the Christians in this Turkish Empire to massacre and confiscation, and propping up, by artificial means, an execrable despotism which is rotten to the core."

But let us hear the *Times* on this question:—"No one who has watched the condition of the Turkish Empire during the last four years, can have doubted that the time must shortly come when its affairs would once more engage the attention of Europe. All that the last war effected, was to preserve the actual territory of the Sultan from the grasp of Russia; it changed nothing, re-established nothing, made no reconciliations between rival creeds, gave no securities for justice on the part of the rulers, and weakened in no way the animosities of the governed. *War, indeed, seldom confers moral benefits on a community*; but that of 1854 has not even strengthened the material resources of the Ottoman State. The Sultan has gained something by the weakening of his antagonist; Sebastopol has been dismantled, the Black Sea fleet destroyed, and the Russian is bound by treaty to advance no further than the Pruth, and has given up her protectorate over Servia. But, on the other hand, the Mussulmans have lost their fleets; the army, which it took so many years to create, has been sadly diminished; the credit of the State is hardly sufficient for another loan; the ruling race is discouraged, and would undergo anything rather than invite again the assistance of its Western allies; while the Christians, both Catholic and Greek, are more than ever emboldened to throw off the authority of their masters.

'The Hatti Humayoun, which was published by the Sultan soon after the close of the late war, has remained almost a dead letter. The Sultan's intentions, if he can be said to have any, may have been good; but he can act only where his authority is regarded, which in matters of this kind, is hardly beyond the gates of Constantinople or Smyrna. Within the capital, and one or two trading cities, justice may be effectually administered; but even there this result is due less to the commands of the Sultan, than to the presence of foreign Ambassadors and consuls. In the rural districts things go on as before. It would be as useful to forbid the hawks to prey on the sparrows as to command the Mussulman population to abstain from ill-using and occasionally plundering some classes of the Christians. Although the latter as a body, relying on French or Russian protection, take delight in bearing the Turkish authorities, and habitually use the cry of persecution to obtain advantage over their Mussulman neighbors, yet there is a class of Christian peasantry, both in Roumelia and Asia Minor, whom centuries of oppression have reduced to the nature of beasts of burden. Among a people so depressed and disheartened that a full-grown man will run from a Turkish boy who is pelting him with stones, and a whole village will see their houses pulled down over their heads by a fanatical rabble without a thought of resistance, such a document as the Hatti Humayoun is of little use. Laws can be enforced only by the moral feeling of those whom they are meant to control, or the administration of stern justice by the magistrate. Neither of these conditions is to be found in

the Turkish provinces. The Mussulmans look on the Christians as a Carolina planter looks on a negro, and a Turkish Cadi very much resembles the same planter when a case of beating a negro by one of his own friends is brought before him."

Such, or even worse, is likely to be the result of a war which so many honest but misguided Christians hailed six years ago as opening a new and brighter era for Turkey; as the harbinger of full toleration for Christians, and for missionary operations. What a rebuke for our reliance upon the sword in the work of converting the nations to a religion of peace, one of whose first warnings was, "Put up thy sword; for they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword."

THE LAUGH AT ENGLAND'S PANIC.—We are glad to see the general ridicule thrown upon the solemn and pompous parade of England to prepare for self-defence. It looks to "outside barbarians" very like a national phrensy bordering on idiocy, and quite unworthy of the strong, manly character she has heretofore shown.

"The London Journals, particularly the Times and the Morning Post, have made themselves ridiculous by their jubilant exultation and grandiloquence in regard to the late review of 20,000 volunteers in Hyde Park. The French papers are astonished at such fuss and parade over what to them would be but a common, every day spectacle, and do not understand why the London journals indulge in so much self-complacency on the subject, and bid the world stand in awe of the military prowess of the British people. If anything could induce them to undertake the invasion of England, these ridiculous demonstrations and threatenings would lead them quickly to attempt the work. Nor are the newspapers the only ones who have made themselves ridiculous on this review; for the Earl of Shaftesbury, in a late speech alluded to it, and said the Ambassador of France candidly avowed that he never witnessed such a spectacle in his life! The London times would be the first to point out the ridiculous figure we should make in getting up a naval review of half a dozen frigates, talking pompously about it, and bidding England look at our powerful defences; yet such a farce would be quite as sensible as the parade made of this Hyde Park review in its rivalry with the soldiery of France."—*Boston Traveller.*

A SCENE IN THE LIFE OF BURNS — *The Poet weeping over the domestic sufferings of War.* — When quite young, Robert Burns visited, in company with others, the house of the philosopher Dr. Adam Ferguson, Scotland. In the midst of the conversation, Burns turned away to examine a painting that hung on the wall, representing a dead soldier on the ground, with his wife and child lamenting over him, and these lines of Langhorne inscribed below, on reading which the young poet wept:

"Cold on Canadian hills, or Minden's plain,
Perhaps that parent wept for soldier slain;
Bent o'er her babe, her eye dissolved in dew,
The big drops mingling with the milk he drew;
Sad, mournful presage of his future years,
The child of misery baptized in tears."

MELIORATIONS OF WAR.

"The barbarities committed by the Druses in Syria help us to realize the cruelty of ancient warfare. Among civilized nations war has become a science, and is regulated by a recognized code, and by public opinion; but ancient warfare was often as cruel and barbarous as the civil war in Mount Lebanon. Striking illustrations of this are furnished upon the monuments of antiquity where battle scenes are recorded or described. In the Behistun Inscription, (found upon a high rock at Behistun, on the western frontier of Media,) Darius thus describes his treatment of captives. 'I sent an army by which Phraortes was taken and brought before me. *I cut off both his nose, and his ears, and his tongue,* and I led him away captive. He was kept chained at my door. All the kingdom beheld him. Afterwards I crucified him at Agbatana.' (Similar inscriptions are found elsewhere, in nearly the same words, thus showing the uniformity of these usages.) A sculptured temple in Egypt represents a great heap of human hands as the tribute paid to a king, and also illustrates 1 Sam. xviii. 26."—*Indep.*

Indeed, it is very difficult for us, amid the more human usages of modern warfare, to conceive it as it was practiced in ancient times. The custom even now is bad enough in all conscience; but it has already lost more than half its pristine horrors, and undergone changes much greater than would now suffice to abolish it entirely. Its former atrocities are well nigh incredible. Belligerents employed whatever means would best answer their purposes of conquest, plunder, or revenge. They poisoned not only their weapons, but wells, and butchered men, women and children, without distinction or mercy. They spared none. Prisoners they either massacred in cold blood, or tortured with the most exquisite cruelty; and, when unable to reduce a fortified place, they would sometimes collect before it a multitude of their victims, and, putting them all to the sword, leave their carcases unburied, that the stench might compel the garrison to retire!

Such was ancient warfare. Atrocities like these were practiced even by the most polished nations of antiquity, Greece and Rome. At Rome, prisoners were either sold as slaves, or put to death at pleasure, slavery being a merciful substitute for the latter. Kings and nobles, women and children of high birth, chained to the victor's car, were dragged in triumph through her streets, and then doomed to a cruel death, or left to end their days in hopeless bondage; while others, less distinguished, were compelled as gladiators to butcher one another for the amusement of Roman citizens.

What a contrast is here to modern warfare! Against such practices all Christendom would now cry out, as intolerable outrages; and the present war-system is itself a standing proof of the progress made towards abolishing the whole custom, much more than half the work of its entire abolition already accomplished.

EFFECTS OF WAR ON MISSIONARY OPERATIONS.

"The war," says Rev. W. W. Thompson, one of our missionaries in Syria, "has desolated almost the entire field of our missionary operations. The church at Hasbeiya is burnt, and the Protestant community destroyed in the general destruction of the town and massacre of the Christian population. The Sidon station is suspended. Mr. Ford has removed to this place—Mr. Eddy gone to America. The station of *Deir el Kamar* is dead; the missionary is saved, and has gone to Abich. The station at the Seik is suspended, and Mr. Bliss and the young ladies of the female seminary, have fled to Beirut, and are now here. Mr. Calhoun is to disband the seminary at Abich, and hold himself in readiness to descend at a moment's warning. Brother Wilson has abandoned Hems and come to Tripoli. We shall probably shut up our press to-day, and put our large property there in the best position we can for any coming emergency. Our schools are all dispersed, and we are just holding on to the fragments of our mission to see what the Lord intends to do with us."

Here is an epitome of what war does with *all* efforts to save men, whether in Syria, India, or any part of Christendom itself. The work of their preparation for heaven is not to be carried on in war; and, if this master-device of the devil for the ruin of immortal souls, were to become strictly universal, a chronic state of human society all over the earth, it would ring the knell of of a world's hopes for eternity.

With such facts as these before them, will Christians still neglect the cause of Peace, and undervalue its *indispensable* agency in the great work of reclaiming a lost race to God and heaven? They may, if they choose; but bitter experience will in time teach them their folly; for the laws of providence and of the human mind forbid the hope of a world's salvation, under any influences except such as are found only in a state of peace.

EFFECTS OF WAR ON BUSINESS AND SOCIETY.—"In Beyroot," says a letter to the *London News*, July 15, "the panic amongst the native Christians has been something fearful yesterday and to-day. They are embarking by hundreds in the different merchant steamers to Alexandretta, Alexandria, Corfu, Malta, and even for England. Nearly all the French and English merchants are sending away their families to Europe. All trade is stopped for the present. Syria has had a blow from which she will not recover for sixty years. Men who were yesterday wealthy, are now, owing to these disturbances, and the bad faith shown by the Turkish government, beggars. Six weeks commercial bills used to be paid at maturity, as punctually in Beyroot as in London; now a bill due is a bill protested. Native merchants shut up their magazines and are off.

"In Beyroot the English and Americans have formed a fund to relieve the poor who have fled to this place in thousands. The French have done the same. The Sisters of Charity have relieved hundreds every day with food. The French, English, Russian, Austrian, and Prussian consuls, (to say nothing of the American missionaries, who daily feed 300 people) give bread, cooked meat, rice, clothes, &c., to several hundreds of these poor, starved, burnt-out peasants. All the medical men have attended to their wounds and sickness gratis, and even the crews of her majesty's ships, as well as the French, have contributed their mites. But how gigantic must be this misery, considering that there are 150 Christian villages burnt, and 75,000 Christians without home or bread!"

WAR IN SYRIA.

The troubles in Syria, improperly called war, are so fully reported by the press, secular as well religious, that we find little occasion to fill our own pages with the revolting details, and therefore restrict ourselves to some facts and views not so likely to reach the public through these popular channels.

There is mystery still hanging over this whole affair; but some points seem to be pretty well ascertained, like the following:—

1. It is a local, hereditary feud, partly political, but chiefly religious, between certain tribes or religious sects, contending for the mastery; and in the struggle, the Druses have, by their forecast, skill and daring, triumphed over the party that are called Christians.

2. In the origin of this contest, and in the means contemplated in its prosecution, the parties were *both* wrong. We may *call* one of these parties Christians, if we choose; but they have for the most part evinced hitherto scarce one particle of the gospel in their conduct. Their religion, as illustrated by them, is a libel on the gospel.

3. These *Christians* seem very much to have brought these evils upon themselves. They took the sword, and they have miserably perished by the sword. They did not act *as* Christians in any proper sense of the word, but directly the reverse.

4. While everything in our power ought to be done for their relief, we should take good heed not to concur or sympathize in the utterly anti-Christian spirit, principles and habits which have provoked this terrible vengeance.

5. We see here a specimen of the way in which the Russian war, from which so much was once expected, is likely to recoil more and more upon the progress of a pure gospel in Turkey. It is a bitter lesson, hard and slow to be learned; but we think Christians *must*, sooner or later, learn to rely, in their work of evangelizing the nations, on moral, peaceful means *alone*, and the sooner they learn this, and put it in practice, the better.

We say this the more readily and earnestly from finding that professed Christians, special friends of the missionary movement in Turkey, are calling for *warlike* means to meet the present emergency, and publicly recommending our own government to despatch war-ships to the scene. Is this like Christ and his apostles? Does it sound like the Saviour before Pilate, "*My kingdom is not of this world; if it were, then would my servants fight;*" and not rather like Oliver Cromwell, whispering along the ranks of his Ironsides, on the eve of battle, "*Trust in God, brethren, and keep your powder dry!*" What a burlesque on the gospel, a point blank contradiction of Christ, and yet a saying which many Christians are wont to repeat with a smack akin to that of a dog lapping blood. Nor is this language a whit too severe for the case, as we could, if we had space, show by a superabundance of facts.

COMMENTS ON HARPER'S FERRY AFFAIR.

Our last number, devoted necessarily to our late anniversary, did not allow us to resume this subject till now; and, on looking over the articles sent us, we find that they require only a little explanation to obviate the difficulties suggested. One correspondent, indeed, took the occasion to present, somewhat in detail, views of much importance, that may perhaps appear at some future time; but a very few remarks may suffice to set ourselves right in this particular case before friends so intelligent and able.

1. The right of *peacefully* changing a government seems to be confounded with the claim of overturning it *by violent, illegal means*. The former we deem a clear right, perfectly compatible with the gospel; but for the latter we find not the slightest warrant in the New Testament. "The right of revolution," involving the right of war for the purpose, is a dogma nowhere sanctioned, as we conceive, in the gospel; and it was only against this dogma, and its practical application, that we *incidentally* directed our remarks.

2. It is an entire misconception to suppose that we meant to justify any of the slight, partial rebellions or insurrections, like that of Shay or Dorr, which have occurred here since our Revolution. We deem them all wrong; but we meant to say, and still say, that they rested on the same *principle* with our own great rebellion—the claim of a people to overthrow their government *by violence*. The use of *moral, peaceful* means the gospel does allow, if it does not even require, to shake off an unjust, oppressive government; but it does not sanction violence and bloodshed for the purpose. Here is the only point in dispute between us, if there be any at all; and on this we must adhere to our position, that the gospel teaches us to bear the evils of wrong government until they can be remedied by peaceful means.

3. The analogy between our Revolution and the Shay or any other rebellion, we would not push to extremes, as the latter would of course suffer immensely in the comparison; but we think it clear that they all rest on essentially the same principle,—the claim of men in society to resist *by violence* the government over them. Our forefathers thought themselves wronged, and took redress into their own hands, *by illegal violence*. Did Shay do more? In what *essential* respects do these cases differ? Does the gospel justify either? If such a principle is allowed, where will it end?

We are the more inclined to arrest this *incidental* discussion, because it is confessedly a part of the *government question*, on which the Peace Society, as such, takes no stand, but leaves its members, while arraying themselves against the practice of international war as the great evil they combat, to think each for himself. Our own views are more stringent on this subject than our Society or our cause would strictly require, and we have no wish to press them or obtrude them upon our co-workers. Still on even incidental questions, we would allow a perfectly free play of the pendulum.

RESULT OF OUR QUARREL WITH PARAGUAY.—Our readers will remember what a warlike demonstration we made, some two years ago, against the little Republic of Paraguay, on account of her refusal to satisfy some pecuniary claims of our citizens. A large and imposing fleet of war-steamers was sent out to demand "justice" (!) at the mouth of our cannon; but our minister, like a man of sense, made arrangements for a peaceful, equitable adjustment by commissioners. These commissioners, sitting in Washington under our own eyes, and with the whole current of popular sentiment here setting in our favor, have *unanimously* decided *against* claims that we spent so many millions in hot haste to enforce by steel and powder. The mountain has indeed brought forth a mouse; but we may well be thankful for so harmless a result, and ought to give our government credit for its good sense in so fairly settling at last this paltry dispute. May this piece of bitter experience not be lost upon us in the future.

"It must," says a contemporary, "be exceedingly mortifying to Mr. Buchanan and his cabinet, after having involved the country in the great expense of the expedition to Paraguay, carrying the matter to the verge of war, to receive the decision of their own commissioner, that the claims upon which the demand and the hostile demonstrations upon Paraguay were made, are altogether unfounded. It is now stated that the truth is found to be that the company is in reality largely indebted to Paraguay. If this is so, the United States government is bound in honor to pay, or cause to be paid, any proper demand that may be made, inasmuch as we pushed our supposed claim to the extremity of war. If our citizens, headed by a United States' consul, have committed spoliation on the government of Paraguay, as that government alleges, the United States' government ought to assume the payment of claims made on that account."

RIVALRY IN WAR-PREPARATIONS.—The hinge of competition now between nations is not so much in actual war, as in the amount of preparations which they can respectively make for it. It is a trial of strength, of skill, of wealth, of general resources, of whatever goes to display the comparative ability of nations. England, under a strange, almost inexplicable phrenzy pervading all classes from the peer to the peasant, is on the point of wasting ten million pounds sterling, \$55,000,000, just to put a *portion* of her dock-yards, arsenals and forts in a state of defense; and meanwhile the government is building fifty-eight steam war-vessels, of various kinds, carrying no less than 1,783 guns; and when the ships now on the stocks are completed, the entire British fleet will number 735 vessels, with 17,099 guns, and requiring, with an average of ten men to a gun, 180,000 men to man them. What an outlay for the work of destruction! How vast an amount of money, and of moral and physical power, must it consume! How much more than is now spent by Christians in evangelizing the world!

IMPROVEMENT IN THE ARMY.—"A correspondent of the *Century* at Fort Leavenworth," says the *N. Y. Examiner*, "states that the recruiting service is now very strict, and that men of vicious and intemperate habits, and of diseased constitution, are not permitted to enlist; that at the army posts there are libraries, and in some cases schools for their instruction;

and that wherever circumstances are favorable, they are allowed to cultivate the soil on the frontier, and are trained in the simpler branches of civil and military engineering. We learn, also, from other sources, that at some of the military posts there has been an unusual attention to religious subjects, and that men hitherto hardened, and lost to all hope, have become humble, prayerful Christians."

We are glad to hear such reports, and hope they may prove true. The whole war-system has hitherto been, and for the most part is still, such a tissue of evil, such a sink of iniquity, such a hot-bed of vice and crime, a sort of moral cancer or gangrene on the bosom of society, that we may well rejoice to see it improve, if that be possible, into a handmaid of virtue and religion. We have no faith in the experiment, though glad to see it tried.

POPULATION OF THE GRAVE.—From extensive calculation, it seems the average of human births since Christ to this time, is about thirty-two thousand millions; and, after deducting the present supposed population of the world, (960,000,000), this would leave 31,040,000,000 that have gone down to the grave, giving death and the grave the victory over the living to the number of thirty thousand and eight millions. Of this number in the grave, about 9,000,000,000 have died by wars.

What a picture! 9,000,000,000 of our race snatched away by war, that cruel device to get rid of men in the quickest manner possible! We trample upon the dust of these trillions, and they cry out—Ye living men, work with all your might to set up the kingdom of the Prince of Peace, when there shall be *no more war*. May the all powerful Head of the Universe speedily cause the warrior to sheath his battle-blade; and then not only shall the millions he directly slays, stand up and live, but millions more who indirectly suffer from his agency.

OPPRESSION IN THE ITALIAN STATES.—In a land of free institutions, where the government emanates from the people, is responsible to them, and has no separate interest, we can scarcely conceive of the atrocious tyranny under which Lombardy and Venice have labored, at the hands of the Austrian. The object of the government has been to grind every sou out of the people, which by taxes, forced loans, confiscations, direct robbery and every other means, could be extorted. The land is utterly impoverished. So bare a necessity of life as common salt is made a government monopoly, and held at inconceivable prices. The military requisitions of 1848 and '49 amounted to 100,000,000 livres. In 1854 a forced loan was raised for the government of 200,000,000 livres, for which paper money was issued, which was at 30 per cent. discount on the very day of its utterance, and which the government will not take again for dues, but forces the people to receive it as a legal tender. The taxes on real estate are contrived to *exceed the income from it*, so that the landed proprietor continually becomes poorer, for every 150 livres which the owner of the landed estate received, when the war broke out, his taxes and interest amounted to more than 160 livres. It being discovered that rich men were in the habit of purchasing substitutes for military conscription, the government decreed that a commutation of 4,500 livres should be paid instead, and that this should be levied before the conscription. The consequence is that the money of the rich is secured, and then the entire military contingent is taken from the poorer classes, who cannot pay. Lombardy, by the event of the recent war, is relieved from these indescribable exactions.

HORRORS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN VENEZUELA.—Civil war in its most horrible shape is now prevailing in Venezuela as well as Syria, as the following brief letter in the Journal of Commerce, dated Laguayra, June 20th, will show: "Your readers have no doubt heard many accounts of the civil war in this unfortunate country; but not one-fourth of the distresses and disasters are generally known. The rural districts have most awfully suffered, in the burning of villages and houses, destroying plantations, and the cold blooded murders, rapes and assassinations wantonly perpetrated."

RHODE ISLAND PEACE SOCIETY.—The annual meeting of the Rhode Island Peace Society was held in Franklin Hall, June 26, Rev. G. T. Day, President *pro tem.*, in the Chair, and was opened with prayer by the Chairman.

The annual report of the Treasurer, H. H. Brown, Esq., was read by that officer and accepted. The amount received during the year was \$49 75 from dividends; paid out \$73, balance on hand \$86 87.

The following gentlemen were elected officers for the year ensuing, viz:

President—Rev. Edward B. Hall, D. D.

Vice Presidents—Gilbert Congdon, R. H. Conklin, George T. Day.

Secretary—Stephen S. Wardwell. *Treasurer*—Hugh H. Brown.

Auditor—D. R. Whittemore.

DEATH OF HENRY CUSHING.—Dea. Wardwell offered the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted, after appropriate remarks by Mr. Perry and the mover:—

Whereas, our worthy and respected fellow laborer in the cause of Peace, and 1st Vice President of this Society, Mr. Henry Cushing, departed this life on the 22d inst., therefore,

Resolved, That we highly cherish the memory of so faithful a member and officer of this Society. We gratefully remember his labor in the good cause in which we are engaged, his faithfulness in discharging his duties as an officer of this Society, having served for a period of thirty-two years, twenty-eight of which as one of our Vice Presidents, and his steady and growing attachment to those great principles of the Gospel of Christ, "peace on earth and good will towards men."

Resolved, that we sympathize with his afflicted family, and tender to them our best wishes and prayers that God would sustain them in this their time of affliction.

A committee was, also, appointed to make suitable arrangements for a series of meetings in furtherance of the Society's objects.

NATHANIEL HATHAWAY, Fairhaven Mass.—In the death of this venerable man at the age of nearly 79, the cause of Peace, like almost every other Christian Reform, has lost an intelligent, devoted and steadfast friend. A truer friend of Peace we have never met. Early in life his attention was called to the utter incompatibility of war with the gospel. It became with him not only a practical but a paramount question, a test of Christian character; nor would he give his countenance to any church that contradicted or ignored this test. He looked around him long for a church which he deemed right on this point, outside of the Quakers; and finding none, he abstained through life from making, in the usual form, a profession of his faith in Christ. He felt that he could not join any church without belying some of his most cherished and most important principles as a disciple of Christ. Still he was not censorious, but with singular modesty and meekness bore his testimony against the unchristian views and practices current around him. For many years he was active, with his tongue and his pen, in trying to secure a wider prevalence of what he so fully believed to be the teachings of Christ and his apostles on the subject of Peace.

RECEIPTS.

<i>Lewiston, Me.—</i>		<i>Taunton.—</i> Otis Allen,...	2 00
A. D. Lockwood,.....	\$5 00	Jos. Dean,.....	3 00
John Goss,.....	2 00	Others, \$1 each,.....	3 00 — 8 00
Others,.....	2 50 — \$9 50	<i>Camden, Me.—</i>	
<i>Winthrop, Me.—</i>		A. Buchanan,.....	— 5 00
Wm. Lowell;.....	2 00	<i>Salem.—</i> Lydia H. Chase,	— 2 00
Judge May,.....	2 00	<i>Reading.—</i>	
Eben Shaw,.....	2 00	Thos. Emerson,.....	10 00
Others, smaller sums, ..	9 00 — 15 00	W. H. Willis,.....	1 00 — 11 00
<i>Brunswick, Me.—</i>		Warren.— N. Carpenter,	— 1 00
Prof. Upham,.....	5 00	<i>W. Townsend, Vt.—</i>	
Others, \$1 each:.....	5 00 — 10 00	By Rev. S. S. Arnold,..	— 2 00
<i>Hallowell, Me.—</i>		<i>Abington.—</i> Z. Nash,.....	— 1 00
Simeon Page,.....	2 00	<i>Georgetown.—</i>	
Others, \$1 each,.....	7 00 — 9 00	H. P. Chaplin,.....	2 00
<i>Bath, Me.—</i> John Patten,.....	10 00	G. J. Tenney,.....	2 00
J. B. Swanton,.....	3 00	Others, smaller sums, ..	10 00 — 14 00
W. M. Rogers,.....	2 00	<i>Bradford.—</i>	
G. W. Duncan,.....	5 00	Benj. Greenleaf,.....	10 00
John Shaw,.....	2 00	L. Johnson,.....	2 00
Others, \$1 each,.....	9 00 — 31 00	C. S. Sawyer,.....	2 00
<i>Farmouth, Me.—</i>		Others, \$1 each,.....	3 00 — 17 00
Z. Humphrey,.....	2 00	<i>Haverhill.—</i> J. H. Duncan,	3 00
Others, \$1 each,.....	3 00 — 5 00	D. P. Harmon,.....	2 00
<i>Portland, Me.—</i>		E. C. Ames,.....	1 00 — 6 00
H. J. Libbey,.....	2 00	<i>Cambridge.—</i>	
Others,.....	5 00 — 7 00	Dr. Worcester,.....	— 50 00
<i>Manchester.—</i>	— 3 50	<i>Danielsonville, Ct.—</i>	
<i>Beverly.—</i> Jno. Picket, ..	3 00	O. M. Capron,.....	2 00
John Tuck,.....	2 00	George Danielson,.....	2 00
Others, \$1 each,.....	2 00 — 7 00	H. L. Danielson,.....	3 00
<i>Danvers.—</i> T. Proctor, ..	2 00	I. T. Hutchins,.....	2 00
E. W. Upton,.....	2 00	Others, \$1 each,.....	3 00 — 12 00
Others, \$1 each,.....	6 00 — 10 00	<i>N. London, Ct.—</i>	
<i>Boston.—</i> Lady friend, ..	5 00	T. W. Williams,.....	5 00
Dr. Muzzey,.....	5 00	Ezra Chappell,.....	5 00
Jacob Bancroft,.....	10 00 — 20 00	H. P. Haven,.....	3 00
<i>Ray, Mich.—</i> C. Ridgway,	— 5 00	Acors Barnes,.....	2 00
<i>Sandwich.—</i>		I. Wilson,.....	3 00
W. Fessenden,.....	2 00	Others, \$1 each,.....	2 00 — 20 00
C. C. P. Waterman, ..	3 00	<i>Norwich, Ct.—</i>	
E. G. Wing,.....	1 50	William P. Greene,.....	50 00
Others,	10 00 — 16 50	James Lloyd Greene, ..	20 00
<i>Fairhaven.—</i> S. Allen, ..	2 00	B. W. Tompkins,	15 00
Mercy Pease,.....	3 00	Gov. Buckingham,	10 00
Others,	2 00 — 7 00	I. M. Buckingham,	5 00
<i>New Bedford.—</i>		Luther Edwards,.....	5 00
C. W. Morgan,.....	10 00	W. Williams,.....	5 00
Andrew Robeson,.....	10 00	Jno. Denham,.....	2 00
W. C. Taber,.....	5 00	R. Farnsworth,.....	2 00
Samuel Rodman,.....	5 00	Others, \$1 each,.....	6 00 — 120 50
W. P. Howland,.....	3 00	<i>Knowlesville, N. Y.—</i>	
W. G. E. Pope,.....	3 00	William Knowles,.....	2 00
D. R. Greene,.....	3 00	<i>Newark, N. J.—</i>	
A. H. Seabury,.....	3 00	S. P. Smith,.....	5 00
T. R. Taber,.....	3 00	<i>New Brunswick, N. J.—</i>	
P. G. Macomber,	2 00	Pres. Frelinghuysen, ..	5 00
Friend,.....	2 00	<i>New York.—</i>	
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Hiram Bliss,.....	3 00	Stacy B. Collins,.....	10 00
J. Buffinton,.....	2 00	Hugh Aikman,.....	5 00
N. B. Borden,.....	2 00 — 7 00	D. S. Aikman,.....	5 00

S. S. Wood.....	5 00		<i>Springfield, Vt.</i>	
Jos. B. Collins.....	3 00		J. Martin.....	5 00
John Rankin.....	3 00		Others.....	1 50 — 6 50
C. W. Moore.....	3 00		<i>Lyne, N. H.</i>	
Charles Aikman.....	3 00	—113 00	David Culver.....	5 00
<i>Walpole, N. H.</i>			Anson Southard.....	2 00
S. N. Perry.....		60 00	Others.....	2 75 — 9 75
<i>Philadelphia</i>			<i>Bradford, Vt.</i>	2 00
Alfred Cope.....	30 00		<i>St. Johnsbury, Vt.</i>	
Isaac Collins.....	10 00		H. Fairbanks.....	5 00
Israel W. Morris.....	10 00		W. W. Thayer.....	3 00
J. Hacker.....	10 00		George A. Merrill.....	2 00
T. E. Beesley.....	10 00		M. Kittredge.....	3 00
H. J. Williams.....	5 00		Others.....	3 75 — 16 75
Jos. B. Hughes.....	5 00		<i>Montpelier, Vt.</i>	
James Martin.....	5 00		Charles Bowen.....	2 00
Thomas Earp.....	5 00		Charles Clarke.....	1 00 — 3 00
John Wiegand.....	5 00		<i>Burlington, Vt.</i>	
H. C. Wood.....	5 00		B. W. Francis.....	2 00
Charles Robb.....	5 00		C. Grant.....	1 00 — 3 00
H. T. Child.....	2 00		<i>Vergennes, Vt.</i>	4 00
Simeon Tobey.....	2 00		<i>Cornwall, Vt.</i>	
A. Whilden.....	2 00	—111 00	W. O. Porter.....	2 00
<i>Germantown, Pa.</i>			Others.....	2 50 — 4 50
L. Hacker.....		3 00	<i>Middlebury, Vt.</i>	
<i>Hartford, Ct.</i>			Ira Allen.....	2 00
Judge Williams.....	20 00		<i>Pittsford, Vt.</i>	
Thomas Smith.....	10 00		S. Penfield.....	2 00
F. L. Gleason.....	5 00		Judge Kellogg.....	2 00
N. Kingsbury.....	5 00		Asa Nourse.....	2 00
Lynde Olmstead.....	5 00		W. T. Manley.....	2 00
S. Bourne.....	2 00	— 47 00	Others, \$1 each.....	2 00 — 13 00
<i>Vernon, Ct.</i>			<i>Brandon, Vt.</i>	
Allen Kellogg.....	2 00		B. Davenport.....	2 00
Talcott Brothers.....	5 00	— 7 00	Others, smaller sums.....	4 50
<i>Rockville, Ct.</i>			Collected in Cong. Ch., 10 32 — 16 82	
A. Bailey.....		2 00	<i>Westminster.</i>	
<i>Middletown, Ct.</i>			Aaron Wood.....	2 00
J. Barnes.....	2 00		Benjamin F. Wood.....	2 00
Benjamin Douglass.....	2 00		Others.....	4 00 — 8 00
J. T. Dickinson.....	2 00		<i>Keene, N. H.</i>	
Others, \$1 each.....	8 00	— 14 00	Asa Duren.....	2 00
<i>Newport, N. H.</i>			W. P. Wheeler.....	3 00
D. B. Chapin.....	2 00		Daniel Adams.....	2 00
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<i>Batavia, N. Y.</i>			L. Burrage.....	3 00
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R. H. Lee.....		2 00	L. B. Walker.....	2 00
<i>West Meriden, Ct.</i>			Smaller sums.....	12 00 — 21 00
E. Tuttle.....		1 00	<i>Fitchburg.</i>	
<i>Thetford, Vt.—\$1 each,</i>		3 00	Thomas Eaton.....	3 00
<i>Windsor, Vt.</i>			S. M. Dole.....	3 00
A. Wardner.....	2 00		Josiah Sheldon.....	3 00
L. S. White.....	3 00		E. Torrey.....	2 00
Hiram Harlow.....	3 00		Others, \$1 each and less.....	12 50 — 23 50
Others, \$1 each.....	2 00	—10 00	<i>Buskirk's Bridge, N. Y.</i>	
			P. V. N. Morris.....	5 00
			Total,	\$1,005 82

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

FOR
NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER.

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1860.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1860.

TESTIMONIES TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

It may well seem superfluous to array the authority of illustrious names as vouchers for a cause so clearly, so eminently Christian as that of Peace. Few, if any, will deny its merits in the abstract, as breathing the true spirit of the gospel, and aiming to accomplish one of its grandest and most glorious objects, while the mass of Christians practically ignore or neglect its claims on themselves. We cannot believe that any of them would treat it thus, if they would only look at it with the care it deserves, but would view it in the same light with those distinguished men of different denominations, who have given it their fullest, most earnest commendation, as worthy of support from every follower of the Prince of Peace.

"America," said Archdeacon Jeffries, of Calcutta, "has the honor of inventing two of the most valuable institutions that ever blessed mankind—the Peace Society, and the Temperance Society; and if every American viewed them as I do, *he would join them immediately.*"

"I hail the establishment of Peace Societies," says Judson, the Apostle of Burmah, "as one of the most auspicious signs of the present eventful era, and regard them as combining, with Bible and Missionary Societies, to form that three-fold cord which will ultimately bind all the families of man in universal peace and love. Since war has been universally advocated and applauded, it appears to me that it is not optional with any to remain neutral or silent on this great ques-

ED We put into this No. matter designed to give general view of our Cause, with some reference to the annual concert of Preaching, Prayer and Contribution on the subject.

tion, since, thus remaining, they must be considered as belonging, of course, to the war party. Notwithstanding, therefore, I am a missionary, I have determined to make whatever efforts are necessary to comply with the dictates of conscience, and wash my hands of the blood that is shed in war. I regret that I have so long delayed to enter my protest against this practice by some overt act, a measure which appears, in the present state of things, *the indispensable duty of every Christian.*"

"Much may be done," says Chalmers, "to accelerate the advent of perpetual and universal peace, by a distinct body of men embarking their every talent, and their every acquirement, in the prosecution of this as a distinct object. This is the way in which some of the other prophecies of the Bible are at this moment hastening to their accomplishment; and it is in this way, I apprehend, that the prophecy of peace may be indebted for its speedier fulfilment to the agency of men, selecting this as the assigned field on which their philanthropy shall expatiate. Were each individual member of such a scheme to prosecute his own work, and come forward with his own peculiar contribution, the fruit of the united labors of all would be one of the finest collections of Christian eloquence, and of enlightened morals, and of sound political philosophy, that ever was presented to the world. I could not fasten on another cause more fitted to call forth such a variety of talent, and to rally around it so many of the generous and accomplished sons of humanity, and to give each of them a devotedness and a power far beyond whatever could be sent into the hearts of enthusiasts by the mere impulse of literary ambition."

"It is high time," said the late John Angell James, "for the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus to study the genius of their religion. A hatred of war is an *essential* feature of practical Christianity; and it is a shame upon what is called the Christian world, that it has not long since borne universal and indignant testimony against that enormous evil which still rages not merely among savages, but among scholars, philosophers, Christians, and divines. Real Christians should come out from the world on this subject, and touch not the unclean thing. Let them *act* upon their own principles, and become not only the friends but the advocates of peace. *Let ministers from the pulpit, writers from the press, and private Christians in their intercourse with each other and the world, inculcate a fixed and irreconcilable abhorrence of war.* LET THE CHURCH OF GOD BE A SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF UNIVERSAL PEACE."

"It is not easy to conceive," said the sainted Payson, "how any one who believes the Scriptures, and professes to be a disciple of the Prince of Peace, or a friend to the human race, *can justify himself in withholding his aid from a cause so evidently the cause of God.* Who would not wish to share this honor? After the glorious victory shall have been won, after wars shall have been made to cease under the whole heaven, who will not then wish to have been among the few that first unfurled the consecrated banner of peace?"

From ecclesiastical bodies, representing nearly all Christian denominations in our land, we might quote a large number of strong resolves to the same purpose. They all "commend this cause to the Christian community, as worthy of a place among the benevolent enterprises of the age," and regard "the American Peace Society as eminently entitled to the cordial co-operation and support of all the churches of Christ." They deem it "the duty of ministers to preach in favor of the cause of peace, as a prominent part of the gospel, and of Christians to pray for the spread of peace through the world." They think, also, "that the subject of peace, being in its strictly evangelical principles and bearings a part of the gospel, ought to be discussed in the pulpit on the Sabbath, just like the other principles of the Bible;" and that "ministers should continue to preach, Christians to pray, and *all* to contribute in favor of universal and permanent peace."

To all these, we will add only the following well considered commendation, signed in 1853, by distinguished representatives of nine Christian denominations in the United States. "The cause of Peace we regard as an eminently philanthropic and Christian enterprize of great importance, and every way worthy of sympathy and support. It has already accomplished much good, with a very small outlay of money. It would doubtless accomplish vastly more, if it possessed adequate means; and we think it deserves, as it certainly needs, a large increase of funds. The American Peace Society, charged with the care of this cause in our own country, and whose management has deservedly secured very general approbation, we cordially commend to the liberal patronage of the benevolent in all religious denominations, more especially to men of wealth, on whom this enterprize, more than almost any other, must chiefly depend for support."

Such are the views of the best and ablest men that have lived since the rise of this cause; nor can we doubt that all Christians, if they examined the subject with similar care, would come to the same conclusion. The chief difficulty is to keep it aright before the community; and for this service we must depend almost solely on *the Christian Press and the Christian Pulpit.*

NEGLECT OF PEACE BY CHRISTIANS.

There ought to be no need of pressing the claims of Peace upon the professed followers of Christ. The very motto and birth-song of their religion was Peace; and it forms one of its most marked and glorious peculiarities. Its spirit and principles pervade the whole New Testament. The Bible is a great statute-book of Peace. Our Father in heaven is the God of Peace. Our Redeemer is the Prince of Peace, and his gospel, rightly understood and applied, would be sure to spread peace in every land blest with its light.

How strange that such a cause should ever have been neglected by Christians as a body, and stranger still that so few among them seem willing even to consider its claims upon them! But, however strange, such is the fact. Scarce one in a thousand has yet done anything for it; and most of them hardly stop to inquire what is meant by it, and still less how they might and should promote it. How little, in comparison with what it ought, does even the Christian press publish on the subject! Has one pulpit in a hundred spontaneously and habitually advocated this cause in earnest? How small a portion of Christians or Christian ministers ever take the trouble seriously to inquire what it deserves at their hands! How few prayers are offered in its behalf, and how little money given or effort made for its promotion! The mass of Christians among us, with a few honorable exceptions, seem quite insensible to its claims; and not one church in a thousand contributes regularly to this as to other objects of Christian benevolence.

How shall we account for such neglect and apathy? Not from the nature of the case; for there is scarce an argument in behalf of any benevolent enterprise, that might not be applied to this with equal propriety and force. Not from any special difficulties of the task; for it is far *less* difficult than the vast work of a world's evangelization, to which the church is now devoting herself with such commendable zeal. Certainly not from the gospel itself; for its principles and aims, its very genius and spirit, all unite to enforce the claims of peace.

What, then, are the reasons? A chief one is found in the war-degeneracy of the church; a degeneracy begun even before the time of Constantine the Great, early in the fourth century, and since that fatal event, become, by a wide conspiracy of malign influences, so complete that she seems hardly conscious of it, and most of her members stoutly contend to this day for the war-creed, as the real doctrine of Christ, the faith once delivered to his saints! No wonder they are so indifferent, and some of them even opposed to the cause of peace.

Nor is this all ; for the mischief is much aggravated by their ignorance of the subject. How little do the mass of Christians understand of the terrible evil we combat, or of what we propose for its cure ! How little do they know what war is, or what it does ! How little of its camps or war-ships ; of its battles, its sieges, or its hospitals ; of the property it wastes, or the life it sacrifices ; of the crimes it perpetrates, or the calamities and sufferings it inflicts ; of its sack of cities, its conflagration of villages, and its devastation of whole provinces and empires ; of the wide sweep of its demoralizing influences, its wholesale havoc of immortal souls, or the manifold obstructions it opposes to the spread of Christianity, and the salvation of a lost world ! Not one in ten or a hundred has yet learned even the alphabet of this cause ; and until they know more about it, we can have little hope of their meeting its claims.

Would to God we could induce them to examine these claims in earnest ; but, alas ! too many are not disposed to examine them at all, and turn away from the subject as if it were no matter of theirs. Invite them to a peace lecture, or offer them a peace publication, and they will perhaps tell you, ' We understand the matter well enough already, and care not to hear or read any more about it. We are enemies of war, quite as much as you are ; and no further light on the subject can make us better friends of peace.' They do not reason thus upon any other subject. Press them to read or hear the gospel, and they will not retort in the same way, ' We understand it well enough already, and don't wish to hear or read any more about it. We believe the Bible, all of it ; and nothing we can read or hear, will alter our views of its truths, or make us any better Christians than we now are. We need no further light ; go to pagans abroad, or to impenitent men at home.' What would you think of a professed Christian who should argue thus ? Yet will nine Christians in ten reason in just this way about one part of the gospel, its pacific principles and duties, which they understand not half so well as they do the trite, common truths they take so much pains to keep continually before their minds.

Do Christians treat any other cause in this way ? How strange it would seem to hear them saying, ' We are friends of Temperance, of Missions, of the Tract or the Bible Society, and for this reason wish to inquire no more into their claims upon us, or the ways in which we can best promote their success.' No ; a heart-felt interest in *any* enterprise makes men desirous of learning all they can about it ; and, if really a friend of peace, you will necessarily wish to have its leading

facts, arguments and motives as full and fresh as possible in your mind. It is mainly for the want of such information that the mass of Christians still sleep so profoundly on this subject; and never will they wake in earnest to the cause, until they duly examine its claims for themselves. It is amazing that they should be at all reluctant, or need the least urging to engage in such an inquiry; and if you have the spirit of Christ on this subject, we cannot believe you will either refuse or neglect to investigate it for yourself, but will take every opportunity to learn what He would have you do for this blessed cause.

WAR 'A CURABLE EVIL.

Looking back over the history of war for more than five thousand years, and seeing it now entrenched so deeply in the habits and institutions of Christendom itself, we cannot wonder at the common impression that it is well-nigh, if not absolutely, incurable. But is it so? Is this gigantic evil really incurable? God forbid. There is nothing whatever in its nature or its long continuance, nothing in the depravity of mankind, or the habits of society, nothing in the necessities of civil government,^o or the extent, power and inveteracy of the influences accumulated the world over for its support, to forbid the hope of its being brought by proper means to a perpetual end.

So we might argue from the history of kindred reforms. Look at knight-errantry and witchcraft, at the crusades and other religious wars, at trials by ordeal and judicial combat, at persecution for religious belief, and a variety of other evils already either abolished, or put in a train of ultimate abolition. If such customs as these have actually been abolished, is there no possibility of putting an end to war?

Review, also, the meliorations of war itself. Bad as the custom still is, it has lost more than half its primitive horrors, and undergone changes greater than would now suffice to abolish it entirely; more than half the work of its utter extinction already accomplished. We will not sketch its former barbarities, indignantly discarded from the present war-system of Christendom; but, if ten steps have already been taken, as they confessedly have, towards abolishing this custom, is there no possibility of taking the six more that alone are now required to complete its abolition?

Nor is this all; for certain kinds of war have actually been abolished. Private, or feudal wars, once waged between the petty chieftains of Europe, and frequently occasioning even more mischief than often flows

now from the collision of empires, continued for centuries to make the very heart of Christendom a scene of almost incessant commotion or alarm; but efforts, led on mainly by the church, and continued for even four or five centuries, succeeded at length in putting an end to that terrible species of war, as like efforts unquestionably would to the custom of international war.

Just glance, then, at some of the causes now conspiring to such a result. Mark the progress of freedom and popular education; — the growing influence of the people, always the chief sufferers from war, over every form of government; — the vastly augmented power of public opinion, fast becoming more and more pacific; — the spirit of free inquiry, and the wide diffusion of knowledge through presses, and pulpits, and schools; — the disposition to force old usages, institutions and opinions through the severest ordeals; — the various improvements which philanthropy, genius, and even avarice itself, are every where making in the character and condition of mankind, all demanding peace; — the actual disuse of war, and the marked desire of rulers themselves to supersede it by the adoption of pacific expedients that promise ere long to reconstruct the international policy of the civilized world; — the pacific tendencies of literature, science, and all the arts that minister to individual comfort, or national prosperity; — the more frequent, more extended intercourse of Christians and learned men in different parts of the earth; — the wide extension of commerce, and the consequent interlinking over the globe of interests which war must destroy; — the steady, if not rapid spread of the gospel in pagan lands, the fuller development of its spirit in Christendom, and the more direct, more efficacious application of its principles to every species of sin and misery; — all the enterprises of associated benevolence and reform, but especially the combined efforts made with much success to disseminate the principles of peace, to pour the full light of heaven on the guilt and evils of war, and thus unite the friends of God and man every where against this master-scurge of our race. Such are some of the influences now at work for the world's perpetual peace.

This result the Word of God makes absolutely certain in due time; for expressly, repeatedly has he promised that, when the kingdoms of this world shall all become the kingdom of his Son, then "shall they beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Such is God's promise; and we must either discard the whole Bible, or believe the absolute certainty, sooner or later, of universal and permanent peace.

Is not this promise now in a course of actual fulfilment? Yes, "already is the process begun, by which Jehovah is going to fulfil the amazing predictions of his Word. Even now is the fire kindled at the forges where swords are yet to be beaten into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks. The teachers are already abroad who shall persuade the nations to learn war no more. If we would hasten that day, we have only to throw ourselves into the current, and we may row with the tide. There may be, here and there, a counter-current; but the main stream is flowing steadily on, and the order of providence is rolling forward the sure result."

WHAT HAS THE CAUSE OF PEACE DONE?

Very little, we grant, in comparison with what needs to be done, only a small part of its great work; and yet has it already accomplished far more than could reasonably have been expected of it in so short a time, and with such slender means.

Look at some of its results patent to every eye. Mark *the general peace of Europe for forty years from its origin*—from the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, to the rise of the Crimean war; a longer period of rest from the sword than Christendom had ever known before. True, its nations were all this time armed to the teeth; but, with sporadic cases of conflict between rulers and their subjects, there was still nothing that could be strictly called war, no conflict by the sword between any of its governments.

During most of this time our own country enjoyed similar repose. In 1835, we were seriously exposed to war with France; in three marked instances were we on the brink of war with England; and in all these cases our escape was owing chiefly to the altered tone of popular sentiment on both sides of the Atlantic, created by efforts in this cause. Often had provocations not half as great led to long and bloody wars. Our deliverance, too, from a conflict with Mexico, in 1838, was publicly attributed by John Quincy Adams to our labors; and, had public opinion been what it was fifty years before, we could hardly have avoided a war with England either about Canada in 1838, respecting our north-eastern boundary in 1840, or about Oregon in 1846.

If facts like these do not prove success, what ever can prove it? These results were as fairly attributable to efforts in the cause of peace, as the spread of Christianity among the heathen is to the mis-

sionary enterprize, or the triumphs of temperance to labors in that cause. On any other subject, such proof would be deemed perfectly decisive. Had no duel been fought in any of our Southern States for twenty-five years, would not this alone have proved a steady and sure decline of that practice? Had there been in our whole country no case of intoxication for forty years, would not this single fact have shown the cause of temperance to have become signally successful? Why then should not the general peace of Christendom for forty years, be regarded as equally decisive of success in this cause?

Nor is this all; *for we have really begun the process of abolishing this custom.* We are gradually undermining its fundamental, essential principle. We are seizing the very hinges on which it turns. We are gradually training nations to settle their difficulties by other means. Such a change is full of hope. We might stop a hundred duels, or keep a thousand drunkards from a fit of intoxication, without making any effective impression on the general practice of duelling or of intemperance. We must break up the usage; nothing else will suffice. So on peace; we must change the prevalent modes of thought and feeling on the subject, and accustom nations, like individuals, to settle their disputes without bloodshed.

Mark how far we are actually doing this by the substitution of reference in place of the sword. A dispute between ourselves and Great Britain was submitted, in 1822, to the Emperor of Russia; a similar one between the same parties to the King of the Netherlands, in 1827; and various matters in controversy between us and Mexico, to the King of Prussia, in 1838. Not that the result in any of these cases was entirely satisfactory, a thing *never* to be expected; but it did secure its great object — it prevented war. This practice has been slowly yet surely extending, and winning general favor, till our own government has begun to form treaties on this principle; and from the memorable Congress of Paris, (April, 1856,) which terminated the Crimean war, we hear the voice of all Europe in its favor: "The plenipotentiaries did not hesitate to express, in the name of their governments, the wish that States, between which any misunderstanding may arise, should have recourse to the good offices of a friendly power." Thus is arbitration gradually taking the place of war, and superseding its long supposed necessity.

Meanwhile, we see *a gradual yet sure mitigation of the evils once inseparable from war.* When we began our labors, in 1816, privateering was no less a part of the custom than its sieges or its battles; but at the

close of the Crimean war, the Paris Congress unanimously decreed its perpetual abolition. Was not here a signal success? Yet only one of the many meliorations we have secured. The same Congress decided, among other improvements in the law of nations, that there shall be no blockade without a force sufficient to enforce it; that all neutrals shall pass unmolested alike in war as in peace; that the flag of a country shall protect whatever it covers, and that nothing shall be liable to capture except articles strictly contraband of war. Simple, but far-reaching principles; and, once carried into general practice, they would take from war no small part of its evils.

With such facts before us, we have a right to claim that *something* has already been gained in the cause of peace, vastly more indeed than could have been expected from the small means thus far used. We challenge the world to name any other enterprize that has done more *in proportion to the means employed*. Look at some of the facts. For twenty years from its origin, the entire receipts of this cause did not average five thousand dollars a year, while the war system was costing Christendom some thousand millions a year; more in one hour on the war-system, even in a time of peace, than for the cause of peace in twenty years! Yet has this mere pittance, spent in the use of moral, Christian means, done more to preserve peace in Christendom, than all the myriads wasted, year after year, upon her war-system.

With *adequate* means, *how much* might have been accomplished! Not that any amount of efforts could abolish war at once; for the very laws of the human mind, of society and government, forbid the hope. Such a consummation can be reached only by wise, vigorous, long-continued efforts. We must wait and work for it. Yet how much *more* might have been done than has been! Had the Christian community from the first heeded the claims of this cause only as they have some others; had the church and her ministry all along rallied spontaneously to its generous, habitual, effective support; had the press, in the ubiquity and power of its influence, lent its full, earnest, persistent advocacy; had we been furnished with half the funds needed to bring the cause aright before our rulers, before our seminaries of learning, before ecclesiastical bodies, and the community at large; — yes, with only a single one of the thousand million dollars spent by Christendom upon her war-system, we might ere this have effected such a change as would have sufficed, under God, to insure henceforth her general and permanent peace.

Our work, however, is only begun. The war-system still remains in full force, a vast magazine of mischief. The war-spirit, so far from

being extinct, merely sleeps, and waits only a sufficient provocation to unkennel its blood-hounds, and send them howling over the fairest fields of Christendom. We have as yet no real security; nor *can* we have till nations shall give up the war-principle of adjusting their differences by the sword, and come to establish in its place a system of rational, peaceful adjudication.

WHY NO MORE PREACHING ON PEACE.

If ministers of the gospel would render the cause of peace any essential service, they must qualify themselves for the work. They must take a deep interest in it as an element of the gospel, and as a part of the instrumentalities requisite for the world's conversion. They must imbue their own minds with the spirit of peace, and study the Bible until their views are brought fully into accord with its teachings.

We cannot wonder at the apathy of ministers who pay no attention to this subject. Can we expect them to write, or preach, or converse upon what they do not understand? Can they understand what they have never examined? Will they plead for an object whose claims they never felt, or labor for a cause they neither value nor love?

Here is the explanation of nearly all that indifference about the cause of peace which is so disreputable to many a reputed minister of Christ. They do not understand it! And will they ever understand this or any other subject without examination? Their views are not settled upon it! And do they expect or desire to settle them without inquiry? But they do not feel a sufficient interest! And how are they to acquire such an interest? By continuing to neglect the whole subject? How did you become a friend, an advocate, a champion of the temperance or the missionary cause? You read, you conversed, you reflected, you prayed, you wrought it into your very soul, and made it a part of yourself. Do the same in the cause of peace; and you will ere long have such views of its importance, such a conviction of its claims, such strong desires for its speedy and universal success, as will never let you sleep over it again.

EXCESS OF FEMALES IN ENGLAND.—There is in England an excess of 800,000 females over males. The disparity is caused by wars and standing armies, by the drain of men for the mercantile and naval marine, and by the greater number of males who emigrate to the colonies and to the United States.

HOW FAR IS THE PULPIT RESPONSIBLE FOR WAR?

Power and opportunity are the measure of responsibility ; and, tried by this test, the pulpit has a fearful responsibility for actual war, and for the rise or continuance of the war-system in Christendom. If true to her high and sacred trust, if faithful in using the mighty power she holds in her hand, if alive to seize and turn to the best account her manifold opportunities for restricting, gradually abating, and eventually abolishing this master-evil, she might in time, if not ere long, banish it forever from every land blest with the light of the gospel.

The power of the Pulpit is proverbial, and pervades, more or less, the whole mass of society. Preachers of the gospel claim to be heralds of God's truth, and ought to be leaders of the people in every good cause. Their character, their office, their relations to society, all arm them with a vast amount of moral power. Their talents, their learning, their eloquence, their high repute for virtue, piety and benevolence, enable them to give tone to public sentiment on all moral and religious subjects.

Such is the design of their office. God has appointed them as spiritual guides to the people. They are pioneers of truth, righteousness and salvation. They are chosen for the very purpose of moulding opinion and character to the will of God. Mark their peculiar facilities for this purpose. They speak in God's name, on God's day, from God's word. They can reach the individual and the general conscience. They are welcomed to the bridal throng, to the quiet fire-side, to the sick chamber, to the bed of death, to the group of weeping mourners. Almost every mind is open to their influence. They have the ear of parents and teachers ; and these are scattering, thick and fast, the seeds of character through the community. They have access to the mother's heart ; and her children will reflect the form and hue of her own image. Old and young, high and low, male and female, come every week, if not every day, under their influence. They touch the main-spring of the moral world. Their influence is felt in the farthest and minutest ramifications of society. They wield in the gospel an instrument of vast power over the understanding, conscience and heart. They are the chief depositories of moral power ; they hold in their hand the helm and the main-spring of nearly all the instrumentalities employed for the spiritual renovation of mankind ; and, without their cooperation, no enterprise of benevolence or reform can ever work its way to complete success.

Let facts speak on this point. Who disenthralled half a continent from papal bondage? Who roused the mass of British minds to crush slavery and slave-trade? Who led the van in the cause of missions, of temperance, and every kindred work? Who are still the chief agents in sustaining all the great moral enterprises of the day? Ministers of the gospel. We challenge you to show one that has reached any considerable degree of success without their hearty and zealous cooperation.

The cause of peace is equally under their control. It is peculiarly their own; and it is obviously in their power to set at work a train of influences sufficient to extirpate war from every Christian land. Let them gird themselves in earnest for this work; let them pray, and plan, and toil for it as one of the main objects of their ministry; let them concentrate upon it their utmost energies, and use aright every means within their reach; let them all unite as one man in this blessed cause, and make every pulpit on earth echo the Sermon on the Mount; and ere long would they revolutionize the war-sentiment of all Christendom, and put an end forever to its trade of robbery and blood.

Such is the power of the pulpit; and devoutly do we hope that this power will ere long be put forth in behalf of Peace. No other theme can be more appropriate to its high mission; and in no other way can preachers of the gospel more honor their Master in heaven, the Prince of Peace, or commend their religion to the world.

A MILITARY CHAPLAIN'S LOGIC.—“On board a steamer in Virginia,” says a peaceman, “I found, during the Mexican War, an intelligent looking gentleman on his way back from Mexico, who seemed from his discourse before the passengers collectively, to have been a chaplain in the American army, and was extolling the profession of arms as worthy of the attention of his hearers. After the meeting was concluded, I took a private opportunity to speak with him on the subject. I asked if he did not declare himself a minister of the gospel! He answered, ‘Yes, sir, I am.’ ‘Then how can you, as minister or a servant of the Prince of Peace, uphold war? Quoting some passages in the New Testament, he replied, ‘I take the word of God as a whole,’ with some other words intimating that he believed ‘the law which made nothing perfect,’ was equally binding on Christians since the death of the Lord Jesus, as they were before. He would have me believe that *the Bible* sustained the principle of *War* just as much as it does that of *Peace*.”

Our friend seemed startled at this, as well he might; but the logic of the chaplain was necessary for the justification of his employment, and a like necessity will be found to be the key to many an inconsistency in the faith and practice of professed Christians. Such weak, loose, flippant logic is very common, and just shows how little conscience or thought there is on the subject.

HOW MINISTERS CAN PROMOTE PEACE.

Numberless are the ways in which preachers of the gospel might serve the cause of Peace. They might introduce the subject into seminaries of learning, ecclesiastical bodies, and religious publications. These are the great centres of moral influence; and the main-springs at work here, are mostly in the hands of Christian ministers, and might be so wielded as ere long to exorcise the war-spirit from all Christendom. Our seminaries are nearly all under their management or influence; and they might, if they would, make every one of them a nursery of peace to train up a generation of peace-makers. The religious press, an engine of vast and increasing power, is mainly under their control; and, if they would employ it in the diffusion of pacific influences only as much as they have done in the cause of temperance, and some other departments of benevolence and reform, we should soon witness in all reading communities a marked change of opinion and feeling on this subject. The press has already lent us important aid; it is ready to perform almost any amount of service we may ask; and, if well qualified friends of peace could be found in the vicinity of these great moral laboratories to furnish able, popular articles on the subject, nearly every religious paper in the land would cheerfully open its columns. But on whom shall we rely for such aid? Few but ministers can render it; and earnestly do we hope they will ere long make every religious, if not every secular, periodical in Christendom teem with appeals in behalf of this cause.

The pulpit, however, is our chief ally; and fain would we press all its incumbents into zealous co-operation. They ought to preach peace not as a mere result of Christianity, but as one of its grand elements; not as one of its twigs or leaves, but as a portion of its very root and trunk. So did our Saviour preach; and his ministers, in imitation of such an example, should enforce the principles of peace as faithfully as they do repentance or faith.

How this can best be done, every preacher must determine for himself: but the subject is so imperfectly understood, and yet so important in its principles, connections and bearings, that we think an entire discourse should be devoted to each of its main points, and others be introduced into sermons on ordinary subjects by way of illustration and inference. Passing allusions and incidental remarks, however good in their place, will never suffice. There must be thorough discussion; a full distinct exposition of principles; a clear, forcible, spirit-stirring exhibition of the whole subject. The different aspects of this cause are suffi-

ciently various, important and interesting to furnish all the subjects a preacher can ask. While some of these will call for extended discussion, a great variety of common topics will be found by an intelligent, wakeful friend of peace to admit and even require an incidental application to the cause; and we know of no way more likely to correct misconception, to eradicate error, and establish truth. In neither case should a subject so prominent in the instructions of our Saviour, be thrust, as if it were a theme unfit for the Sabbath, into a fast or a thanksgiving. Some of its secular aspects should indeed be presented on such occasions; but its main points, being strictly and highly evangelical, ought to be discussed, like any other part of the gospel, during the ordinary services of the sanctuary.

But ministers should not stop with the instructions of the pulpit. They can often weave this subject into lectures before a Bible class, into exhortations in the conference-room, into reports or addresses at the monthly concert, into exercises at other religious meetings, into their daily interviews with their people from house to house. There is need of reiterated inculcation, line upon line; and they should lose no favorable opportunity of calling attention to this long-forgotten part of the gospel.

Especially should pastors encourage prayer for the universal prevalence of peace. They could easily train the church to remember this cause in the closet, around the family altar, at the monthly concert, in the social meeting, in the house of God. And is it too much to ask from the disciples of the Prince of Peace a general concert of prayer once a year for the spread of peace through the world? It will depend upon the pastor to say whether such a concert shall be well attended, or even observed at all. He might, by a discourse on the Sabbath preceding, and by statements at the meeting, give it an interest sufficient to call out large numbers. He might breathe through his whole church a spirit of prayer as habitual and as earnest for this as for any other object. Such prayer is just as indispensable to the peace as to the conversion of the world.

In many other ways could ministers easily aid us; but a heart-felt interest in the cause would be the best suggester of means and methods. They can lend it their countenance on all proper occasions; they can start and guide inquiries concerning it; they can introduce the subject into lyceums for dissertation and debate; they can circulate publications on peace among their people; they can, a thousand ways scatter light, awaken interest, and give the cause favor and currency through the community.

EXCUSES FOR NEGLECTING PEACE.

1. 'The cause of Peace belongs to Christians.'—True; and it is for this reason we press its special claims upon them. It certainly is a cause peculiarly, pre-eminently their own; and they *must* lead its van, or it can never reach the goal of its promised triumph. God has chosen them as his special agents in this work, and furnished them with ample means of success; and if they will just do their whole duty in the case, war may and must cease ere long from Christendom, and in due time from the whole earth.

2. 'Peace is the work of the church; and whatever needs to be done for this cause, let her do it.'—So *we* say, let her do it; and we are just trying to *make* her do it. Clearly she has *not* done it *yet*. Is she doing it now, or girding herself in earnest for it? If so, she will be right glad to be reminded of its claims upon her. Had Christians as a body always done their whole duty on this subject, there could have been little, if any, need of peace societies; and whenever they shall come to do it, they will of course supersede the necessity of such organizations.

Is the Peace Society, however, an alien to the church? No more than the Tract, the Bible, or the Missionary Society. Like these, it was organized by the advice of her leaders; it has attempted nothing more than to carry into operation the very measures they have publicly recommended time and again; and from the first it has been sustained almost entirely by her efforts, prayers, and contributions. It is in fact, an instrument of her own for promoting this cause very much in her own way; and heartily should we rejoice to have her take the whole reform out of our hands, if she would, and thus annihilate peace societies by doing their work herself.

3. 'There is no need of any *special* efforts for this object, either in or out of the church.'—Who says this?—any one familiar with the facts of the case? Eighteen centuries of the gospel itself gone by without the extinction of war in a single country on earth; Christendom often drenched in blood, and bristling constantly with four or five millions of bayonets; more money spent by reputed Christians for the support of their war-system, five hundred times over, than in endeavoring to evangelize the heathen; the church herself gangrened more or less with the war-spirit, and impeded by the war-system in all her plans for the salvation of men both at home and abroad; Christianity libelled, souls ruined, and the world's conversion retarded for ages by this custom; and yet, after all this, no need of any efforts in the cause

of peace! If this be a specimen of the strange logic that drugs nearly the whole Christian world to sleep over this subject, it surely is high time to break their slumbers by oft-repeated appeals from pulpit and press.

4. 'There is no need of *specific, associated* efforts in the cause of Peace.'—This excuse contradicts nearly all experience in the work of social reform. Review the history of kindred enterprises, and we challenge you to name a single one that ever gained its object in any other way. Did the private wars of feudal times cease, or was the slave-trade brought under the ban of public opinion, the ravages of intemperance seriously checked, or any great enterprise of benevolence or reform successfully carried on, without such efforts? Yet in no enterprise are such efforts more needed than in the cause of Peace.

5. 'Preach the gospel; and that will do all that can ever be done, for the removal of war, or any other evil.'—True, we must in this case, as in every other, rely on the gospel, but never without a right, specific, effective application of its principles to the evil to be removed. Here is an atheist, there an infidel; and would you think to reclaim them without arguments from the gospel applicable to their case? Would you shun such particulars as repentance and its fruits? Would you never dissuade the drunkard from his cups, or the profane swearer from his blasphemies, or the debauchee from his profligacies, or the pagan from his worship of idols, or the warrior from his trade of robbery and murder? How was the slave-trade put under ban, or slavery itself abolished in the British Empire? Only by the gospel directly and effectively applied to the case. Such an application has not yet been made to war; and until it shall be, the custom will of course continue in every Christian land.

6. 'We are to expect peace among nations, and the abandonment of their war-system, as a *general, incidental result* of Christianity, without any *specific* application to the case.'—A very general idea, but utterly false and fallacious. Common sense forbids such a hope. Medicine, cure a disease to which it is not applied? Absurd; and if a remedy were prescribed for a particular malady, would you scatter its fumes in the air, and think to be cured by its general influences inhaled from the passing breeze? All experience, too, contradicts this indolent preposterous theory. No great evil, at all resembling that of war, was ever done away by the gospel, without a specific application of its principles to the case. The requisite application may, indeed, have been the result of a change in public opinion so gradual as not to be per-

ceived at the time ; but the application, nevertheless, was in fact made, and that alone achieved the reform. So must it be with war ; and never till the pacific principles of the gospel shall be rightly applied to this master-evil, will it in any age cease from any part of the globe.

7. ' But the gospel certainly breathes peace ; and rightly received, it must, *without* any specific application to the case, put an end to war.'—If so, then the gospel has never been received aright in Christendom ; for its nations all cling to their war-system with a death-grasp, and are to this hour the most notorious fighters on earth. Is it by the gospel, thus understood and applied, that you expect, as one of its *incidental* results, to do away in time the custom of war, and do it away without any *special* application to the case ? By that sort of Christianity which has allowed its professed votaries, age after age, to butcher one another by millions, and has suffered Christendom to become a vast nursery of warriors, her standing armies increased, in a single century, from half a million to three or four millions ! How long, at this rate, would it take for the world's pacification ?

8. ' But the time has not fully come for effort in this cause.'—How do you know ? Does the Bible anywhere bid you wait for a suitable time to apply its principles, and excuse you meanwhile for contradicting or neglecting them ? Are not men bound, everywhere and always, to receive them, and put them in practice ? The time not yet come for *Christians* to apply this part of their gospel ! Then tell us when it will come. If fifteen centuries of blood, poured over nations professing a religion of peace, are not enough, in what year of our Lord is the gospel ever to bring its promised peace ?

9. ' Make men Christians, *real* Christians, and then, but never till then, will war cease.'—Are you quite sure of this ? If so, why do not those who claim to be true Christians, models of evangelical piety, cease themselves from war, and use every effort in their power to banish this crying sin, and shame, and curse from Christendom ? Why do so many reputed followers of the Prince of Peace still glorify war, and train their own children to its trade of blood ? Alas ! Christians like these can never put an end to war, any more than such Christians as John Newton was when commanding a slave-ship, would do away the slave-trade.

But we need not wait till all men, or a majority, become real Christians, before we seek the abolition of war. We did not wait thus in the temperance cause, and need not in the cause of peace. Already are there Christians enough, with moral power at their command amply sufficient, to put a stop at once to all actual war, and an end in due

time, to the whole war-system throughout Christendom. Let them simply use their power aright for this specific purpose, and war will melt away, like dew before the sun, from every Christian land.

10. 'After all, we must wait for the millennium to produce such a result.'—But how is the millennium itself to secure it? Will it introduce a new gospel? No; it can only spread over the whole earth our present gospel, without the slightest change in either its principles or its power. How then is this very gospel, which has never yet put an end to war in any Christian country, going in the millennium to banish it from the world forever? Solely by God's blessing on a right application of its principles to the case; and a similar application would with equal certainty put an end to this custom *now* in every Christian land. Without such means, war can never be abolished even in the millennium; but with such means, it might just as well be abolished in all Christendom now. Are not Christians, then, responsible before God and man for the continuance of this custom under the light of the gospel? Let them do their whole duty on the subject, and war will cease wherever Christianity prevails. They have the power, and God will hold them accountable to his bar for its right, effective exercise.

TRIUMPH IN ENGLAND OF THE NON-INTERVENTION POLICY. — At the last anniversary the Committee had to report the various efforts they had made to elicit an expression of public opinion in favor of a policy of strict non-intervention on the part of this country, as respects the Italian War. But though they were able even then to announce a very general response to their appeal on this question, they felt that it was not safe to abate their exertions; the more especially as there was, shortly after, a change of ministry, which, in the apprehension of some, might involve a departure from the principle of neutrality, which up to that time had been avowed and observed by the British government. In the month of June, therefore, the Committee felt it their duty to call a special meeting at Exeter hall, to protest not merely against actual participation in the war, but against all entangling engagements and alliances, together with such menacing demonstrations of force as might gradually tend to implicate the nation in the quarrel. This meeting adopted resolutions to the effect just described, which were embodied in a memorial to Lord Palmerston. A deputation waited by appointment upon the prime minister, to lay these views before him, when they had the satisfaction of hearing from his lordship a very emphatic declaration of his concurrence in the sentiments of the memorial, and an assurance that there was no contingency he could foresee which would require or justify England in taking part in the war. It cannot be doubted that this abstinence tended greatly to limit the area and to abridge the duration of the war; but as it was, the suffering and slaughter were appalling.—*Lon. Peace. Soc Rep.*

THE WAY TO PEACE:

OR, HOW TO ABOLISH THE CUSTOM OF WAR.

We seek to bring nations into the habit of adjusting all their difficulties by peaceful, Christian methods that shall supersede entirely the alleged necessity of the sword, and eventually render war between them just as unnecessary as duels now are between individuals. A very difficult, task we grant, but by no means impossible. The gospel, when fully developed and rightly applied, has ample power for this purpose; and the promises of God so expressly assure us of a day when all nations shall cease from war, that we must either discard the whole Bible, or believe the absolute certainty in due time of universal and permanent peace.

But how is this to come? We can expect no miracle, no supernatural interposition of Providence, no reversal or suspension of the laws which require an adequate cause for every effect, and, least of all, no such change in the nature of mankind as shall extinguish their war-passions, and make them a race of angels instead of men. Every promise of God implies the necessity of appropriate means for its fulfilment; and his promise of peace, like all his other promises, can be fulfilled only by a proper use of the means he has appointed for the purpose. These means are all included essentially in a right application of the gospel to the case; and such means Christians are bound to unite in using until a stop is actually put to all wars in Christendom, and an end to her whole war-system.

But by what process can we reach this result? The gospel must of course do the work; but how? It is God's remedy for war; but, like every other remedy, it can cure no evil to which it is not applied. How can we insure effective application to this master-evil of our race? Not by preaching merely its general truths to individuals; for it has been thus preached all over Europe for fifteen centuries, without putting an end to war in any country. Indeed, no government in Christendom has yet dreamed of abolishing the custom, while her standing armies, in a little more than one hundred years, increased some six or eight hundred per cent. Why all this under the gospel? Simply because its pacific principles have never yet been rightly applied to the case. That application must go to the seat of the disease; the gospel must put its hand on the real main-spring of the mischief. War is the work, not of individuals as such, but of governments or rulers alone; and until the gospel, in its pacific principles and influences, shall be faithfully applied to these, the custom will never cease from any land. But how can it be made to bear effectually upon rulers? Under a government like ours, if not under every other, we can reach them mainly through the people, whose will, even under a despotism as well as a democracy, must rule in the long run. The power among ourselves is all in their hands; and rulers, as their servants, must heed their wishes, or give place to those who will.

The way, then, is clear. We must christianize public sentiment on this subject, and get from the mass of the people such a demand for the settlement of all national disputes without the sword, as no rulers in Christendom will dare or long desire to refuse. This demand would in time, if not very soon, work out the consummation we seek. It would lead to the gradual disuse of war by the adoption of far better means for the adjustment of difficulties between nations. They might, if they would, agree among themselves before fighting, incomparably better than after; but if not, they might either accept the offer of mediators, or refer the points in issue to umpires. Let them beforehand stipulate for such a mode of final adjustment. Let them expressly agree to have all their future controversies adjusted in the last resort by some form of arbitration, to abide by the decision of their referees, and ask, if dissatisfied, only a new hearing, or a different reference, thus making sure of a settlement in every case without a resort to arms. Such a measure, once adopted in good faith by any two nations, would be pretty sure, under God, to prevent all war between them; and their example would probably be followed in time by the other governments of Christendom, and thus unite them all at last in a League of Perpetual Peace.

How can we secure a consummation so desirable? By the power of a christianized public opinion enlisted strongly in its favor. Let such an opinion diffuse its omnipresent influence through every community; let it speak to rulers by votes and petitions; let its voice be heard through the press, from the pulpit and the rostrum, in the school and the family, on the farm and in the shop, in store and street, in the counting room and market place, in the whole intercourse of men throughout all the ramifications of society.

Such a public opinion Christians ought to form in every Christian land. Followers of the Prince of Peace, it is their appropriate business; and, having in the principles of the gospel, in the promises and providence of God, ample means of success, they might, if they would only gird themselves in earnest for the work, leaven ere long all Christendom with such sentiments on this subject as would render war between any of its nations morally impossible, and lead in time to the adoption of such substitutes for it as must obviate every plea of necessity for its blind and brutal arbitrations.

MANY FACTS IN SMALL COMPASS.—The number of languages spoken is 4,964. The number of men is about equal to the number of women.—The average of human life is 33 years. One quarter die before the age of 7; one half before the age of 17. To every 1000 persons, one only reaches 100 years, and not more than one in 500 will reach 80 years. There are on the earth 1,000,000,000 inhabitants. Of these, 33,333,333 die every year, 91,824 die every day, 7,780 every hour, and 60 per minute, or one every second. These losses are about balanced by an equal number of births. The married are longer lived than the single, and above all, those who observe a sober and industrious conduct. Tall men live longer than

short ones. Women have more chances of life, previous to the age of fifty years, than men, but fewer after. The number of marriages are in the proportion of 76 to 100. Marriages are more frequent after the equinoxes, that is, during the months of June and December. Those born in spring are generally more robust than others. Births and deaths are more frequent by night than by day. The number of men capable of bearing arms is one fourth of the population.

HAVOC OF LIFE BY WAR.

It is difficult to conceive what fearful havoc this custom has made of human life. Some of its incidental ravages seem to defy all belief. It has at times entirely depopulated immense districts. In modern, as well as ancient times, large tracts have been left so utterly desolate, that a traveller might pass from village to village, even from city to city, without finding a solitary inhabitant. The war of 1756 waged in the heart of Europe, left in one instance no less than twenty contiguous villages without a single man or beast. The Thirty years' war, in the 17th century, reduced the population of Germany from 12,000,000 to 4,000,000,—three fourths; and that of Wirtemberg from 500,000 to 48,000,—more than nine tenths! Thirty thousand villages were destroyed; in many others the population entirely died out; and in districts, once studded with towns and cities, there sprang up immense forests.

Look at the havoc of sieges—in that of Londonderry 12,000 soldiers, besides a vast number of inhabitants; in that of Paris, in the 16th century, 30,000 victims of mere hunger; in that of Malplaquet, 34,000 soldiers alone; in that of Ismail, 40,000; of Vienna 70,000; of Ostend, 120,000; of Mexico, 150,000; of Acre, 300,000; of Carthage, 700,000; of Jerusalem 1,000,000!

Mark the slaughter of single battles—at Lepanto, 25,000; at Austerlitz, 30,000; at Eylau, 60,000; at Waterloo and Quatre Bras, one engagement in fact, 70,000; at Borodino, 80,000; at Fontenoy, 100,000; at Arbela, 300,000; at Chalons, 300,000 of Attila's army alone; 400,000 Usipetes slain by Julius Cæsar in one battle, and 430,000 Germans in another.

Take only two cases more. The army of Xerxes, says Dr. Dick, must have amounted to 5,283,320; and, if the attendants were only one third as great as common at the present day in Eastern countries, the sum total must have reached nearly six millions. Yet in one year, this vast multitude was reduced, though not entirely by death, to 300,000 fighting men; and of these only 3,000 escaped destruction. Jenghiz-khan, the terrible ravager of Asia in the 13th century, shot 90,000 on the plains of Nessa, and massacred 200,000 at the storming of Kharasm. In the district of Herat, he butchered 1,600,000, and in two cities with their dependencies, 1,760,000. During the last twenty-seven years of his long reign, he is said to have massacred more than half a million every year; and in the first fourteen

years, he is supposed, by Chinese historians, to have destroyed not less than eighteen millions; a sum total of 32,000,000 in forty-one years!

In any view, what a fell destroyer is war! Napoleon's wars sacrificed full six millions, and all the wars consequent on the French Revolution, some nine or ten millions. The Spaniards are said to have destroyed in forty-two years more than twelve millions of American Indians. Grecian wars sacrificed 15,000,000; Jewish wars, 25,000,000; the wars of the twelve Cæsars, 30,000,000 in all; the wars of the Romans before Julius Cæsar, 60,000,000; the wars of the Roman Empire, of the Saracens and the Turks, 60,000,000 each; those of the Tartars, 80,000,000; those of Africa, 100,000,000! "If we take into consideration," says the learned Dr. Dick, "the number not only of those who have fallen in battle, but of those who have perished through the natural consequences of war, it will not perhaps be overrating the destruction of human life, if we affirm, that *one tenth* of the human race has been destroyed by the ravages of war; and, according to this estimate, more than *fourteen thousand millions* of human beings have been slaughtered in war since the beginning of the world." Edmund Burke went still further, and reckoned the sum total of its ravages, from the first, at no less than THIRTY FIVE THOUSAND MILLIONS.

POPULAR PLEAS FOR WAR.

1. I may be told that nations have *a right to resist oppression*, and to rebel, if unjust laws are imposed. But who is to decide whether the law is unjust or not? — the party imposing the law, or the party obeying it? Not the party imposing the law, or *we were wrong* in our Revolution. So Greece, Poland, South America, every free state upon earth. Nor can you give to the subject this right of adjudication; for then you would annihilate all government. If an individual or a community may shoot down the man who comes delegated to enforce a law, because they do not like it, "chaos and old night" would again set up their kingdom on earth. The Pennsylvania and Massachusetts rebellions would be right; the Baltimore and New York mobs would be right.

2. It is said, also, that a man *may fight for his liberty*, and is solemnly, religiously *bound* to fight for it. How much liberty may he fight for? How much must he be oppressed before he may "render evil for evil?" Let the amount be defined. This cannot be done. No man can tell how deep the chain shall have cut into the flesh, before the sufferer may stab his master. It may be a tax of three cents per pound on tea; it may be a stain upon that airy nothing, national honor; or it may be slavery in its worst forms.

3. I shall be asked if *defensive* war is wrong. But what is defensive war? Can it be defined? Is it not an intangible idea in the minds of most persons? But granting that revenge, retaliation, rendering evil for

evil, were the spirit of Christianity, it would be a very uncertain rule to act upon. Indeed, it could not be acted upon at all ; caprice and passion alone would decide the justice or injustice of the war. What nation has ever taken up arms, which has not stoutly contended that she was maintaining her rights ? Not one. What, then, is defensive war ? Why does this intangible idea float in the minds of so many, that defensive wars are right, when a defensive war cannot be defined ? The truth is, men see wars right, when they think that they are for their own interest.

4. Shall I be told that a nation may be insulted, if it will not fight ? I answer, it insults itself, if it does ; a far greater evil.—STEBIENS.

GLANCE AT THE WASTE OF WAR.

War is the great impoverisher of nations. By its uncertainties and sudden changes, its general derangement and stagnation of business, its withdrawal of laborers from productive employments, and its formation of lazy and improvident habits, it cuts the very sinews of a nation's prosperity, and prevents, to an extent almost incredible, the accumulation of wealth among the mass of the people. When our own population was only fifteen or sixteen millions, our annual production was estimated at \$1,400,000,000 ; and, if we suppose war to diminish this amount barely one fifth, the loss would be no less than \$280,000,000 a year. At such a rate, how vast would be the loss from this cause alone to the whole world with its 1,200,000,000 inhabitants !

Consider how much the war-system costs even in peace. The amount of money wasted on fortifications and ships, on arms and ammunition, on monuments and other military demonstrations, it is quite impossible to calculate. France alone, with a territory not so large as some of our single states, has more than 120 fortified places ; and a single one of her war monuments cost \$2,000,000. How many such in all Christendom ! Millions of dollars have we ourselves expended on a single fort, and a hundred millions more would hardly suffice to complete and arm the whole circle of our projected fortifications.

From 1816 to 1834, eighteen years of peace, our national expenses amounted to \$464,000,000, of which nearly \$400,000,000, or about six sevenths of the whole, went for war purposes ! Besides all this, Judge Jay reckoned, some twenty years ago, " the yearly aggregate expenses of our militia not much, if any, short of fifty millions." The annual expenses of England for war-purposes, including interest on her war-debt, average more than \$220,000,000 ; and Richard Cobden, after careful and extensive enquiries, came in 1848 to the conclusion that the support of the war-system was then costing Europe, in a time of peace, *one thousand million dollars a year*, besides the interest in her war-debts which amounted to TEN THOUSAND MILLIONS !

Look at the actual cost of some wars. From 1688 to 1815, a period of

127 years, England spent 65 in war, three more than in peace. The war of 1688 increased her expenditures, in nine years, \$180,000,000. The war of the Spanish succession cost, in eleven years, more than \$300,000,000; the Spanish war of 1739, in nine years, \$270,000,000; the seven years' war of 1756, \$560,000,000; the American war of 1775, \$680,000,000, in eight years; the French Revolution war of nine years from 1793, \$2,320,000,000. During the war against Bonaparte from 1803 to 1815, England raised by taxes \$3,855,000,000, and by loans \$1,940,000,000; in all, \$5,795,000,000, or an average of \$1,322,082 every day! For 20 years from 1797, she spent for war-purposes alone more than one million dollars every day! During ninety days, before and after the battle of Waterloo, she is supposed to have spent an average of about five millions a day. During seven wars, lasting in all sixty-five years, she borrowed \$4,170,000,000, and raised by taxes, \$5,949,000,000; \$10,119,000,000 in all. The wars of all Europe from 1793 to 1815, twenty-two years, cost some \$15,000,000,000, and probably wasted full twice as much more in other ways, thus making a grand total of more than forty thousand millions of dollars!

There is no end to calculations like these. All the contributions of modern benevolence are scarce a drop of the bucket in comparison with what is continually wasted for war-purposes. We started at the first suggestion of a railway across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific; but a single year's cost of the war-system to Christendom would build that road, and two more round the globe.

ENGLISH INSANITY ABOUT A FRENCH INVASION.

Hitherto a salutary jealousy of large standing armaments has proved the best safeguard of England's civil and religious freedom; but now the country seems so completely duped with the terror and suspicion which designing men have succeeded in inspiring, that it seems prepared to acquiesce in anything that may be proposed under the name of defence, however monstrous in design, however extravagant in cost, however fraught with peril to our future destinies.

Not satisfied with expending £30,000,000 a year upon our army and navy; not satisfied with having drawn some 100,000 of our young men into that vortex of foppery and dissipation, known as the volunteer movement; our panic-mongers, a few months ago, succeeded in inducing the Government to appoint a commission of naval and military officers to inquire "into the present state, condition, and sufficiency of the fortifications existing for the defence of the United Kingdom, . . . and into the most effectual means of rendering the same complete." These worthies have presented their Report, in which they recommend that £12,000,000 be immediately expended; not, let it be distinctly understood, for the defence of our coasts, but for the defence of merely ten arsenals and harbors, leaving all the rest of the coast wholly undefended, though it presents, as they acknowledge, "an aggregate of 300 miles on which a landing may be effected." No man who has the slightest acquaintance with government works, will imagine for a moment that, if these fortifications are really undertaken, £12,000,000, or twice £12,000,000, will suffice to finish them. Once let them be commenced, and they will be like a stone fixed on the neck of

the nation, which may and will be kept open for years and years to come, draining more and more the strength of the unfortunate patient.

1. In regard to this move, let it be remarked, first, that it involves a great deal more than appears on the surface. Fortifications are of no use, unless they are effectually manned. And what force will be necessary to man the works which the Commissioners recommend? Why, according to their own estimate, 68,000 men. But, if we look at the opinion of some of the authorities they examined, that number would be ridiculously inadequate. Colonel Bingham, of the Royal Artillery, tells them, that to man properly all the guns that are and will be "mounted for the defence of our dock-yards and arsenals, and principal sea-ports, and towers and batteries on the coast," we should require "72,000 trained men, and 108,000 untrained, making a total of 180,000 men." Well, if the proposed works are completed, the next cry, of course, will be for the necessary forces to occupy them; for of what use, it will be said, to have spent all that money on fortifications, unless they are to be effectively manned? And thus it will be seen that this project, if countenanced by the House of Commons, will in effect, besides the large expenditure of money that is avowed, tend insidiously to an immense increase of our standing forces.

2. Another point is this, that the military authorities whose evidence is adduced by the Commissioners, betray, and some of them openly admit the conviction, that, when you have sunk all the millions proposed in these defences, they will be wholly ineffectual for the purposes contemplated. For, what are those purposes? They are two-fold; first, to prevent an enemy's ships from sailing in and burning the buildings and stores; secondly, to prevent a fleet at sea from doing the same mischief by bombardment. In regard to the former, some of our ablest officers declare their belief that no ports, however strong and formidably mounted, could prevent an iron-plated vessel from going in and destroying our arsenals. And in regard to the latter, Sir John Burgoyne says, that it would be impossible to protect Portsmouth against bombardment from the prodigiously long range of the newly-invented guns, without fortifications of thirty or forty miles' development, and that, after all, he says "you must trust very much to your army in the field." Why then waste the public money upon works which, it is foreseen and acknowledged, will prove abortive? Why? Because it throws millions into the hands of those who have an interest in spending, and it will be a vantage-ground from which they can raise a demand for more millions.

3. And what is all this for? To protect ourselves against France; for, however men in authority may try to blink the fact by pompous generalities, *that* is the only quarter to which we look in connection with all these preparations. And what ground is there for this fear of France? Already, with all the enormous disadvantages of a system of commercial restriction, we have a trade with that country, in imports and exports, of at least £20,000,000 a year. And at this very moment commissioners are sitting in Paris arranging the details of a treaty, which, we are assured on the highest authority, is likely to afford facilities for larger commercial intercourse, beyond the utmost hopes even of its most sanguine promoters. And yet this is the time when it is proposed to launch forth into the most profligate waste of the public money, to arm ourselves to the teeth against the nation, the Government of which is doing its utmost to draw closer and closer the bonds of mutual dependence between the two countries!

And on what is such fierce suspicion of France founded? It is difficult to tell; for the voices of the panic-mongers on this point are as discordant as those of the builders of the tower of Babel. Some will tell you that the French *people* are so warlike, pant so eagerly for revenge and military glory, as to render it impossible for the Emperor to restrain them in their de-

sire to rush across the channel and cut our throats. But what are the facts? Hear the testimony of two witnesses, neither of whom is in the slightest degree inclined to peace principles, but quite the reverse. The Paris correspondent of the *Daily News*, a short time ago, writes thus :—“The French Government has been obliged to raise the price of exoneration from service in the army, from 2,000 frs. to 2,300 frs. More remarkable is it still, after all we constantly hear of the French love of glory and enthusiastic desire to fight, that the reason assigned by the *Moniteur* for this augmentation is, that the desire of young men to escape military service is every year manifested in an increased ratio. In 1856 and 1857, 16 per cent. of the recruits bought themselves off; but the proportion increased in 1858, to 18 per cent., and in 1859 to 27 per cent.”

No less explicit is the testimony of the Paris correspondent of the *Times*, although directly in the teeth of all that this nefarious journal has been proclaiming for months :—“I may be mistaken, but I confess I am rather incredulous as to the intense hatred and the burning desire of the French people and army to be constantly at war, and particularly at war with England. Neither the people nor the army contemplates any such pressure on the Imperial Government. We know that the war with Russia was viewed with indifference by the nation, and that the war with Austria was regarded with marked dissatisfaction at the commencement, and with disappointment at the end; a disappointment not much diminished by the acquisition of Savoy and Nice. French soldiers are not the ferocious beings they are sometimes depicted. They are taken from the plough by the conscription; they leave it most unwillingly; when formed to military habits, they do their duty faithfully and gallantly; but when their period of service is ended, their joy at returning to their homes, and their early pursuits, is as great as the pain they felt at quitting them. The times when, in the midst of peace, sudden descents on a neighbor's coast or territory for revenge or plunder, were not unusual, are past; the French armies at the present day are not bands of *forbans*, and modern armies do not make war like Norman rovers.”

Shall we, then, be reminded of Louis Napoleon's deep-laid plans against England? The Emperor is no favorite of ours; but what evidence have we to warrant the belief that Louis Napoleon is cherishing felonious designs against England? He has been now, for more than ten years, at the head of affairs in France; and can we point to one act of his, during the whole of that time, which betrayed hostile feelings or intentions towards this country? Have there not, on the contrary, been many acts that bear a totally opposite construction, and indicate a fixed desire to preserve our alliance and cultivate our friendship? Not the least significant, and in our judgment by far the most valuable of these, is the Treaty of Commerce recently concluded, almost entirely by his personal influence. But there are people in this country, who, with an ingenuity that seems to us perfectly diabolical, find even in this only new grounds for suspicion, and fresh materials for insulting invective against the Emperor. What better proof can he have given of his sincerity than by relinquishing, as he does under the conditions of the treaty, some three millions sterling of revenue, which he can hope to replace only by an increased trade between the two countries?

And who are likely to be best informed as to the temper and designs of a foreign potentate towards this country? The purveyors of gossip for the London newspapers, or the statesmen who, through their own accredited ambassador, and by direct correspondence, are in constant communication with the Sovereign of France and his advisers upon all questions of public policy? What then is the testimony of these latter? In July, 1859, Lord John Russell said in the House of Commons :—“I feel with my

honorable friend (Mr. Bright) that there is something dangerous, not in the present disposition of the Emperor of the French, or in the present disposition of the French people towards this country, but in the constant endeavors made to excite in the people of this country jealousy or alarm, as to some deep plot laid against our peace or security. That fear is readily imbibed. The people are urged to prepare themselves when there is no cause; and I must say, that bad as are wars of ambition, wars of panic are equally bad. I believe that whatever reproaches may be cast upon the Emperor of the French, as to various questions of his domestic and foreign policy, yet that *as regards this country — and I have often repeated it — he has been a faithful ally to us*; and I believe also, that upon any great question which may arise, his wish is to obtain the concurrence and approbation of the people of this country. What must be the effect, then, of this continued invective and declamation to the people of this country to “arm,” “arm,” as if an invasion were certainly to be expected? — *Herald of Peace abridged.*

BRITISH INFLUENCE ON INTEMPERANCE IN INDIA.

The friends of the missionary cause cannot afford to ignore the manifold obstructions in their great work, occasioned by the social evils which nominal Christians create or encourage among the heathen. That would be a sad page in the history of our religion, which should record the flood of vices that have followed its introduction in pagan lands. We quote some facts respecting India:—

“Warren Hastings, being summoned to give evidence on India before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1813, many years after his celebrated trial, says of the natives, ‘that sobriety is not a general but a universal trait of character. Their temperance is demonstrated in the simplicity of their food, and their total abstinence from spirituous liquors, and other substances of intoxication.’ But what is the case now? The Hon. Mr. Shore, a gentleman who filled successively the situations of collector of the revenue, of judge, and then of political commissioner, in India, says:—

“Drunkenness, and the use of intoxicating drinks, have increased in an extraordinary degree under the English rule. I have heard men declare that thirty years ago, even in Calcutta, a drunken native was a perfect rarity. Now they may be seen in numbers, lying drunk about the streets of that city, and more or less in every town in the interior, and not unfrequently in the villages also. *What is the cause of this? Simply that, in order to raise the revenue, almost every collector is trying to increase the number of his liquor, spirit, and drug shops*; to establish them in every hole and corner of his district, and to promote drunkenness to the utmost; often giving underhand, summary, and illegal assistance to the proprietors of shops, to enable them to recover money for liquors sold upon credit. And for this, provided the revenues increase, they receive the approbation of Government. . . . It has been observed, as a general truth, that the more connection the natives have had with the English, the more immoral, and the worse characters, in every respect, they become.’

“Both the cultivation of opium, and the manufacture of arrack, is expressly the work of the Government of India for purposes of revenue. The former, apart from the infinite mischiefs to which it gives rise in our relations with China, involving gross and habitual violation of our treaties with that country, converting our merchants into little else than smugglers and

pirates, excluding from the Chinese market articles of legitimate and honorable commerce, and keeping up ceaseless irritation between us and the Chinese authorities—apart from all these evils, the cultivation of this pestilent drug is pregnant with injuries, material and moral, to our own subjects in India. There are great oppressions practised upon the people in those parts where it is grown, by the *compulsory* cultivation of the poppy, to which they are driven by the Government.

Still worse, however, are the moral results. On this point we cite the following observations from Major-General Alexander, on 'British opium smuggling';—

'But a still greater evil than the oppression of the natives, is the rapid demoralization of the vast population of India from the growing habit of opium-eating. Even the Hindoos, said to be the most temperate people in the world, have caught the mania.' . . . In a written communication received from Mr. A. Symn, dated the 13th of March, 1840, he states:— 'The health and morals of the people suffer from the production of opium. Wherever opium is grown, it is eaten; this is one of the worst features of the opium question. We are demoralizing our own subjects in India. One-half of the murders, rapes and affrays have their origin in opium-eating.'

"More disgraceful yet, if possible, is the system by which the government of India, merely for purposes of revenue, forces the consumption of *arrack* upon the people. It is manufactured by the government, and every stimulus is given to the multiplication of licensed vendors, so as to seduce the natives to the utmost possible extent to get drunk for the profit of the State. The following is an extract from the Madrass Native Petition, the complaint of heathen Hindoos against a professedly Christian government:—

"The liquor, generally known by the name of arrack, is made at the government distilleries, and thence supplied to licensed vendors to the number of 150, by whom it is sold in small quantities in every direction. In the interior, the manufacture and sale of the article is committed to contractors or farmers, who compete the privilege annually at public auction, the sales realizing on the average £250,000 a year; and as the sale price is extremely low, the quantity consumed, and the number of consumers is immense. Drunkenness, with all its miseries, is consequently common throughout the land; and its baneful effects are a full counterpoise for whatever real or imaginary benefits have been derived by the lower orders of India from her connection with Great Britain. Your Petitioners have not memorialized Government in order to obtain the repression of this evil, not only because memorials to the Bombay authorities have totally failed, but because the amount of the revenue thus derived from native demoralization is too great for your petitioners to indulge the slightest hope of procuring even a diminution of so profitable a vice, forbidden by Hindoo and Mahommedan law, and comparatively unknown before the ascendancy of European dominion.'

"On this subject, the Bengal missionaries complain in their petition, that 'the abkaree system for the regulation of the sale of wines, spirits, and drugs, has in practical operation tended to foster among a people whose highest commendation was temperance, a ruinous taste for ardent spirits and destructive drugs, by the effort made to establish new licensed depots for them in the places where the use of such things was little, or not at all, known before.' Still stronger is the declaration of a most estimable clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. Archdeacon Jeffries, who, after an experience of thirty years in India, used these startling words at a public meeting in London several years ago:—'A large portion of the

native Christians were spread over Madras ; and, in consequence of the numerous cases of intemperance among them, the name of Christian was synonymous with that of drunkard ; and when the Hindoos called a man a Christian, they for the most part meant that he was a drunkard ! So among the converts of the Church Missionary Society and of the American Board of Missions, many had fallen through strong drink : for when once the natives broke *caste*, and became Christians, they were no longer restrained from the use of strong drinks, and they became far worse than if they never embraced Christianity. For one really converted Christian as the fruit of missionary labor—for one person ‘born again of the Holy Spirit,’ and made ‘a new creature in Jesus Christ’—for one such person, the drinking practices of the English had made *one thousand drunkards* ! That was a sad thought ; but it was a solemn truth. *If the English were driven out of India to-morrow, the chief trace of their having been there would be the number of drunkards they left behind.* So says Capt. Westmacott, ‘that in places the longest under our rule, there is the largest amount of depravity and crime. My travels in India have fallen little short of 8,000 miles, and extended to nearly all the cities of importance in Northern, Western and Central India ; and I have no hesitation in affirming, that in the Hindoo and Musulman cities, removed from European intercourse, there is MUCH LESS depravity than either in Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, where the Europeans chiefly congregate.’—*London Herald of Peace.*

GLIMPSES OF BATTLE.

Survey an army prepared for battle ; see a throng, busy with cannons, muskets, mortars, swords, drums, trumpets and banners. Do these men look like Christians ? Do they talk like followers of the meek and lowly Jesus ? Do they act like friends and benefactors of the whole human race ? Are the lessons they learn in daily drill, such as will help them in a life of faith ?

Mark this army in the hour of battle. See attacks and retreats, battalions annihilated, commanders falling, shouts of onset, groans of death, horses trampling the fallen, limbs flying in the air, suffocating smoke, and thousands smarting in the agony of death, without a cup of water to quench their intolerable thirst ! Do the principles of Christianity authorize such a scene ? Are such horrors its fruits ?

Inspect the field when all is over. The fair harvest trampled and destroyed, houses and batteries smoking in ruins, the mangled and suffering strewn among dead comrades, and dead horses, and broken gun-carriages. Prowlers strip the booty even from the warm bodies of the dying, jackals howl around, and disgusting birds are wheeling in the air ; while the miserable wife seeks her loved one among the general carnage. Does all this look as if Christians had been there, serving the God of mercy ? Could such work grow out of the system, heralded as bringing “Peace on earth ?”

Turn your eyes to the ocean. A huge ship, bristling with the implements of death, glides quietly along. Presently “a sail !” is called from sentinel to sentinel. All on board catch the sound, and gaze on the dim and distant outline. At length she is discovered to be a ship of war, and all strain their eyes to see her flag. On that little token hangs the important issue ; for no feud, no jealousy exists between the crews. They do not even know each other. At length the signal is discerned to be that of a foe. Immediately what a scene ensues ! Decks cleared and sanded, ports opened, guns run out, matches lighted, and every preparation made for bloody

work. While waiting for the moment to engage, the worst passions of the men are appealed to to make them fight with fury; and they are inspired with all possible pride, hatred, revenge or ambition.

The fight begins. Death flies with every shot. Blood and carnage cover the decks. The rigging is cut to pieces; the hull bored with hot shot. The smoke, the confusion, the orders of officers, the yells of the wounded, the crash of timbers, the horrors of the cockpit, make a scene at which infernal fiends feel their malignity stayed. The conquered ship, ere her wounded can be removed, sinks into the deep. The victor, herself almost a wreck, throws overboard the slain, washes her decks, and turns toward her port, carrying the crippled, the agonized, and the dying of both ships. What anguish is there in that ship! What empty berths, late filled with the gay-hearted and the profane! What tidings does she carry to spread lamentation and misery over hundreds of families!—*Dr. Malcom.*

THE GOSPEL TRIUMPHING.—We often take desponding views of Christianity. It is aggressive and actually progressing. Here is an abstract statement, showing the advance the church has made. There were of Christian communicants in the first century,

	500,000;
In the fifth century,	15,000,000;
In the tenth century,	50,000,000;
In the fifteenth century,	100,000,000;
In the eighteenth century,	200,000,000.

True, there was one century during the madness of the crusades, and the locking up of the Bible, when there was a decrease; but take the past as a whole, and you have an advance of 50,000,000 each century, of 140 every day. Is there not something really inspiring in such a view? Let it go on a little longer, and we may well say, "From the tops of the rocks I see them, and from the hills I behold them; who can count the dust of Jacob, and number the fourth part of Israel?"

APOLOGIES FOR THE SEVERITIES OF WAR.—There are some who attempt to justify extreme severity in war, on the plea that it is the likeliest way to bring it to a speedy termination. The more swift and summary the destruction, it is said, the more likely will the nation be to sue for peace. All history, however, belies this axiom. Turn to any war—to that, for instance, of the Turks and Greeks in 1823-7. That was savage and sanguinary enough in all conscience. If the unmitigated atrocities of war have a tendency to hasten peace, this law must certainly have taken effect between these two combatants. But so far was it otherwise, that the strife only became more desperate and deadly after each fresh act of butchery; nor is there room to doubt that they would have fought on, until one of the parties had been utterly exterminated, if the great Powers, stimulated by the cry of horror that began to rise throughout the civilized world, had not interfered peremptorily to impose upon them conditions of peace. For those who argue thus, forget to take into account the frightful exasperation of all the malignant passions provoked by acts of wanton and needless cruelty, and which lead men to lose all sense, both of interest and danger, in a ferocious hunger for revenge. "By stripping war of its horrors," says the *Edinburgh Review*, "it is supposed that we foster a warlike spirit, and invest the horrible business of slaughter with an attractive and deceiving character. If, indeed, we could hope to put an end to all war by making it terrible, then we might admit the justice of this argument; but we do not believe that we should conduce to the attainment of this happy state of universal peace by creating and increasing ferocious habits among opposing nations. Cruelty begets cruelty; one atrocity creates another by way of reprisal; and national animosity is kept alive and heightened by a desire to gratify personal hatred and revenge."

ANNUAL EFFORTS IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

The month of December (on or near Christmas,) is the time long since selected by the friends of peace for bringing this cause especially before the public; and we trust the press, the pulpit and the church will each respond cheerfully to its claims upon them for their zealous and effective support.

PREACHING.—We have already said in the present number so much on this point, that we will merely call the special attention of ministers to it, and add that we shall be glad to furnish them with any aid they may desire from our publications in preaching on the subject. We would gladly send the Advocate regularly to every preacher in the land, on the simple condition of his preaching to his people once a year on the subject, and giving them an opportunity to contribute to the cause. They might, if they chose, receive in return the full value of their contribution in our publications, to be distributed among themselves or others.

PRAYER.—There is the same need of prayer in behalf of this cause as of any other. It can never triumph without the blessing of God; and can we expect that blessing without special prayer? If we have *monthly* concerts of prayer for so many other objects, will not the followers of the Prince of Peace set apart a single day or even hour in a year to pray in concert for an object so important as the reign of universal peace on earth? The request is so reasonable, that we would fain hope that every church will this year unite in such a concert, and that every pastor will think of it in season to make suitable arrangements for it.

CONTRIBUTIONS.—We need not remind our friends *how very much we need their aid*. No such enterprise can be sustained without means; and few are fully aware how small are our resources for carrying on our operations. We do not receive one tenth, scarce a fiftieth part, of what we need, and ought to have, for a proper, adequate prosecution of our great work. We thank our friends for what they *have* done, a few for a very commendable and encouraging liberality; and we hope they will contribute, and, if possible, increase their contributions. We are entirely dependent on our *ordinary* receipts; for nothing has yet been received from the legacy of Mr. Ladd, though a decision was made some time ago in our favor.

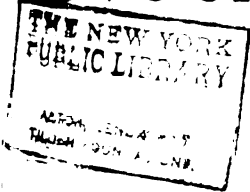
MEMBERS.—Our Constitution prescribes \$2 a year for membership, payable in December; and this entitles to our periodical and other current publications. Will not many friends of peace, not now members, become such by sending us \$2, or a larger sum, if able?

RECEIVERS OF THE ADVOCATE.—Not a few have long received the Advocate as contributors, in past years, of one dollar or more to our cause. To all such we send it for a year, and continue it longer, if we choose, *without charge*, but always in the hope of awaking such an interest as shall induce them to continue and increase their aid from year to year. If they do not choose to do so, we have no claim upon them: but, before they decline further aid, we earnestly hope they will consider well the claims of the cause upon them.

☞ Whatever you may send us by mail, address AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, BOSTON.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.



FOR

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.

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1861.

T H E

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1861.

THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAW A PEACE MEASURE.

We find, even among men of intelligence, not a little misconception respecting the true sphere and aim of our cause. Peace they seem to regard as a vague term for whatever can subserve the good order or general prosperity of either individuals, families or communities. If there is wrong done or attempted anywhere, it is expected, as a sort of universal remedy, to prevent or repair the mischief. If a family, a school, or a neighborhood, is embroiled; if pirates infest the seas, or villains commit robbery or murder; if a mob prowls through a city, or a rebellion, like that of Shay in Massachusetts, of Dorr in Rhode Island, or the present secessionists in South Carolina, lifts its bold, bloody front, the cause of Peace is required, as a part of its special mission, to meet the case, and thus furnish a sort of general antidote or cure for nearly all social evils.

Such modes of reasoning betray a strange ignorance of the whole subject. Peace a catholicon for the general disorders of society? No: for the cure or control of evils like these, we must look, not to Peace, but to Government, as embodying the expedients and powers specifically requisite for the protection of society. It comes not within the province of Peace to prevent or punish crime in general. If any wrong is done in society, any of its rights or interests put in peril, we have provision to meet the case in a right enforcement of the laws. They were made, and are to be executed, for this specific purpose. Here is the remedy prescribed by God, and applied by man, to prevent or

cure such evils. It is a question, not of Peace, but of Government; and the thing specially needed in such cases, is obedience to law, or a due enforcement of its penalties. If your child or your pupil disobeys, and thus disturbs your family or your school, what you want is, not a homily on harmony and good feeling, a lullaby to coax or soothe the offender asleep, but a prompt, decisive demand of submission to your authority. The support of government by enforcing its laws, or inflicting its penalties, is in such cases the proper, if not the only sure, means of securing peace.

So everywhere. If an incendiary fires your city or village, do you send a company of peacemen to ply him with their gentle and loving words? No; you would send the police, or a bevy of constables, to arrest him, and bring him to justice. There is no other way at the time of dealing with such men. Would you call this a hard process? Very true; but it is the process which God himself prescribes, as "a terror to evil-doers, a revenger to execute wrath (inflict punishment) upon him that doeth evil." "The way of transgressors" *must* be hard; and it is the ordering of infinite wisdom and love to make it so.

Now, it is not the proper province of our cause to deal with such cases as these. It is a question, not of peace, but of justice in the execution of law. Government is designed to meet just such cases; and what society needs, and must sooner or later have, is an effective enforcement of its authority. Its laws, by whomsoever violated, whether by few or by many, by an infuriated mob, or a whole province deliberately planning and organizing rebellion, must be put in execution as the specific means provided by society to guard its common rights and interests.

Here, then, is the province of Government, which was made on purpose to keep peace by a prompt, energetic exercise of its authority. Is not this just the way, as all experience proves, to keep peace between families or communities? So on the largest scale. It was Gen. Jackson's firmness in upholding the authority of our National Government, and his inflexible purpose to enforce its laws at all hazards, that restrained Nullification in 1833; and had the same hand held the reins when Border Ruffianism attempted such abominable outrages in Kansas, it would doubtless have averted nearly all the enormous evils that ensued. So of the wholesale nullification that now assumes the form of Secession at the South. It is, in its origin and its essential character, a question of obedience to government; and a judicious, yet

energetic, unflinching enforcement of its laws would have been precisely the measure of peace needed at the right time to meet the case.

Has the cause of peace, then, nothing to do with such cases? Not directly, but a great deal by its general influence. While its single object is to abolish the practice of nations appealing to the sword for the settlement of their disputes, and persuade them to supersede its blind, brutal arbitrament by the introduction of laws and courts akin to those which are found in all civilized countries to secure justice between individuals, it inculcates principles, and forms habits, that would be sure to prevent mobs, insurrections, and all kindred disturbances of society. It is a school of obedience to law as the guardian of peace. No people, educated in such views as our cause inculcates, would ever abet or tolerate rebellion, or *any violent* resistance to "the powers that be." It is the lack of such principles and habits that has occasioned what we now see at the South. Had they been educated to even the lowest views of peace, they would have calmly waited for law, reason and truth, for the use of peaceful means alone, to redress their alleged wrongs. Alas! neither the South nor the North has been trained in any *strict* principles of peace; and God only knows what may yet be the result of lessons learned by most of us in the school of a bloody revolution. From the seed sown by our fathers in 1776, we are now reaping the bitter but legitimate fruits of 1861. It is too late for our cause to cure the evil. Its work of prevention should have been going on ages ago in such an education of the community as would have rendered rebellion morally impossible. Peace is not a mushroom, the growth of a night, but a sort of century plant, whose fruits ripen only after the lapse of ages in the general habits of a people. The principles of Christian peace have hardly begun as yet to take root among us; but, should they ever overspread the land, and form an integral part of our general character, we shall hear no more of rebellion in any form, nor ever shudder as now at the prospect of seeing our country drenched in fraternal blood. In this view peace is a great want of the world; and may God in his mercy hasten its promised coming!

WESLEYAN MISSIONS.—Through the agency of the English Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Gospel is preached in more than twenty languages at 3,650 places in various parts of Europe, India, China, Southern and Western Africa, the West Indies, Australia, Canada, and British America.

ENGLISH LIBERALITY TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

We have often alluded to the large and steadfast liberality of our co-workers in England, as worthy of all imitation; and in the *Herald of Peace* for December, 1860, we find a very characteristic illustration of the calm, resolute, untiring zeal with which they prosecute this great reform as a life-work.

In November last, the London Peace Society issued a special circular for funds. "Deeply impressed with a sense of the severe loss it had sustained by the death of Joseph Sturge," its President at the time of his death, some leading friends had met soon after "to consider what could be done in some measure to repair the breach." Besides a tender of "personal services in prosecuting the object which he had so much at heart," they deemed it of "great importance that the income of the Society should be placed on a *more secure and permanent footing*; for though, owing to the accident of two considerable legacies having come in during the year, there was a satisfactory balance in hand, the financial prospects of the Society were in a very precarious condition. Some of its largest contributors have passed away, whilst the help derived of late years from the Special Fund, called the Peace Conference Fund, must now cease, as that Fund is almost entirely exhausted."

Under these circumstances, they proposed "an effort to obtain a *secure income* for the Society, such as would enable it to prosecute its efforts with efficiency and success." Note their argument: "No doubt in this, as in other cases, it would be better if the support of such a movement could be derived from a large number of smaller contributors; but in the actual state of opinion among the Christian public of this country, the cause of Peace must for the present depend mainly upon the help of a comparative few, to whom its maintenance is a matter of deep religious conviction."

We cannot forbear quoting another specimen of their logic:—"We are very fully persuaded, that not only is the cause of Peace the cause of the Divine Master whom we desire to love and serve, but that, in spite of all the interests opposed to it, it is making marked and steady progress. We believe, also, that after a period of great difficulty and discouragement as regards the Peace cause, there are now cheering indications that a favorable opening is presenting itself for the advocacy of our principles," instancing especially the recent commercial treaty with France. "The friends of Peace should, we think, be ready to take advantage of the favorable turn which may be confidently expected to take place in the public opinion of this country:

and to accomplish this object on a scale at all commensurate to its importance, it is evident that the Society must have larger resources at its command than it has enjoyed of late years."

This appeal brought, in a month or two after its date, the following results: Eight friends of the cause subscribed \$500 each, all but two of these permanent *annual* subscriptions; four \$250 each, two of \$150, four of \$125, a large number of \$50, still more of \$25, and none less than \$5. The total is more than \$7,500; and of this sum more than \$5,000 is in the form of *permanent* subscriptions, on which the society can rely from year to year without further effort. Here we find, in response to a single circular, pledges returned equivalent for the time being to a *permanent fund of nearly a hundred thousand dollars.*

This example of our English brethren, and the logic on which it rests, we would fain commend to the friends of Peace in our own country. What a meagre pittance is here contributed to the cause! It would seem very much as if its friends supposed it needed next to no funds in carrying on its operations, but could send forth its lecturers, and scatter its publications all over the land, and keep this great question before our rulers, our ecclesiastical bodies, our seminaries of learning, and the mass of our people, all with less money than it often takes to support a single church! Must it continue to struggle against this master-evil with less than a tithe of what is absolutely indispensable to a proper prosecution of this great Christian reform? We would not undervalue the liberality shown by some of its friends; but how few evince the enlarged views and steadfast, devoted, determined zeal of our English brethren. When may we hope for a *permanent* subscription of five or ten thousand dollars a year, in *addition* to our ordinary income from smaller contributions? All this *ought* to be done, and *can* be, if our friends will only wake fully to the wants and the transcendent importance of the cause, and *must* be done before it can begin to reach the success to which it is ultimately destined.

There is one point in the argument of our English co-workers, to which we beg special attention—*its reliance for the present upon a comparatively few.* They say, with much truth, "it must for the present depend mainly upon the help of a comparative few, to whom its maintenance is a matter of deep religious conviction." There is no other way of sustaining it; and its friends, if they would insure its success, or its permanent prosecution, must, so long as it shall be necessary, devote to it most of the time and resources that they can spare for such objects.

PEACE COMPATIBLE WITH GOVERNMENT.

The friends of peace are supporters of civil government, and hold no principles that we deem incompatible with its existence, or its fullest and best efficiency. Society requires government; but a government, without penalties, or without the right and power to enforce them, would be not only a nullity in practice, but a contradiction in terms. While believing war contrary to the gospel, we yet regard government as an institution divinely appointed for the good of mankind, and authorized at discretion to punish and coerce its subjects. At present, however, we wish to prove, not the truth of these positions, but merely their consistency with each other. All peace men, as distinguished from those modern non-resistants who deny the right of man to punish or coerce his fellow-man, believe in the lawfulness of government, with all the penalties and powers requisite for the well-being of society. So William Penn himself thought. His peace principles did not allow him to use or prepare warlike means of defence against even the ferocious savages surrounding his colony; yet he incorporated in his code of laws, contrary to the present views of the Friends, the penalty of death for murder, and deemed it necessary to arm government with the power to coerce the obedience of *its own subjects*.

Here is the Rubicon in the argument for peace; and the point of difficulty we will put in the strongest light possible. 'If a government may punish its own subjects, why not wage war against foreigners? If it may hang or imprison one murderer, why not thousands guilty of the same offence? If it may put to death a crew of pirates, why not a hostile fleet bent on the same deeds of plunder and blood? If it may execute a gang of ten robbers, why not destroy an army of ten thousand marauders from another nation? If it may suppress a mob or an insurrection with bullets and bayonets, why not employ the same means to repel an invading army commissioned to butcher, and burn, and ravage? Does the distinction between a citizen and a foreigner, between a mob and an army, each committing or threatening the same outrages, make any real difference? If it does, ought we not to spare the domestic rather than the foreign offender?'

Here is the difficulty in all its force; and we meet it by saying, *God permits the taking of life in one case, but not in the other.* He authorizes rulers to govern, not to fight; to punish, but not to quarrel. Such acts, even if they were physically the same, would be morally

different ; and hence one *may* be permitted, while the other is forbidden. Such we take to be the fact ; for God allows government to punish *its own subjects* at discretion, and to use all the force necessary to insure obedience, but gives it no right to wage war with another government, or to take the life of any person not under its own jurisdiction. It has the power of life and death over its own citizens, but not over those of any other country. If they come as individuals within its limits, they become, while there, subject to its authority, amenable to its laws, and liable to its penalties. They are temporary citizens, and must for the time be treated as such. They are only private persons, not, as in war, the avowed and recognized representatives of another government ; and the treatment due to them as individuals, determines nothing in respect to the mutual rights and obligations of the two governments. These stand to each other in the relation of moral agents subject to the general principles of the gospel ; and hence its pacific precepts, applicable to the intercourse of individuals, apply with equal force to governments in their intercourse, unless an exception is expressly made in favor of the latter. No such exception do we find in the New Testament, and thus are forced to the conclusion, that governments are no more at liberty than individuals, to fight each other in any case.

On this point the burden of proof lies with the advocates of war. The deeds of violence and blood inseparable from every kind of warfare, are confessedly contrary to those precepts of the gospel which require us not to resist evil, but overcome it with good : to do good unto all men ; to love, forgive and bless even our enemies ; and, unless you can bring from the New Testament some passage which clearly permits what is so plainly forbidden in such precepts as these, we have no more right to kill an army of invaders than we have to renounce our religion, and turn Mohammedans or Pagans, for the preservation of liberty and life. No form of idolatry is more explicitly forbidden than are such deeds of vengeance ; and, if you can get no exception in their favor from God himself, the prohibition remains in all its force, and binds us to obey, and abide the consequences.

Such an exception cannot be found in the New Testament. Do you insist that it is implied in the admitted right of government to take the life of its own subjects ? We deny the implication, and demand the proof. Can you find it in any passage which gives to government its power over its own subjects ? The thirteenth chapter of Romans, almost the only reliance for such a purpose, contains not a word to jus-

tify the inference, that one government may at will butcher the subjects of another for any purpose whatever. It was written, not to define the powers of government, but to inculcate submission to its authority, even though administered by Nero himself, then on the throne. Such was the chief, if not the sole design of Paul in that chapter; and the powers of government as "the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath," are but incidentally recognized merely for the purpose of enforcing the duty of implicit subjection. He here makes not the slightest allusion to the intercourse of one government with another.

But do you aver that the very idea of a government with discretionary penalties, or the admission of its right to coerce its own subjects at pleasure, covers the whole ground of defensive war? So reason all apologists for this custom; but the assumption overlooks the fundamental principle, that our duties all spring from our relations, and involves the absurd dogma, that individuals when alone have the same rights, and lie under the same obligations, as when members of a social organization. Such an organization, giving rise to new relations, must of course create corresponding rights and duties. Has a man no more right to the person of his wife, or the service of his child, than he has to any woman or child he meets in the street? Does he, on becoming a father or a husband, a teacher or a ruler, acquire no new rights, and assume no additional responsibilities? Is he required or permitted, as an isolated individual, to do what he may and should do in relations like these? Such questions answer themselves, and disclose a very essential difference between a government taking in a legal way the life of its own subjects as a penalty for crime, and the same government killing without any form of trial, or the least pretension to individual justice, an army of invaders from another country. They act not for themselves, but for their rulers; and, if taken as prisoners of war, not one of them could be tried for murder. Their government alone is responsible; ours has no jurisdiction in the case; and the laws of war discard the idea of their being held to any responsibility as individuals.

Let us trace the limits of authority and obligation under government. You see a man committing theft or murder; but are you bound or permitted to punish him? You would be if you were the government; but are you as an individual? A teacher may see in the street scores of mischievous boys; but does his right to govern his school, involve the right to punish these outsiders even when acting worse than any of his own pupils?—'Certainly not; but he *would* have a right to re-

strain them even by violence, if they invaded his school.' True, he would, if the civil government *gave* him the right; and so would a nation be at liberty to destroy their invaders, *if God permitted it*; but, since he has given no such permission, we contend that it is not, as a matter of course, involved in the right of a government to coerce *its own subjects*.

These cases are so distinct, that you cannot argue from one to the other. The point now in dispute is, not whether government has the right of war from *any* source, but whether such a right is implied in that of controlling its own subjects. Because a parent may punish his own children, does it follow that he may punish his neighbor's children? —“But what if they trespass upon his premises?” Then he *may* restrain them by force, and even punish them, *if the law allows it*, just as a government may resist unto death an army of invaders, *if God allows it*; but, if he does not, the right to do so cannot be found necessarily in any power it has over its own subjects. Because the head of every family in a neighborhood may and should govern his own children, you surely would not infer the right of these families to fight one another; yet from the conceded right of a government to restrain and punish its own subjects, you argue its authority to wage war against other governments!

With the reasons in the case we are not now dealing. Are you unable to understand *why* God should make such a difference? Be it so; still our ignorance cannot alter the fact, nor absolve us from the duty of acquiescing in such clear expressions of his will as he has given in the pacific precepts of his gospel. Abraham may have seen a variety of very cogent reasons why he should not slay his son; yet were they all overruled by the simple fact of God's requiring the strange sacrifice. We have no right to ask his reasons. If he gives them, it is well; but, if not, we are still bound to submit without a murmur or a doubt; and, if he has given precepts which condemn all the moral ingredients of war, nor made any exceptions which exempt nations in their intercourse with each other from obligation to obey them, then no ignorance, no doubts, no difficulties on our part, can excuse them from taking those precepts as their rule of duty.

But, however unable to discover *all* the reasons for such a difference, we find enough for our satisfaction. We see them in the relation between rulers and subjects;—in the very ends of civil government;—in its legitimate, well defined powers;—in the necessity of their faithful exercise to the welfare of society;—in their wise and obvious adapta-

tion to the wants of mankind;—in the possibility of thus insuring justice, safety and happiness to the community, without the evils inseparable from the conflict of nations. None of these reasons apply to war. We find no license from the God of Peace for its atrocities and horrors. No relation between one government and another, gives either a right to kill or coerce the subjects of the other. Nor is war a sure or a safe remedy for the evils incident to the intercourse of nations. It gives no assurance of justice, and contains not the slightest resemblance to a judicial process. There is no common code or tribunal, no form of trial, no charges duly tabled, no witness fairly confronted, no common judge or jury, no power above them both to punish the criminal; not a solitary element essential to a process of justice. One person offends, and the whole nation is doomed to vengeance. Each party makes its own law in the case, and acts at once as accuser and witness, as judge, jury and executioner. Is this a judicial process, a method of justice? No more than a recounter between tigers.

Do you still insist, however, that government, appointed for the protection of its subjects, is even required, if necessary for this purpose, to wage war against invaders? There are better means for this than the sword; and, if government did its whole duty, there would be little, if any, need of appealing to arms for the defense of its subjects. We insist on the use of these means as their best safeguard. It may and should protect them, as far as it can without violating the commands of God; but it has no right, for this or any other purpose, to contravene his revealed will. The question here is not, whether government shall defend its own subjects by *proper*, CHRISTIAN means, but whether it may for this end perpetrate all the enormities of war. May it reverse or suspend the whole Decalogue? May it trample under foot Christ's sermon on the mount, and the plainest teachings of his Apostles? Does God authorize government to do *such* things? If not, then no plea of protection can justify war in any case.

Here is the upshot of our argument. The precepts of the gospel forbid what is essential alike to war and to government; but the penal and coercive measures of the latter, being clearly permitted by God himself *as exceptions*, are admissible on the same principle with the sacrifice of Isaac, and the penal enactments of the Jewish code, though each contrary to the letter of the sixth commandment; while war, not being thus permitted, remains in every one of its forms under the full force of those precepts which condemn all its moral elements, and require the opposite virtues of love, forgiveness and universal beneficence. Thus we may discard all war, and still believe in the right of

government, if necessary, to hang the murderer, and employ force to arrest pirates, and to suppress mobs, riots and insurrections.

These views are obviously the reverse of non-government. It is one thing for a father to rule his own family, and quite a different thing for that family to fight another; one thing to say that a parent may not forcibly resist the wrong-doing of his child, and another to hold that the child must never thus resist the authority of his parent: one thing to deny the right of government to punish or coerce its subjects, and a very different thing to insist that subjects shall never oppose force to their government. The former we discard, the latter we fully believe; and while one leaves to government no power but that of moral suasion, the other obviously makes it stronger and perfectly secure. By teaching that children may never resist their parents, should we cut the sinews of parental authority? By denying the right of forcible resistance in any case to civil government, should we strip the magistrate of all power? Could such a doctrine lead to treason, to insurrection, to rebellion? Did our revolutionary fathers preach it? Was it ever a watchword with rebels or mobocrats? The objector shoots at the wrong target; he should change his ground, and accuse us, not of weakening government, but of arming it with too much power.

After all, however, what possible *danger* can ensue from peace? Suppose war brought every where to a perpetual end, can the wildest dreamer imagine, that such a result would crash or paralyze all government, and flood the world with anarchy, violence and crime? The supposition is absurd. No, peace, the nurse of every virtue, is the medium of nearly all our blessings; and, if we would insure, on the largest scale possible, happiness to individuals and prosperity to nations, we must labor for universal and permanent peace as the world's grand desideratum.

TRAINING OF THE GENERAL MIND TO WAR.

War-habits of mind are formed everywhere. War-maxims are taught, perhaps unconsciously, in all our colleges and universities. Such works as Vattel, Puffendorf and Grotius are made text-books, and, if not subscribed to entirely, must necessarily have much influence in forming permanent habits of thought. The exercises in the classics, also, are to such an extent records of deeds of heroism, and dressed perhaps in such gaudy and sublime language of fiction, as to allure the youthful mind, and do much toward giving character, not only to his style, but also to his modes of thinking and feeling relative to chivalry and martial glory.

To this incidental inculcation of the war-system, we may add the direct efforts made at great expense, by civilized governments, in military and naval schools, in military organizations and trainings, in standing forces, and indeed in all the expensive and gaudy paraphernalia which governments so lavishly bestow upon preparations for war.

Nor can we, while on this point, omit to mention one method of giving eclat to the war-spirit and maxims of war recently revived. We allude to the calling in of female youth to give allurements to martial exhibitions. Thus we find in our weekly papers frequent approving notices and encomiums bestowed on military balls, concerts of martial music, and festivals given in aid or honor of some martial organization, in halls decorated with the appendages of war.

Do you ask what has the world to fear from this? We ask in turn, what has the world experienced from this? Said a sagacious lady to the Emperor Napoleon, "France wants mothers." The thought galvanized his soul, and the toy-shops of France were soon filled with the miniature apparatus of war. France had mothers. The little banner fluttered over the cradle; the little one was quieted, and the older ones amused by the drum, the bugle and the fife. The youth panted to share the victories of his emperor, and the scenes of Bordorino and of Waterloo closed with them the drama. France had childless mothers! So has it been, more or less, in all past ages. Spartan mothers have been lauded to the heavens, but in their solitude and desolation have been left to curse their own folly.

What has society to fear from female influence in favor of war? Everything. The war-system has no foundation in the higher elements of our nature, in reason or moral principle; if it had we could oppose it effectually by truth and reason. Its element is passion. Its base lies in the malignant passions, while pride, vanity, and ostentation complete the structure. When we look at history, either sacred or profane, we shall find the devil has achieved his greatest conquests over men by means of female influence. How was the wisest man beguiled, and the strongest man overcome? How was the purest man that ever lived brought under the power of temptation? Ever since the serpent beguiled Eve, this same diabolical practice has been placed over the reason, the senses, and the consciences of men. Even now the grand adversary needs mothers to keep the human family at sword's points; and how shall he secure them, but by beguiling those who are destined in providence to give early instruction to the next generation?

It behooves us to strip war of these false and fatal attractions. We should admonish our youth, that these halls, decorated with the gaudy insignia of war, enlivened by martial music, and rendered inviting by all that can tempt the eye and the appetite, are by no means a just representation, even in miniature, of a military festival in its terrible reality. It is at best a falsity, a bait. Such we might expect; for "the devil is a liar from the beginning." If you would see a real military festival, as drawn by the pen

of Truth, read Rev. xix. 17, 18, or Ezekiel xxxix. 17-20. Here we have the reality; and if like causes produce like effects, such will ever be the effect of cherishing the war-spirit.

B. W. S.

THE WICKED WASTE OF WAR.

The disbursements of a belligerent government, drawn of course by taxation from the laboring community, form an incalculable amount. Our last war with England cost us more than a hundred millions of dollars per annum. During the last 175 years, ENGLAND has had *twenty-four* wars with France, *twelve* with Scotland, *eight* with Spain, and *two* with America, besides all her other wars with India and elsewhere. These cost her government, according to official returns, *three thousand millions* of pounds sterling, or FIFTEEN THOUSAND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS! The war which ended at Waterloo, cost France £700,000,000, and Austria £300,000,000, or five thousand millions of dollars! How much it cost Spain, Sweden, Holland, Germany, Prussia and Russia, I have no means of knowing, but at least an equal sum. Thus one long war cost Europe at least forty thousand millions of dollars,—enough almost to banish suffering poverty from Europe! For all this, NOTHING has been gained. Nay, the spending of it thus has produced an aggregate of vice and poverty, pain and bereavement, more than, without war, would have come upon the whole human family! Who then can begin to compute the cost of *all* the wars even in Europe alone?

We often hear much railing against useless expenditure, and proposals for economy in dress, furniture, &c., and it is well. But those who insist on these modes of frugality and the like, should be consistent. Let them remember that all the retrenchments they recommend are but as the dust of the balance compared to the expenditure of war. But vast as are the expenses of belligerent governments, they do not constitute a tenth of the true expenses of war. We must reckon the destruction of property, private and public—the ruin of trade and commerce—the suspension of manufactories—the loss of the productive labor of soldiers and camp followers. But who can reckon such amounts?

Further, let it be considered that all these items must be doubled and trebled in cases of *civil* wars, and that such form a large part of the catalogue.

Further still, war causes the great bulk of taxation even in time of peace. Witness the annual appropriations for fleets and standing armies, forts, arsenals, weapons, pensions, and the like. Ever since our last war with England, we have been paying *annually*, for the above objects, about *ten* times as much as for the support of our civil government! "The war spirit" is taxing our people to the amount of unnumbered millions *now* in time of profound peace. A single 74 gun ship, beside all her cost of construction and equipment, cost in time of peace, while afloat, \$200,000 per annum—eight times the salary of the President of the United States. *Nearly all the taxes paid by civilized nations, go in some form or other to the support of war!* All the British debt which is grinding her people into the dust, was created by war. The cost of the wars of Europe alone, in only the last century, would have built all the churches, and established all the schools, colleges, and hospitals, wanted on the whole globe!

DR. MALCOM.

THE FAMILY OF NATIONS.

There is a family whose influence is doing much to give character to society everywhere; but this family, though regarded as a model, and claiming to be a guardian of morality and religion, is nevertheless in the practice of entertaining certain maxims, and rules of conduct, utterly inconsistent with any just sense of true religion, or even common morality.

The family of which I speak, is the family of nations. That the nations of the earth constitute one family, or brotherhood, is in accordance with observation and scripture: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." (Acts 17: 26.) Well might it be expected that the family of nations, especially civilized nations, would cherish the most friendly relations with each other; and such an expectation might be daily strengthened by the progress of improvement in every useful and elegant art. Especially when we take into account the purposes for which national governments are organized, viz: the establishment and support of Justice and Equity, the security of those rights with which the Creator has endowed men, and the sanction God himself has given to such an organization for such a purpose; (2. Sam'l. 23: 3.) "The God of Israel said, the Rook of Israel spoke to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." In view of all this, we are ready to adopt the exclamation: "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. It is as the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended on the mountains of Zion where the Lord commanded his blessing even life forever more."

But even in this family there are defects of character. And first we notice some of the rules and maxims by which they govern their intercourse. Vattel, an author generally accredited as authority, says: "The glory of a nation depends entirely on its powers. He who attacks its glory does it an injury; and it has a right to demand, even by force of arms, a just recompense." See Book I.

"In things doubtful, and not essential, if one of the parties will not listen either to compromise or accommodation, negotiation or conference, the arms of the other are just against so unreasonable an adversary. The cause of every just war is injury either done or threatened. Two things are necessary to make a war in due form: First, that on both sides it should be by authority of the sovereign. Secondly, that it should be accompanied with certain formalities, as demand of just satisfaction, and declaration of war on the part of him who attacks. On a declaration of war, a nation has a right of doing toward the enemy whatever is necessary to bring him to reason, and obtain justice." "As there is no judge between nations, war in form is to be accounted just on both sides, as to its effects. Whatever is permitted to one by virtue of the state of war, is also permitted to the other." See Book II.

Such are some of the rules, maxims and regulations by which this

great family govern their conduct among themselves. A few quotations farther may illustrate their destitution of moral principle in their intercourse: "To expect that men, and especially men in power, will conform to the strictness of justice and humanity, would be a gross mistake. Again, capitulation and life may be denied an enemy who surrenders, when the enemy has been guilty of some breach of *the laws of war*. It is a sad extremity to put an innocent man to death for his general's faults." See Book II.

Thus personal justice is set at naught. Relative to truth with nations, Vattel says: "Several have made truth a kind of deity, to which, independent of its effects, we owe inviolable respect; but by grounding the respect due to truth on its effects, men are led in the right way!"

As pertains to personal liberty and the rights of conscience, especially with reference to military men, Vattel says: "Every member capable of carrying arms, should take them up at the first order of him who has the power of making war. The troops, officers and soldiers, indeed all by whom the sovereign makes war, are only instruments in his hands — they execute his will, not their own. Whoever takes arms without a lawful cause, is chargeable with all the evils of the war. The subjects and especially the military, are innocent; they act only from necessary obedience; the arms and all the apparatus are only instruments of an inferior order."

But we have spoken of this family as being a religious family, and even the reputed guardian of religion. How is this? Says Lord Bacon, "War is one of the highest trials of right; for as princes and states acknowledge no superior upon earth, they put themselves upon the justice of God by an appeal to arms." And says Vattel, "The establishment of religion by the laws, and its public exercise, are matters of state, and are necessary under the jurisdiction of the public authority." This maxim is becoming extensively obsolete, and is spurned in the United States; yet it may be regarded as remaining in full force in the army and navy of other Christian nations; and hence the office of Chaplain, subaltern to the General, to serve as a quietus to conscience. Even through the whole circle of civil society the doctrine is often inculcated, that rulers, as the "ministers of God," have power to bind men's consciences to obey military commands!

It needs no labored argument to show how perfectly in contrast these maxims of international law are to common law, to the rules and foundation of civil law, to the law of God, to the precepts of the gospel, and every just sense of Christian morality. In the language of the Prophet, we may say of them, "Judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off; truth is fallen in the streets, and equity cannot enter." But these maxims, corrupt and appalling as they are, are not more flagrant than is the practical carrying out of them in open war. We recoil at this theme; for the history of nations is a history of wars. War has absorbed their energies and their wealth from time immemorial. It has corrupted their

morals and their maxims ; it has sacreligiously and blasphemously perverted their religion, making partiality, injustice, rage and revenge attributes of its god, and has combined the spirit of homicide and suicide in the same character as requisite in soldiers. It has permaturely sent the human family by millions to a hopeless eternity. The learned Dr. Dick sets down the slaughtered in war at fourteen thousand millions ! Edmund Burke goes still farther, and reckons the sum total of its ravages from the first, at thirty-five thousand million human lives ! Even in modern times, in the wars of Napoleon alone, within the space of 20 years, it is reckoned that not less than six millions of human lives were destroyed by war ! Let him who has lost a dear friend attempt to multiply the grief and suffering of that scene by six millions, and he cannot reach even that conception of the field of carnage.

We have said the wealth of the world has been wasted in war ; and so it has to an extent, even at the present day. It is computed that the annual cost of the war-system to Christendom at the present day, including interest on war debts, cannot fall much short of \$1,000,000,000 ; and the war-debts of Europe are set at \$10,000,000,000. Let any one compute the interest that accumulates on this debt at every tick of his clock, and he may have some idea of the waste of war. Even in the United States the expense of war casts all others in the shade. When once war is declared, the seeds of the war-spirit are sown broadcast through the nation, to raise up a race of desperadoes for the army and navy ; war-maxims are inculcated ; that patriotism which unblushingly declares, ' I go for my country, right or wrong,' is lauded to the heavens ; the sycophant demagogue adds eclat to the popular cry, the moral aspect of society wears a change, and Christian morals, if not extirpated, are driven into a corner. And for what ? To give character and form to the feelings of a nation toward its brother nation. And can any Christian in view of all this — such sentiments unblushingly uttered, such waste unsparingly lavished, such massacre and demoralization, and that by the great family of men for whom Christ died, a family whom he is bound by his Christian faith to regard and treat as a brotherhood ; can he fail to utter his remonstrance ? Nay, can any Christian acquiesce in such a consummation of villainy ?

Let no one be deterred from this duty in the premises by the consideration, that nations are in their national capacity to be regarded and treated as moral persons, possessing understanding and will, and consequently lying in their intercourse beyond the sphere of our individual effort. The sphere of your efforts, though with individuals, is with constituent parts of the nation ; and there is no such thing as the moral qualities of a nation, other than an aggregate of these qualities in the persons of whom the nation is composed ; so that the sphere of your operation is not at all curtailed by the nationality of the evils. Let no one imagine that, as the evil is of a political character, it may be left to the political demagogue and the statesman to bring about a radical reform. The great wrong rests

in the public mind, and the political demagogue of all men is least fitted to correct it; for while he seems to lead the public mind, the public mind may lead him obsequious to its will. Shall we look, then, to the statesman? His attention to the world's history, scanning practices and results, has abundantly taught him the truth of the divine declaration, "they that take the sword," whether nations or individuals, "shall perish by the sword." But the statesman will reply, 'If I array my influence against the system of war, the popular influence will be arrayed against me. I shall lose my public station, and consequently my voice in public affairs. And what will be gained by it?'

We appeal, then, to Christians. You are not, like the statesman and the magistrate, incumbered with the vexed distinctions between "status and domicil," between "persons and people," between "citizens and subjects," and the "rights" and duties consequent on these distinctions. The grand question, who is my neighbor? is already answered, and the answer lies at the foundation of your morality. Your commission and your moral code are from God, not from the politician and the populace. With you the nations are indeed a brotherhood. Your commission is to evangelize the world. Your instrumentality is the law and the gospel of God. With the heathen world you have already begun the good work, and will you quail before the errors of the Christian world? Are they more hopeless than those of the heathen? Is the barbarism of Christendom too barbarous to be met with the precepts of the Gospel, or the paganism of Christendom too pagan to be brought in contact with the law of the living and true God? The war system has long rendered Christian nations, with all their superiority in arts and refinement, a terror and abhorrence to the heathen, and it is a duty we owe even the heathen to abandon it. How much more then to neighboring Christian nations and to ourselves.

But what great work is to be done to abolish war? Simply leave off fighting. Whatever other regulations and rules may be convenient in such a change, this is the great desideratum—*leave off fighting*. But can such a change be effected? It can, it must, it will be, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. But when? Just when Christians shall unite heartily in the work, and use aright the necessary means. Through the whole extent of Christendom, the Bible and its Gospel are extended, and, under their influence, civilization and the genuine principles of civil law, are making marked progress. Thus the elements, the seeds of peace are planted, and are germinating among the tares. The war system is even now to all Christendom a burden grievous to be borne; and if Christians generally would withdraw from it all those supports afforded by false interpretations of Scripture, leaving it exposed to the abhorrence of God and man, it would fast sink of its own weight. And this certainly the Christian public ought to do, and more. We have part in the sovereignty of the nation; and we, in all our political franchise, and in our general

course, should exert an influence in behalf of peace. Christians, as they go to the polls, have no right to let the moral law and the precepts of the gospel give place to political expediency. For right and wrong, whether in the church or in the forum, there should be one measure and one scale. Let such a course be pursued by the Christian public. Let the glories of war be exhibited as shame and guilt; and the hero would retire before the exhibition, as did he who first perpetrated warfare in the fraternal relation. Feeling himself driven from among men, and hidden from the face of God, with Cain he might say, "My punishment is greater than I can bear." And the proverb of the wise man would again be accredited, "He that is slow to anger, is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city."

Middlebury, Vt.

B.

THE POPULARITY OF WAR.

It is surprising to notice through various ages the popularity of war; and there is reason to fear that even Christian nations to-day do not deprecate war as the evil it really is. We are prone to think merely of the principle which may be at issue, and to forget the cost in human beings, the degradation in morality, and the chances even for defeat in the contest.

Look at a few things! "In every age," says Napier, "and in every country, the *uncertainty* of war is proverbial." And is this to be the means of redress and grievances among nations? It is *might*, not *right*, that succeeds in battle. There was a vast deal of force in what Warren Muffin gave to Washington as the reason why he opposed the Revolution, and protested at the battle of Germantown against it. He said, in reply to Washington's inquiry, "on what principles he was opposed to the war,"

All that was ever gained by revolutions is an inadequate compensation to the poor mangled soldier for the loss of life or limb.' Washington said, "there is more in that than mankind have generally considered." The *strong* nations know to-day between themselves the uncertainty of suspending a principle on a battle; and hence, *between themselves* the increasing influence of councils, arbitrations, treaties, while at the same time they did not hesitate about battle with weaker governments.

But think of the *cost* of advancing pet principles by this means. Caligula murdered many by his own hands, and caused thousands who were guilty of no crime, to be cruelly butchered. Antiochus Epiphanes slaughtered 80,000 inhabitants of Jerusalem in cold blood. Hamilcar gave up all the prisoners, who came into his hands, to be devoured by wild beasts. Ashdrubal put out the eyes of his Roman captives, cut off their noses, legs, arms, and tore their skin to pieces by iron rakes and harrows. Genghis Khan put 70 chiefs into cauldrons of boiling water; his army beheaded 100,000 prisoners at once; and during the last twenty-two-years of his reign, he massacred *fourteen millions four hundred and seventy thousand* human beings. Tamerlane destroyed three or four thousand people by pounding them in large mortars, and by building them among bricks and mortar in a wall. Alexander and Cæsar murdered some *two millions* or more of human beings each. Great God! is this popular?

But it will be claimed, this is not modern warfare, to which we reply, these wars were as popular in their day as any in ours. But for the facts

about some more modern contests. The battle of the British with the natives of India on the Sutlej, resulted in leaving dead on the field 30,000 persons, and *after the victory was complete, five thousand more were driven into the river and drowned. The river was full of sinking men.* For two hours volley after volley was poured in on the sinking men, the stream being literally *red with blood, and covered with the bodies of the slain.*

After the taking of Alexandria by Bonaparte, says a party, "we were under the necessity of putting the whole of them to death at the breach." Men and women, old and young, and infants at the breast, were slaughtered. The butchery continued for *four hours.* "After the battle of the Pyramids, the whole way through the desert was tracked with the bones and bodies of men and animals who had perished in those dreadful wastes. In order to warm themselves at night, they gathered together the dry bones and dead bodies which the vultures had spared, and by a fire *composed of this fuel,* Bonaparte lay down to sleep in the desert." (Miot's *Memoirs of the War in Egypt.*) Rocca, in his "*Memoirs of the War in Spain,*" remarks: "The habit of danger made us look upon death as one of the most ordinary circumstances of life; when our comrades had once ceased to live, the indifference that was shown them amounted almost to irony." In Labaunne's "*Narrative of the Campaign in Russia,*" the most horrible detail is furnished of palaces, churches, and streets enveloped in flames, hospitals containing *twenty thousand Russian soldiers* on fire, and consuming the miserable victims, roads covered for miles with thousands of dying and the dead heaped one upon another. Schiller in his "*History of the Thirty Years' War,*" furnishes a most sickening record, particularly in his description of the capture of one of the finest cities of Germany, Magdeburg. The Spanish revolutions of South and Central America, or what General Miller calls Spanish America, he computes to have cost, between 1810 and 1825, at least *one million* of human beings. Can such things be popular? And yet it is a fact.

Now, briefly in a monetary view. The national debt of England, mainly superinduced by war, is not less than *four thousand million* dollars. Our Revolutionary war cost her some seven hundred millions of dollars; her wars with Napoleon five thousand millions more. For twenty years England spent for war purposes an average of more than a *million of dollars per year.* From 1793 to 1815, Christian nations alone spent in war *fifteen thousand millions* of dollars. What a missionary treasury this would be! Its very interest per year would be nine hundred millions! From the formation of our present government to 1843, seventeen hundred and thirty-five millions of dollars had been appropriated, in *time of peace,* to prepare for war.

Now, we cannot enter into the question of the propriety or righteousness of war in general, or of any war in particular; but in the name of all that is good and honorable and pitiful amongst men, we do protest against people delighting in these results. If wars are ever necessary, they ought to be considered as a *bad calamity*; and all good men ought to rebuke the spirit of to-day which *gloats* even in the record of blood.

We do not say wars can always be avoided, or ought to be. We have that whole question open for the consideration and determination of others, or of ourselves at another time. But we are grieved at what is called the popularity of war. No man can estimate the calamities to commerce, literature, society, religion, or science, of any single war. Why then should we not deprecate these more fully than we do?—*Delawarean, Dover, Del.*

GARIBALDI ON THE WAR SYSTEM :

OR HIS VIEWS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF EUROPE.

It is known to all men of intelligence that Europe is very far from being in a normal state, or in one which suits its populations. France, which occupies the first rank among the European Powers, maintains for her internal security 600,000 soldiers under arms, one of the finest fleets in the world, and an immense number of functionaries. England has not the same number of soldiers; but she has a superior fleet, and perhaps a greater number of functionaries for the security of her distant possessions. Russia and Prussia, to maintain themselves on a level with the others, also require to pay immense armies. The secondary States—if only from a spirit of imitation, and, so to speak, to keep up appearances—are obliged to keep themselves proportionally on a similar footing. I will not speak of Austria and the Ottoman Empire, which are condemned to come to an end for the happiness of the unfortunate populations which they have oppressed for so many centuries.

We may justly ask, why does this agitated and violent state of Europe exist? Everybody speaks of civilization and progress! It seems to me that we do not differ much, luxury excepted, from primitive times, when men made war on each other to secure a prey. We pass our lives in menacing each other continually and reciprocally; and yet the great majority in Europe, not only of men of intelligence but of common sense, perfectly understand that we might pass through this poor life of ours without that perpetual state of menace and of hostility one against the other, and without the necessity, which seems fatally imposed upon nations by some secret and invisible enemy of humanity, of slaying each other with so much science and refinement.

For example, let us suppose that Europe formed a single State. Who would think of disturbing her? To whom, I ask, would come the idea of troubling the repose of Europe, the sovereign of the world? In the supposition we have made, there would be no more armies, no more fleets; and the immense capital which is almost always wrung from the wants and the misery of the people, and is prodigally spent in murderous and unproductive services, would be converted, to their advantage, into a colossal development of industry, into the amelioration of roads, the building of bridges, the cutting of canals, the foundation of public establishments, and the erection of schools, which would rescue from misery and ignorance so many poor creatures, who, in all countries of the world, whatever be their degree of civilization, are condemned to a state of brutishness, to prostitution of soul and body, by the selfishness, calculation, or bad administration of privileged and powerful classes.

Well, the realization of the social reforms which I mention depends simply on a powerful and generous initiative; for, I ask, in what circumstances has Europe ever more than now presented chances of success for these humane measures? Let us examine the situation as it is at the present moment. Alexander II. in Russia, proclaiming the emancipation of the serfs; Victor Emmanuel in Italy, casting his sceptre into the field of battle, and exposing his person for the regeneration of a noble race and a great nation; in England a virtuous Queen and a generous and prudent nation, which supports with enthusiasm the cause of oppressed nationalities; and France called to be arbitress of Europe by the mass of her concentrated population, by the bravery of her soldiers, and the recent prestige of the most brilliant period of her military history—to which of these will be the initiative of this great enterprise! To the country which marches as the advanced guard of the revolution.

Is not the idea of a European Confederation, which has been put forward by the chief of the French empire, and the realization of which would cause the security and happiness of the world, better than all the political combinations which daily agitate and torment the poor people? The prospect of the atrocious destruction which a single combat between the great Western Powers would occasion, must cause to shudder with terror the man who should even think of ordering it, and probably there will never be one so basely courageous as to take the frightful responsibility of it. The rivalry which has existed between France and England from the fourteenth century down to the present day, still continues, but with far less intensity at present; and we mention this fact to the glory of human progress, so that an arrangement between the two greatest nations of Europe, an arrangement which would have for its object the welfare of humanity, can no longer be regarded as the dream, the utopia of generous minds. The basis of a European Confederation is, therefore, naturally traced by France and England. Let France and England but join frankly and cordially, and Italy, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Belgium, Switzerland, Greece, and Roumelia, will come of themselves, as it were instinctively, and range themselves around. Lastly, all the divided and oppressed nationalities, Slavonian, Celtic, Germanic, and Scandinavian, gigantic Russia included, will be unwilling to stand aloof from the political regeneration to which the spirit of the age invites them.

I am aware that a very natural objection may be made to the project here propounded. What is to become of the innumerable mass of men at present employed for warlike purposes by sea and land? The answer is easy: With the disbanding of these forces, nations would be delivered from oppression and injurious institutions; and the mind of sovereigns, ceasing to be occupied with schemes of ambition, conquest, war, and destruction, would be directed towards the creation of useful institutions, and would descend from the study of generalities to that of families and even of individuals. Moreover, by the extension of manufactures, and the security of trade, the mercantile marine would immediately absorb the active portion of the military navies, and the incalculable quantity of work produced by peace, association and security, would afford ample occupation for all the armed population, even were their numbers double what they are. War being next to impossible, armies would be useless. But it would still be advisable to maintain the people in warlike and generous habits, by means of national militia, who would be always at hand to repress disorder, and whatever ambition might attempt to infringe the European pact.

I ardently desire that these words may come to the knowledge of those to whom God has confided this holy mission of doing good, and that they will indeed do it, preferring to a false and ephemeral grandeur the true grandeur based upon the love and gratitude of nations.

THE SPIRIT ESSENTIAL TO WAR.

There are certain dispositions which a Christian ought ever to cherish, and certain others which he must not for a moment entertain. We can be at no loss to decide what these are; for both are described and characterized in the most explicit terms in the New Testament. What are those the cultivation of which is inculcated upon us? Are they not "goodness, righteousness, truth, charity, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, patience, humbleness of mind, faith, meekness, temperance"? These are "the fruits of the Spirit," which we are "to put on, to follow after,"

as the renewal of God's image in our nature. What are the dispositions we are forbidden to indulge? Are they not "pride, malice, wrath, revenge, hatred, envying, strife, variance, emulation, sedition, and such like?" These are "the works of the flesh" that come "of the evil one," and the presence of which in the heart is inconsistent with the dwelling of God's Spirit in us. Now, is it possible for any man to be involved in the excitements, the cruelties, the horrors of war, without utterly quenching for a time the former class of emotions, and stimulating the latter into the fiercest developments?

Unhappily we have had, within the last few years, very ample opportunities of seeing how far it is possible to carry on war in a *Christian spirit*. We remember meeting a number of citations from American newspapers, in 1855, containing remarks on the Russian war, as it appeared to unprejudiced witnesses at a distance from the scene. The one feature which above all others in the disastrous conflict, arrested the attention of our transatlantic kinsmen was the frightful result which it was producing on the character of those nations engaged in it. "It is not the bloody battle," says one of them, "not the shot hurled recklessly to produce indiscriminate destruction, which shows fully the horrors of the war; but it is the demoralizing tone in which a whole nation is brought to exult in the disasters and miseries of others." "Frightful as it is to read," says another, "the account of the carnage on the battle-field, it is sadder to see the state of British public opinion. This is lashed up to a perfect war fury." And what testimonies of the same appalling truth have we not received from and of those who have been actually engaged in the Russian and Indian wars! Thus one cavalry soldier in writing home from the Crimea, says:—"There were the Scotch Greys and First Royals up at this time, and we charged. The Russians had nothing else for it, so they charged at the same time. Oh, God! I cannot describe it; they were so superior to us in numbers that they outflanked us, and we were in the middle of them. I never certainly felt less fear in my life than I did at that time, and I hope God will forgive me, for I felt more like a devil than a man! I escaped without a scratch, though I was covered with blood. But, oh! the work of slaughter that then begun—'twas truly awful! We cut them down like sheep, and they did not seem to have power to resist." Another says, "In battle our feelings are different; the passion to kill and destroy is raised within us; *our blood boils for revenge*." "The whole fleet is raving mad for revenge," wrote one correspondent from the Baltic. "The country demands blood," cried a distinguished peer of the House of Lords. The *Times* assures us, shortly after the repulse of the English attack on the Redan, on the 18th of June, that the army "now speak hopefully of the moment as not far distant for a *glorious revenge*."

Need we refer to the revolting evidence of the same kind in connection with the Indian revolt? Have we forgotten the declaration of Mr. Russell, the *Times* correspondent, when, describing the state of feeling in India, he says, "'Kill! kill! kill!' that is all the cry. After every victory, they shout for 'Blood! more blood!'" A private soldier, in a letter to his mother writes, "There was a gateway by which we had to leave, that was completely crammed with dead and dying. Here might be seen Sikhs murdering the wounded men, and then setting fire to them as they lay bleeding. Oh, mother! sweet, sweet was this revenge; I gloried in seeing it, although my heart turned and made me sick at the time with the smell of the roasting dead and dying." We could fill pages with similar sentiments, uttered not only by those amid the excitements of the strife itself, but by our journalists and orators at home, some of them professedly and prominently religious men.

Now, is it possible that the work which makes those who are engaged in it "feel more like devils than men," which inspires the whole mass of them with wild exultation in the prospect of "a glorious revenge;" which diffuses through an entire community of professedly Christian people, feelings that find vent in the cry, "Blood, *more* blood;" which leads an English soldier to exult over the smell of the roasting flesh of wounded enemies; which awakens in the heart of a nation like this, a spirit of revenge so violent as to sweep into the torrent all classes, not excepting the most intelligent and religious—whether a system which leads to all this can be, under any circumstances, in harmony with the benignant genius of Christianity?—*London Herald of Peace.*

WHY THE WAR-SYSTEM MORE AND MORE EXPENSIVE.

It appears that the people of England have to pay this year the enormous sum of £76,400,000 for government and defence. We state this on the highest authority, that of Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. These are his own words, uttered in the House of Commons on August 17th:—"The total charge voted in one form or another was £70,000,000, estimated on the 10th of February. £3,300,000 was the additional amount that had been voted in supply for China. £2,000,000 was the sum voted on account of fortification, and £1,000,000 was the sum voted in supply to replace the Exchequer bonds falling due in November. Those items, added together, gave a total of £76,400,000. Though there never was a time when our expenditure was so large, except in a time of European war, yet the public feeling seemed rather to be in favor of *still further* expenditure." In 1835, the total expenditure was £15,669,309, showing an increase of nearly £31,000,000 in twenty-five years. In 1853, the expenditure was £52,183,000, showing an increase of more than £23,000,000 in seven years. This 76 millions even exceeds the average expenditure of the three years of the Russian war.

What is the source of this extravagance? Ever since the war of 1854, there has been a reckless squandering of the public money in every department of the national service; for with that war, as is generally the case in all times of war, there came a *habit* of prodigality into which those who have access to the exchequer very easily glide, when the popular vigilance is hoodwinked by some great excitement. After all, however, the main item in the above colossal expenditure is the military. This has more than doubled itself in seven years; and what is more, unless a radical change is introduced into the principles on which this expenditure is regulated, we have the prospect before us of not only anticipating no diminution of our burdens, but of having an immense addition made to them without delay. Our readers are aware that one principal cause of the present high rate of our military estimates, is the alleged necessity of what is called *re-constructing the navy*. That is to say, having sunk an amount of capital which it would be difficult to compute, in building sailing line-of-battle ships of the largest size, they are now found to be next to worthless for all purposes of naval warfare. The French, it seems, found out years ago that steam frigates, with screw propellers, are the best kind of vessel for the work of destruction. Well, our Admiralty, having resisted this conviction for years, and gone on with headstrong red-tapism constructing huge floating leviathans that were of no use, at last opened their eyes to the reality, and then set themselves with headlong haste and lavish wastefulness, to "re-construct the navy," by converting sailing vessels into steamers.

But now the thing is done, there is every prospect that the whole of even this new navy will turn out to be absolutely valueless as a means of defence, in presence of certain new inventions discovered by the French. Everybody has heard of the Armstrong and Withworth guns, a species of weapon of such prodigious power and range, that it was supposed no ship that ever sailed on the ocean, could stand for ten minutes against their destructive battery. These were *our* guns, invented by British engineers, patronised and rewarded by the British Government, and puffed by British journalists to the very echo, as giving us for the future undisputed supremacy at sea over all other nations. Well, this again set the French on their mettle, and within a few years there have sprung into existence the *frigates blindes*; that is, vessels in armor, cased in solid iron, which, it is said, are impervious to any projectile that can be hurled against them. And what is the consequence? Why, our whole navy must, as against such vessels, be wholly or nearly worthless, and we must begin forthwith to "reconstruct" at a far more enormous cost than before. "The question at issue," says the *Times*, "is not only the 're-construction' of the British navy in so short a date after the last renewal, but its re-construction upon principles of still greater cost than before. Steam proved half ruinous to us, but iron would be worse. The expense of a man-of-war in Nelson's time was about £1,000 a gun; it is now about £2,000, and, at the rate of outlay actually sanctioned on our four iron-cased frigates, it would be £4,000. We have but just superseded our sailing navy; if we are now to supersede our wooden navy, and at twice the recent charge, what will be the aspect of our estimates for some years to come?"

Here is a pretty prospect for the industrious and toiling millions of the country! And remark this; we have not the smallest security but that, when we have substituted iron-cased frigates for all our present ships-of-war, some new invention may not be discovered, which shall utterly supersede *their* use, and render it necessary to begin the whole business over again. Where is it all to end? Will the resources of this country, enormous as they are, bear this endless and exhausting drain? Will the patience of John Bull, asinine as it is, never give way?

It is difficult to maintain anything like moderation of thought or language in the presence of such insanity as this. Here we have the two foremost nations of all the world, employing some of the highest gifts which God has given them—faculties of philosophical research into the laws and forces of nature, of scientific inquiry and invention; of consummate engineering art,—for what purpose? Why, to run a race of ingenuity in devising and constructing infernal machines against each other, which involves the necessity of their devoting the costly produce of their skill, industry, and labor in all other directions, in order to feed the insatiable maw of those monsters of their own creation. We venture humbly to suggest, not having the fear of naval and military sneers before our eyes, whether it would not be better for the people of these two countries to inquire if there is not some other totally different principle, on which they may contrive to co-exist on this globe which God has given them as a common inheritance; whether it is not possible for them, by cultivating feelings of good neighborhood, by promoting commercial and social relations with each other, by resolutely turning a deaf ear to those who would persuade them into the belief of that brutal and lying prejudice as to hereditary enmity, to dispense with this system of rivalry in arms, which can only end in the common ruin of both.—*London Herald of Peace.*

THE PRESENT WAR IN CHINA :

SOME OF ITS RESULTS TO THE INHABITANTS.

The joint expedition sent out by England and France against China, is just beginning to show its natural, inevitable results, one of the thousand libels of blood inflicted by the war-system of Christendom upon our religion of peace, to make it a terror, a hissing and a scourge, all over the pagan world.

The allies began by occupying Peh-tang, without the slightest opposition from the people ; but what was the result ? "They had not," says a correspondent of the London Times on the spot, "the remotest expectation of a hostile landing in their town ; for, to use their own phrase, 'it was a Ta-ku affair, with which Peh-tang had nothing to do.' But the Peiho was staked and the coast inaccessible, and so the occupation of Peh-tang became a military necessity. *At a moment's notice, 30,000 people were turned out without house or home. Women with babies in their arms, young girls and old men, were hurrying through the streets, driven from house to house, and finding no rest.* Fortunately there were numerous junks in the river, by which many of them at once escaped to the adjacent villages. Fully one half the town was occupied at once by the troops and coolies, and next morning the latter were dispatched in search of forage and water, so that within twenty-four hours every house was broken open. A sad scene of plunder ensued, in which, according to the accounts of the Chinese themselves, nine-tenths of the mischief was done by the coolies attached to the two armies. To conceive the full horror of this expulsion of 30,000 people from house and home, we must understand what is the character of the surrounding country. 'The whole country,' says the *Overland China Mail*, 'so far as the eye can see, is a vast mud plain, covered with hillocks about fifteen feet high, some of which are graves and some salt-hills. There is not a drop of fresh water except that stored in the houses, within at least ten miles.'

"But this, frightful as it is, is not the worst. Not content with turning the whole population out of doors for their own convenience, it is but too evident that before this atrocious order could be executed, the most cruel and brutal outrages were offered by the invaders to the inhabitants. "The French, the *Mail* says, "have made no effort to prevent looting; and had the place offered a desperate resistance, the plunder and destruction of the property of the unfortunate inhabitants, would not have been greater than they have been. There is not a house in the place which has not been rifled, and, according to the statement of the natives, women have been violated. We know for certain that six dead bodies of females have been found. The English troops have been kept down by the Provost Marshal, and they have not looted a tenth-part as much as the French, who, after finishing their own part of the town, were not prevented from plundering ours."

But listen again to the testimony of the *Times* correspondent : — "Passing a large house in one of the principal streets, I heard the voices of women crying for help. On entering I found Lieutenant Roberts, of the Royals, who is attached to the Coolie Corps. Two of these fellows were discovered in a room where three or four women had secreted themselves, whom they were beating over the heads with Bamboo poles, in order to extract information as to where their money was kept. The Provost-Marshal gave them a tremendous castigation on the spot, but not a whit more

than they deserved. In a corner of the room sat an old woman of ninety, in second childhood, nearly imbecile, and trembling with fear. On his knees, before Lieut. Roberts, was her son, a man of fifty, who, with clasped hands and streaming eyes, apparently besought for mercy. Mr. Roberts in vain attempted to raise him, and was unable to ascertain what he wanted. Fortunately, Mr. Morgan, one of the interpreters attached to the army, happened to be passing, and explained that the man was begging for a few hour's delay, in order to make arrangements and get his mother and family on board a junk. It was absolutely necessary to have possession of this house; but, at the greatest inconvenience to himself, Lieutenant Roberts granted the required delay, and in the afternoon saw the whole family safely out of town. Returning home I passed a box in the street with a French sentry over it. I lifted the lid and found the bodies of two young girls of fifteen or sixteen, who had been poisoned by their friends, lest they should fall into the hands of the 'barbarians.' They were partially clothed, and, from the active state of decomposition, it was clear they must have been killed as the army entered the town.'

Why were these poor young creatures destroyed by their dearest kindred? 'With all our boasted civilization and national stock of surplus Christianity, the writer of the above description is unable to add that the murder of these two young girls was not required to save them from *Christian* defilement! He is not able to say that the strength of gospel principles in a *Christian* army was such as to make the apprehension of such outrages on the part of the wives and the daughters of an unoffending heathen town altogether illusory. On the contrary, he supplies evidence to show that by thus perishing they only escaped outrages from which every woman reared in virtue and in innocence, and every man of honor, would regard even death as a happy means of escape.'

But let us continue our quotations from the *Times'* correspondent:—"I could multiply," says the *Times'* correspondent, "these stories *ad infinitum*, but *cui bono*? However, there is one attended by such exceptionally painful circumstances that I cannot omit it. When Mr. Parkes came into the fort, he was accompanied by a Chinaman, fairly educated, and evidently a better class of shopkeeper. He it was who pointed out the mines, told whence the water could be brought, and gave much valuable information. Not having seen his friend for two days, Mr. Parkes, on Saturday morning went in search of his house. The doorway was broken open, and in a large room at the back lay the dead bodies of three women, evidently mother and daughters. A Chinaman who had recognized Mr. Parkes, followed him into the house, and poured out a most incoherent story, which he ended by offering to show him the man he searched for. He was at the French hospital, recovering from the effects of poison, and told his story in the following terms:—On the day after the town was occupied, his house, which was in the French quarter, was broken open and plundered eight or ten times by coolies, and three or four times by French. Mr. Parkes had told him, that if attacked by coolies, he should mention his name, and say he was under his protection. The first band of plunderers happened to be Cantonese, and retired, disappointed and swearing. The next batch came from Shanghai, and so the invocation of 'Parkes,' was ineffectual against them. They threatened the women, and commenced breaking open all the drawers and cupboards, destroying what they did not carry off. At length, towards nightfall, this poor man and his family, fairly frightened to death, determined on poisoning themselves. The opium acted much more rapidly on the women than on the man, who was probably accustomed to its use; and, when the last party of French arrived, they found the women dead and the man just alive. They carried him to the hospital.

There a strong emetic was administered, and the man is now walking about. On Monday Mr. Parkes took two coolies, and, accompanied by Capt. Grant, went with the Chinaman to his house, in order, if possible, to save something from the wreck. On beholding the scene of desolation which awaited him, the poor fellow burst into tears, and regretted that his life had been saved, ruined, wifeless, and childless as he was. Mr. Parkes did his best to administer comfort, and he will now be properly looked after."

THE CLERGY INSTIGATING WAR.

It is well known to every reader of history, that the chief foreign wars of England were for centuries waged to bring France under her sway as a province, the very outrage which the former now so much dreads; and it is a coincidence as discreditable as it is curious, that the clergy, now so forward in fanning the war-spirit among the people to resist the threatened invasion, were in former ages instigators of England's "brigand expeditions" against France. The invasion under Henry V. was undertaken at the express instance of the higher clergy. Mr. Charles Knight says that Shakespeare has faithfully "followed the Chroniclers, in attributing the war with France to the instigation of the bishops."

Thus is the matter represented by the great dramatist. He first introduces the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Ely as conferring in great dismay respecting a Bill then before Parliament, seriously affecting their temporalities. Then the following dialogue ensues:—

ELY. But, my good lord,
How now for mitigation of this bill
Urged by the Commons? Doth his majesty
Incline to it or no?

CANT. He seems indifferent;
Or, rather, swaying more upon our part,
Than cherishing the exhibitors against us.
For I have made an offer to his majesty—
Upon our spiritual convocation;
And in regard of causes now in hand,
Which I have opened to his grace at large,
As touching France,—to give a greater sum
Than ever at one time the clergy yet
Did to his predecessors part withal."

That matter having been thus arranged between two prelates, the next scene opens upon the king, surrounded by peers and bishops, sitting in council, on the question of war with France. Henry feels, or pretends to feel, great qualms of conscience, as to the propriety of this wanton inroad upon the territories of his neighbor. He therefore turns for guidance to his spiritual adviser, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and in the following words adjures him most solemnly to give honest advice:—

"Therefore take heed how you impawn our person,
How you awake our sleeping sword of war;
We charge you, in the name of God, take heed.
For never two such kingdoms did contend
Without much fall of blood, whose guiltless drops
Are every one a woe, a sore complaint,
'Gainst him whose wrongs give edge unto the swords
That make such waste in brief mortality."

The Archbishop immediately takes the whole responsibility upon himself, and proceeds to prove, from "the book of Numbers," that Henry's claim is perfectly good, and then exhorts him in the following apostolic style :—

"Gracious lord,
Stand for your own; unwind your bloody flag;
Look back upon your mighty ancestors;

• • • • •
O let your armies follow, my dread liege,
With blood, and sword, and fire, to win your right;
In aid whereof, we of the spirituality
Will raise your highness such a mighty sum
As never did the clergy at one time
Bring in to any of your ancestors."

It is most painful to reflect how often since then the spirituality has acted in precisely the same spirit. Instead of restraining royal or national ambition by a faithful proclamation of Christ's law, instead of stimulating the too torpid conscience of rulers when puffed with pride, and of peoples when inflamed by passion, they have frequently been foremost to apply soothing unguents, to allay the smart of natural remorse, which the consciousness of great crimes committed or contemplated seldom fails to produce in all but the most hardened hearts. Instead of fulfilling their mission as peace-makers by giving the same prominence in their teaching as is given in the teaching of Christ and his apostles to the duty of cultivating the dispositions of love, meekness, forbearance long-suffering, they have set themselves elaborately to explain away all that part of Christianity (so far as nations are concerned,) and to reconcile the incessant inculcation of the peaceable virtues contained in the New Testament with the prosecution on the part of Christian States of the most cruel, bloody and desolating wars.

WAR.

BY SAMUEL T. COLERIDGE.

Boys and girls,
And women, who would groan to see a child
Pull off an insect's leg, all read of war,
The best amusement for a morning meal!
The poor wretch who has learned his only prayers
From curses, who knows scarcely words enough
To ask a blessing from his Heavenly Father,
Becomes a fluent phraseman, absolute
And technical in victories and defeats,
And all our dainty terms for fratricide;
Terms which we trundle smoothly o'er our tongue,
Like mere abstractions; empty sounds to which
We join no feeling, and attach no form!
As if the soldier died without a wound;
As if the fibres of their Godlike frames
Were gored without a pang; as if the wretch
Who fell in battle, doing bloody deeds,
Passed off to heaven, translated, and not killed;—
As though he had no wife to pine for him,
No God to judge him!

THE PULPIT AS A RELIANCE FOR REFORMS.

We have been wont to rely, and with some reason, on the pulpit as an auxiliary, if not a pioneer, of Christian reforms; but our current experience, like that of past ages, must teach every fair, thoughtful mind how little *unconditional* dependence can be put upon it. There is too much reason to regard it as a chameleon or a weather-cock of the passing hour. Its power is proverbial; but this power has been enlisted both for and against truth and error, right and wrong, holiness and sin. In Italy and Austria, it proscribes what in England and our own country it upholds. At the North, it is for Freedom; at the South it is at length an open champion for unrestricted and perpetual Slavery.

Take a specimen of the latter. In a late Thanksgiving sermon at New Orleans, Dr. Palmer, a preacher held in the highest esteem all over the South, frankly took the ground, that *the grand mission of Southern Christians is to sustain, extend and perpetuate Slavery, as a high and sacred trust*. "What, at this juncture, is their providential trust? I answer, it is to *conserve and to perpetuate the institution of domestic Slavery AS NOW EXISTING*. * * * "The argument," he says in conclusion, "touches the four cardinal points of duty to ourselves, to our slaves, to the world, and to Almighty God. It establishes the nature and solemnity of our present trust, to *preserve and transmit our existing system of domestic servitude, with the right unchanged by man to go and root itself wherever Providence and nature may carry it*. This trust we will discharge in the face of the worst possible peril. Though war be the aggregation of all evils, yet, should the madness of the hour appeal to the arbitration of the sword, we will not shrink even from this baptism of fire. If modern crusaders stand in serried ranks upon some plain of Esdraelon, there will we be in defense of our trust. Not till the last man has fallen behind the last rampart, shall it drop from our hands, and then only in surrender to the God who gave it."

Here is the pulpit pledged, through fire and blood, to everlasting Slavery; and yet we have all along been told, as we are now, to preach the gospel, and that will cure the evils of society, such as slavery, war and intemperance. Just convert men, make them Christians, and all such evils will cease. They preach the gospel, as they understand it, at the South, and make it God's chosen bulwark of Slavery, and the sword its proper, *Christian* defense. The South is full of just such Christians, sworn, like this preacher, to uphold, extend and perpetuate Slavery forever at all hazards. And still we are expected to depend on the gospel, as thus preached and practiced, to do away this mighty evil by the agency of such Christians!

What, then, is the true position on this point? Shall we discard or undervalue the gospel in social reforms? It is, in truth, the chief reliance of them all; but for this purpose it must be rightly applied; and the great work of Christian reformers is to make a direct, effective application of

its principles to all the evils of society. If not thus applied, it is of no avail, but rather an obstruction, in the work of reform. Do away slavery by the gospel as preached at the South, or the slave-trade as John Newton applied it when commanding a slave-ship, or war as Gen. Havelock understood and practised it when slaughtering Afghans in cold blood! Such perversion or neglect of the gospel is just the way to aggravate, extend and perpetuate all social evils everywhere to the end of time.

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN OUR COUNTRY.

We are now passing through a fiery ordeal; but we hope and trust that the true friends of peace on Christian principles, will pass it unscathed. Of such peacemen, outside of the Quakers, and a few others of like views, there are, we fear, very few among us; for the mass of co-workers in the cause of peace,—in the specific reform that seeks merely to do away the custom of War,—are not yet thoroughly indoctrinated in the principle of all war contrary to the gospel. The testimony on this point must at the present crisis in our country be borne chiefly by such peacemen as refused in Ireland, as in the early ages of Christianity, to fight for any consideration. We trust there will be found not a few thus faithful to the gospel of peace which they profess. They may be sorely tried; but we hope they will come forth from the ordeal unharmed, and bear a testimony as full, as brave and effective as that of their brethren in the Irish Rebellion of 1798.

Nor would we undervalue even the partial, imperfect testimony that will doubtless be borne by much larger numbers who have not yet reached the full faith of William Penn. There is already diffused widely in the community a leaven of peace that will, in the hour of trial, make itself felt in averting and rebuking war, or greatly mitigating its evils.

HANCOCK ON PEACE.

We are glad to find a fresh call for this work by the friends of peace; and we wish it could just now be circulated all over our land as a true, beautiful and very striking illustration of the working of peace principles properly put in practice. It was designed by its author, Thomas Hancock, M. D., to show, by facts most amply attested, how, and with what results, the Quakers in Ireland carried out their principles of peace during the memorable rebellion there in 1798-9. We devoutly hope and trust that no similar trial awaits the friends of peace here as the result of the conflict now going on between Freedom and Slavery; but in any event the facts and principles embodied in this little work, if diffused among our people, and wrought into their habits, would be the best possible preparation to meet any crisis that may come.

This example of the Quakers is thus sketched by Samuel J. May

"During the whole of the terrible civil war, which raged in that Island in 1789 and 1799, those followers of the Prince of Peace were in continual danger; their properties and their lives were frequently threatened by one of the contending parties, and then by the other; some times they were in imminent peril. Nevertheless, they were steadfast in their adherence to their principles. They would take no part, directly or indirectly, in that ferocious strife. They persisted in treating members of each party with kindness, and faithfully rebuking both of them for their folly and their sin. They were sustained, and fully justified the wisdom and power of the pacific course which they had pursued. At the end of the war, it was made public, that out of the twenty thousand Quakers who lived in that part of Ireland where the conflict raged, only two had been slain; and they had lost their faith, and betaken themselves to a fortified place for protection! The rest had come out of that fiery trial unscathed. Even their dwellings and their fields had been spared. In the midst of the desolation, which the fury of the combatants had spread far and wide, there were to be seen *uninjured* the houses and the properties of 'The Friends.'"

✍ CONTRIBUTIONS.—We beg leave to remind our friends how much we need their aid just now. It is the season for their annual contributions; and we hope they will not let it pass without forwarding us by mail *at least* their wonted aid. At a time like this none should falter or relax in their zeal for a cause whose influence is so urgently needed.

✍ PEACE PUBLICATIONS.—Now is the time for diffusing these; and we hope our friends will send for a supply of such as are advertised on the last page of our cover.

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

FOR

MARCH AND APRIL.

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1861.

T H E

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MARCH AND APRIL, 1861.

PEACE AT HOME.

The principles of peace are needed everywhere, no less at home than abroad; and, while our cause restricts itself to the single purpose of doing away the custom of international war, we have long supposed it would be found in time quite as necessary among ourselves as in our intercourse with other nations. This necessity is now upon us much sooner, and in a worse form, than any one could well have deemed possible. Indeed, it has come very like a clap of thunder in a cloudless sky. Of our thirty-three States, six have suddenly raised the flag of rebellion under the soft, equivocal name of secession, set at defiance the constitution and laws of the general government, appropriated to their own use all the national property within their reach, and erected themselves into a separate, independent slaveholding confederacy, confessedly established exclusively for the support, perpetuity and extension of slavery.

Such are the main facts. What are to be the results, Omniscience alone can foresee; but we are clearly passing through a crisis pregnant with vast and far-reaching consequences. We are treading upon a volcano that may yet upheave the very foundations of government and society. We may be opening fountains whose bitter and baleful streams shall drench a continent in blood, crime and woe for ages to come. Such a separation of such a people for such reasons, a rebellion got up in the land of Washington and Jefferson to consecrate, extend and perpetuate human bondage, must portend the direst results; and only an

Almighty hand can avert the evils it naturally forebodes. If the past be any index to the future, we certainly have reason to expect, without the special interposition of God, a long series of fierce, vindictive wars consequent upon the separation that has just taken place. God grant it may not be so; but such to the eye of reason are the dangers that hang over our country's prospects.

To the friends of peace, then, what is the obvious and imperative lesson of the hour? Wake anew to the claims of Peace, as a leading, paramount question of our country and the age. Cling to your principles more fully, more persistently than ever. These, and nothing short of these, will carry us safely through our present and prospective perils. If these principles had been from the first instilled into our whole people, and wrought into their entire character, we might have passed with little harm through this fiery ordeal; and even now, if those who claim to be followers of the Prince of Peace will breathe his spirit, and put in practice his principles, they may be able, under God, to hold the nation back from most of the evils we have so much reason to fear, and, if a separation must come, bring it about without bloodshed, or even permanent ill-will.

We rejoice that the seeds of peace have already been so widely sown as to allow some hope of such a result. It might have been made sure by a right training of the people on this subject in season. Had such an education of them in the principles and habits of peace been commenced with vigor ages ago, there would have been in this crisis little or no danger; and most devoutly do we hope that the bitter experience through which we are now passing, will lead us to adopt, both at home and abroad, a strict, settled policy of peace.

It seems to us passing strange that even intelligent Christians should have slumbered so long and profoundly over this view of the subject. An apathy, amounting almost to a moral paralysis, has fallen upon them. Next to nothing has yet been attempted in comparison with what might and should have been, yet enough to show what may and must in time be done, with moral certainty of ultimate success. The pittance spent in this work has, none of it, been lost — not a volume nor tract, not a sermon nor lecture, not an article, tale, or paragraph in any of our numerous periodicals; but future history will prove that there has been going on a silent yet effective process, undermining the war-habits of the people, and the war-policy of their rulers. Living in the midst of these gradual changes, we are not fully aware of their extent or even their existence. Vastly more has already been accom-

plished in this great reform than even its own friends suspect. How else can we account for what is now passing before our eyes? Here is a population of four or five millions, more than rose in rebellion against England in the seven years' war of our revolution, bringing about essentially the same result in two months, without a single drop of blood as yet. One century ago such a revolution would have crimsoned a continent, and kept it for half a generation plunged in all the horrors of civil war. Surely something has wrought a marked, most significant change in the habits of mankind on this subject; and, whether due chiefly to the Peace Society or not, it is full of hope for the future, and ought to call forth a ten-fold increase of effort in this cause. At such a time as this no friend of God or man should be insensible to its claims, or refuse either the labors or the contributions requisite for its fullest success. If in this land of Bibles and Sabbaths, of Christian pulpits and Christian presses, with a Christian church for every five hundred souls, and every sixth man among us a professed follower of the Prince of Peace, we cannot settle our own disputes without drenching the land in fraternal blood, it will surely brand us, in view of the whole world, with everlasting disgrace. Such a result we cannot as yet bring ourselves to regard as possible; but our prevailing expectation is, that this strange rebellion, which has so suddenly culminated in a *Republic of Slaveholders*, will yet be restrained, chiefly by the more peaceful habits and influences prevalent in the Free States, from involving the parties in civil war, and that all the questions growing out of it, will in the end be adjusted with little effusion of blood.

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN OUR COUNTRY:

PLEA FOR ITS PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN ANY EVENT.

No friend of peace can look without anxiety upon the alarming aspect of the times. On every side are seen, both at home and abroad, omens of a gathering storm whose fury may ere long sweep and shake the world. Seldom has there been a crisis so eventful: and the passing hour may strike the keynote of long ages to come. Impressed with such views, the Committee of the Peace Society regard the threatening indications of a war in Europe the coming spring, and the existing difficulties in our own land pressing to the same disastrous result, as a loud and imperative call upon the friends of peace for increased energy and activity in disseminating those gospel principles which not only demonstrate the crime and folly of war, but also suggest a wiser and

more satisfactory solution of all national misunderstandings by Christian means.

Such a solution we believe to be possible ; and it is chiefly for this reason that the Peace Society, embracing men of every creed in religion and politics, would lift its humble voice to dissuade the parties from all thought of attempting in any event a settlement of their controversies by an appeal to the sword, as mutually suicidal. Of what possible avail could such an appeal be ? Would it bring a single one of the points in dispute any nearer to a solution ? Would it change at all the convictions or preferences of either party ? Would not the North still cling to Freedom, and the South to Slavery, just as resolutely as ever ? Is it possible for the sword ever to settle such a controversy ? Never. Unkennel the dogs of war all over the land, kindle the fires of battle on every hill and in every valley, let our lakes, our rivers, and our vast sea-coast be crimsoned with fraternal blood ; and would not the parties still be obliged, as a last resource, to sheath the sword, and betake themselves to the very same methods of peaceful adjustment that we now urge them to adopt at the start ?

We say this in no spirit of either dictation or partiality. As friends of peace, we plead merely for a bloodless issue of the controversy. It is not ours to decide on what terms it ought to be settled ; we only ask that it may, in any event, be brought in some way to a conclusion by peaceful, legal, rational means. Have we not such means already at hand ? Does not our government, by its Constitution and laws, contain provisions designed and adapted to meet just such cases as this ? Here is the proper remedy ; and were there a disposition on both sides to use such provisions aright, we see not what occasion there could ever be for war among ourselves on this or any other issue.

In thus pleading for peace, we are far from abetting rebellion in any form. Under a government like ours, all the work of our own hands, and always under our control through the ballot-box, what shadow of excuse can there ever be for violent resistance of its authority ? True, it may occasionally bear, or seem to bear, hard upon our interests ; but the remedy is still in our own hands, and pretty sure in time to redress our grievances. We may have to wait ; but so we must in any case. In this way we certainly can obtain redress far better than we could by rebellion. Our government is designed to secure the rights of all ; and if any are dissatisfied, their only proper course is to wait until the expedients, provided in our Constitution and laws, can be duly applied to the case. The enforcement of law is the remedy in which all parties are bound to acquiesce ; but even if they refuse, the way would

still be open for a peaceful solution. In no event can there be any need whatever of shedding one drop of fraternal blood. If our laws are wrong or inadequate, change or repeal them. If dissatisfied with the Constitution itself, take the steps prescribed for its amendment. What excuse can there be for war in any issue of our pending difficulties? We already have in our government the best possible provisions for peacefully righting all wrongs. Let the parties wait to try these expedients in good faith. Should the worst come, there would be no need of civil war, that concentration and climax of all social evils. The way, after all, would be open for a peaceful solution. If the parties cannot or will not remain united under our present or any other common government; if there is confessedly such an inevitable conflict of principles, institutions and interests in different sections, as to forbid the hope of their ever living together in harmony; if on the slave issue neither party will yield its settled convictions or preferences; if the South is irrevocably bent on demanding what the North is equally resolved not to grant, the adoption of slavery as a national institution, to be nursed and guarded, extended and perpetuated, in every part of our country, through all coming time; then let us, in a peaceful, orderly way, take the steps requisite for such a change of the Constitution as will allow the withdrawal of those who wish to leave. We might deeply regret the necessity of such a measure; but, as a last resort, it certainly would be infinitely preferable to civil war.

Civil war! what a world of crimes, calamities and woes would it bring. God forbid it should ever sweep its besom of wrath and vengeance over our land. The very thought is enough to make one's blood curdle with horror. No arithmetic could compute, no imagination conceive, the sum total of its evils. If money could avert such a doom, better bankrupt the whole country for ages. We have heard of plans to buy off slavery by paying some twenty five million dollars a year for twenty-five years to States voluntarily emancipating their slaves, more than six hundred millions in all; and better by far to pay all this, and ten times as much more, than plunge into war among ourselves. No man ought for a moment to think of such a thing as admissible in any event. Thirty millions, North and South, East and West, should cry out with one voice, *it cannot, must not, shall not be*. And why should it be in any event? Is it possible that the descendants of Washington and Jefferson, of Hamilton and Jay, of Hancock and Adams, should ever meet over the graves of such sires to imbrue their hands in each other's blood? Have we not among us enough of Christianity, patriotism, or common sense, to settle all our domestic controversies by legal, peaceful

means? Resort for such purpose to mutual slaughter! The whole world would cry shame upon such degeneracy and madness. Can we consent thus to make our peaceful religion or our free government a by-word, a hissing and a scorn over all the earth? Men of the North and the South, brothers all, joint heirs to a richer inheritance than the world ever saw before, shall we on any issue, or for any reason, steep in fratricidal blood the memory of our common ancestry, and thus blast the fairest hopes of freedom for the human race?

The answer to such appeals as these must depend chiefly upon those who create or control public opinion through the pulpit and the press. It is in their power, under God, to set at rest our fears on this subject, and make sure, sooner or later, of a peaceful issue to all our troubles. Could a better service than this be performed by our four thousand papers, and our forty or fifty thousand pulpits? The question of peace or war among ourselves for many ages to come, may now hang on the decision of a month or a day. Was there ever a louder, more imperative call upon us to diffuse far and wide the principles of peace? Here is the great source of our peril—we have been educated to habits of war, not in principles of Christian peace. It is the lack of such principles that has brought this present crisis upon us; for a people trained in habits of Christian peace, would never have resorted to acts or threats of illegal violence for the redress of their wrongs. If it be too late to meet the present case, now is certainly the time to avert like evils in future; and earnestly would we solicit the spontaneous, habitual co-operation of every pulpit and press in this work of patriotism, philanthropy and religion.

On behalf of the American Peace Society, by direction of its Executive Committee,

January, 1861.

J. A. COPP,

J. W. PARKER,

G. C. BECKWITH.

THE RIGHT OF REVOLUTION.

This dogma is claimed by nearly all advocates of government by the people, as self-evident and undeniable. We are not aware that the Peace Society has ever had occasion to express its views respecting it; but in our editorial capacity, we have ventured, at the hazard of some severe criticism, to call in question its truth, and assert its direct contrariety to the teachings of the New Testament. On this point we have no doubt; and we challenge any man to show the slightest trace of such a politico-moral dogma in the Bible — of the principle that subjects, wheth-

er few or many, have from God permission at will to overthrow or resist by violence the government over them. Men have indeed a right to govern themselves ; but self-government does not necessarily involve the right of violent revolution, or any opposition to established authority ; and the application of such a principle in practice would breed universal anarchy.

The claim of this right was, in our view, the fundamental error of our forefathers ; and their example is made to justify all the lynchings and revolutions that have since occurred in our country. It is a legitimate application of the principle. The men of 1776 did not like the government over them, and so set themselves at work to supersede it by another one more to their mind, To this example the Dorr rebels in Rhode Island appealed for their own justification ; and from the inaugural speech of Jefferson Davis as President of the new Southern Slaveholding Confederacy, we see how these wholesale rebels argue :—

“ Our present condition has been achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, and illustrates the American idea that government rests upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter and abolish governments whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established. As the compact of the Union from which we have withdrawn, has, in the judgment of the sovereign States now composing this Confederacy, been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot box declared that, so far as *they* were concerned, the government created by that compact, should cease to exist. In this they *merely asserted the right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 defined to be inalienable*. Of the time and occasion for the exercise of this right, they, as sovereigns, were the final judges, each for himself; and the impartial and enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct. * * * Thus have the sovereign States here represented, proceeded to form this Confederacy ; and it is by *an abuse of language that their act has been denominated REVOLUTION.*”

If this be *not* revolution, it is difficult to see what is, or can be ; but it is clearly after the model of 1776, and *in principle* fully justified by that example. It is a principle fatal to all reliable government ; and the very people that adopt it, are obliged, sooner or later, to contradict it in their own practice. No government can recommend it in practice, and continue to exist. Shay followed the revolutionists of 1776, and Massachusetts, as a matter of sheer necessity, put him down as a rebel. South Carolina, in one month after her rebellion against the United States, inflicts summary vengeance on some of her citizens for presuming to follow her own example ! There is no end to the absurdities and mischiefs that must flow from this alleged right of revolution. It is in this belief that we call attention anew to the subject. This principle pushed into legitimate practice, will assuredly prove the ruin of our government.

PRACTICAL QUESTIONS ON PEACE.

Neighbor B., I know your peace society, and its professions, sound well, kind and Christian on paper; but, after all, what can be their practical application? Suppose an invading army enters our territory, what would you do in such a case?

B.—I would treat them as offenders against the peace and dignity of the state. How would you treat them?

A.—I would treat them according to the laws of civilized warfare.

B.—Then you, being the chief executive, would raise an army, and bind the commander-in-chief by oath to annoy the enemy by all the means placed within his power, and all the subalterns and all the private soldiers severally to obey the orders of the officers that shall from time to time be set over them. Would you not?

A.—Yes. Nothing less could render an army efficient.

B.—Then your army being thus organized, and sworn by their religious faith, you would send them into the field to meet the invaders in deadly strife as a game of competition, conceding to both armies equal right to practice violence and slaughter on the other.

A.—No; war cannot be right on both sides: so says Vattel.

B.—True. Yet Vattel also says, 'War in form, as to its effects, is to be accounted just on both sides.' 'Whatever is permitted to one by virtue of a state of war is also permitted to the other.' Civilized warfare, falsely so called, places both parties on equal footing. But suppose victory decides in your favor, or, to use a phrase more acceptable to the pious warrior, suppose the God of battles decides in your favor, and the invading enemy falls into your hands, how will you then treat them?

A.—As prisoners of war, of course.

B.—Then you would treat them, not as offenders, but the officers as unfortunate gentlemen, defeated in the prosecution of a respectable and highly honorable calling, and the private soldiers as their faithful and worthy helpers, would you?

A.—Why, yes. If I should hang, or in any way punish a conquered army, the civilized world would be out against me at once, and justly, as an Algirine, a savage barbarian.

B.—So you would not treat them as offenders. Here then is one issue between the advocates of peace, and the abettors of war, viz:—Is an invading foe to be treated as an offender against the peace and dignity of the state? One object of the peace society is to change public sentiment on this subject.

A.—But it would be cruel and unjust for a conquerer to punish soldiers for obeying orders which they are bound to obey, and must obey, or be shot. Says Vattel, "All, by whom the sovereign makes war, are only instruments in his hands; they execute his will, not their own. They are not responsible. The arms, and all the apparatus, are only instruments of an inferior order."

B.—This brings forward another issue between the friends of peace, and the war system: Can a man, by becoming a military man, so far absolve himself from obligation to God, as not to be guilty in his sight for practicing wholesale murder? Or, can martial law place him beyond the purview of both moral and civil law?

A.—It is absolutely necessary that martial law and military discipline should be sufficiently rigorous to leave the soldier no discretion as pertains to war and its prosecution. War could not be prosecuted without all this strictness and sovereignty.

B.—Very true; and this brings forward the main issue between the

friends of peace, and the abettors of war : Ought the practice of international war to be continued or discontinued ? To this question I answer, *it ought by all means to be discontinued.* War, as we see, unmans the military man, and makes him a mere tool wielded in the work of death. Or if we look at it as it pertains to international relationships, it is not the action of a state sovereignty in its legitimate sphere, but a horrid conflict between two mighty powers where false honor is the prize at stake, and human lives the dice, the mere playthings ; for war among civilized nations settles no controversies, nor is it expected to do so.

A.—It is an easy matter to find fault ; but I wish to know a little more of the ground you stand on. You say you would treat an invader as an offender. How is that ?

B.—I would treat a banditti of foreign invaders the same as an internal insurrection.

A.—But could that be just and right in the present state of international law ?

B.—If not, our object is to bring about such a change in public sentiment, and public law (for international law is the mere creature of popularity) as would do away all license allowed a civilized government to send hostile troops within the jurisdiction of a neighboring state, and there screen them from guilt by claiming a right to make war.

A.—But would you not need military force to bring such invaders to justice ? And would not that be war ?

B.—No. It would not be war, but the legitimate, peaceful action of a sovereign power. I make no objections to military force placed under the restraints under which the constitution of our state place it, “in strict subordination to, and governed by the civil power.” The ultimate difference between the two theories is this,—the peace principle admits the exercise of physical force by the state authorities against all offences committed as a sovereign power engaged in the administration of justice. But, on the other hand, the war system regards physical force as the criterion of right brought into requisition by two competitors on equal ground ; and the more we look at the system of war, whether at its theories, or its practice, the more obviously will it appear in contrast to wholesome legitimate civil government.

Middlebury, Jan. 1, 1861.

B.

SOLDIERS.—A mere soldier is not a very high type of man. He is a person in whom the higher attributes reinforce the lower. Foresight, calmness, intellectual superiority and power strain themselves to make the animal qualities more available. A soldier is a gun multiplied by human intelligence into a battery. Military genius is the skilful application of intellectual power to the most absolute physical coercion of men. It may operate by means of mental impressions, as where a line of battle is so displayed, or fortifications are so constructed, that the enemy is conquered before a blow is struck, or a life lost. But the end is the same. The result is not wrought by reason. It is the victory of a cat over a mouse. It is not a victory like that of Columbus, or Galileo, or Jenner.

This conviction is the secret of our popular satisfaction with Washington. His military success was episodic. He was not a soldier merely or essentially. His soldiering, in fact, does not seem to have been so much a special military endowment, as the application of ordinary good sense to war, which is not always true of great soldiers or fighters. It certainly was not of Nelson, nor of Wellington ; nor was it of Alexander

the Great, or Hannibal, or Napoleon. The empires of these men were only permanent camps. They appeared always at the head of troops in the insignia of generals. Their civic administrations were conducted upon military principles.

Hence none of them lasted. Rome did not last; and no nation ever will where a military chief or class becomes absolute ruler. For the principle of human progression must always imply the constant subjection of the lower traits to the higher, and not the assistance of them by the higher.—*Harper's Weekly.*

HINTS ON PEACE.

War, like other systems of iniquity, needs to be analyzed, in order to ascertain in what its obnoxious features consist. Certainly in the minds of multitudes, even in Christian churches, there seem to exist no clear well defined views respecting what really pertains to the war system, and what to other governmental acts, that by the employment of force bear a resemblance to it. In regard to the rightful employment of force, in the language of the constitution of the United States, "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasions," there may be a difference of opinion among the friends of peace. At present there seems to be no prospect of a general change of the opinion, that it is the duty of the government, wherever the occasion demand it, thus to employ the militia in any number that the exigencies of the state may require. To argue this point as a preliminary to being in full fellowship with the friends of peace, would, I apprehend, be labor worse than wasted.

1. He who fancies, then, that the time will arrive when all men will be converted to non-resistant doctrines, will very likely be disappointed. The magistrate will continue to bear the sword as a terror to evil doers. There still is ample room for the labors of the friends of peace, room for all good men to work, shoulder to shoulder, in abolishing war; to oppose and cause to be repudiated the inhuman and savage code, usually called "Martial Law." Strange that with advancing civilization, and the increasing influence of the gospel, the "Rules and Regulations of the Army and Navy" throughout Christendom should remain unchanged in all their essential features. The highest officer and the meanest soldier, are alike subjected to the most arbitrary and rigid despotism. These Rules wholly ignore the eternal distinction of right and wrong; officer and soldier are alike treated as mere instruments, without the recognition of conscience, or principle, without moral sense, or responsibility to God or man, except to their superiors in office. More savage even than the slave code, disobedience or resistance to treatment, however unprovoked or brutal, is defined to be mutiny, and the punishment is death. Besides the exposure and privation which the soldier is called to endure, he is treated more brutally than the slave by the government which employs him. To complain of such treatment, for one to sleep at his post, or desert

it, to lack courage in battle, or, tired and sick of a dog's life, to abandon it, is punishable with death. The military code is, from beginning to end, a cruel, unrighteous, atheistic system, opposed to the letter and spirit of divine revelation, and to the instincts of our better nature. Whatever plea may be urged for the continuance of a code so abhorrent to every thoughtful mind in countries where the soldier is intended to be only a machine for tyrants to carry out their nefarious purposes, there is no good reason for its continuance in our boasted land of liberty. Here such inducements for volunteers to enlist, and such forfeitures or punishments for carelessness, or unfaithfulness in the execution of orders, as are adapted to secure obedience, or make the culprit responsible for the consequences of his neglect or treachery, are what our country needs.

The soldier, as well as officer, should occupy a post of honor, so guarded that only intelligent, trusty men should be admissible; and for carelessness and incompetency, his dismissal should be a disgrace. True, such men must be paid; and for a police force we can afford to pay them. It was with such men that Cromwell went to battle as to certain victory. A few would be a host. Such a revision of the military code, and such a change of policy in regard to the competency and character of the soldier, would, before we were hardly aware of it, transform an army into a police. Instead of implicitly obeying orders, *right or wrong*, should government demand of them such services as they could not conscientiously perform, they would at once resign. Unlike a standing army, they would be the guardians of freedom, instead of the instruments of tyrants and the tools of demagogues.

2. Good men, not a few, are indisposed to listen to arguments in behalf of Peace, because in the Old Testament God sanctioned war, and the best of saints, as Abraham and David, engaged in it. Let us then look at his law in regard to war. Deut. 20: 1-10. He who had built a new house, and had not dedicated it; he who had planted a vineyard, and had not eaten of its fruit; he who had betrothed a wife, and had not married her, were commanded to return home. Then a general proclamation was made: "What man is there that is fearful and faint-hearted? Let him go and return to his house, lest his brethren's heart faint as well as his heart." No man was compelled to fight, or remain with the army. All was voluntary from first to last. In later times, we learn that in the event of war, all did as they chose in regard to joining the army or leaving it. All were alike interested in repelling an invasion, and maintaining the independence of the nation. *Martial Law* does not appear to have been thought of, though the government (civil) was very different from ours. Law, in regard to military regulations, was apparently administered in the same manner and spirit as in regard to other matters. The patriotism of the people was relied on to maintain the government. So should it be in this and every nation. In such a case, no war could be maintained but such as the masses of the people should approve. This alone would cut off one fruitful source of war.

3. Let the people demand that national disputes shall be settled by Arbitration. This is the common-sense method adopted in all other disputes. Two individuals or corporations do not resort to fists, clubs, or pistols to adjust their disagreements. They appeal to the proper tribunal, and whatever the verdict rendered may be, they submit. It is true, justice may not be meted out in proper proportions; but imperfect as the decision of court and jury may be, all experience proves that it is better to submit than to rebel — better for the parties, a thousand-fold better for the community in which they live. Let nations adopt the same course. Ten thousand times better to submit to what we believe to be a partial judgment, than resort to the sword. Time proves the truth of Franklin's wise saying: 'There cannot be a good War, or a bad Peace.'

Grinnell, Iowa.

L. C. R.

P. S. To a few of the foregoing positions, or *implications*, we could not assent without explanation; but its practical, common-sense views deserve much attention, especially from those who do not believe *all* war contrary to the gospel.—Ed.

IMPERFECT PEACE PRINCIPLES.

I observe in the last number of the *Advocate of Peace*, this very just remark,—“From the seed sown by our fathers in 1776, we are now reaping the bitter but legitimate fruits of 1861. It is too late for our cause to cure this evil. Its work of prevention should have been going on ages ago. Peace is not a mushroom, the growth of a night.” Yet how often are we assailed with the question, when some sudden emergency turns up, and Party fury is ready to break out in open violence, ‘what will your peace principles do *now*?’ But they seem to forget that war advocates have been sowing the wind; and now they expect peace men to hush the whirlwind. They do all they can to teach savage revenge, and to irritate them to deeds of violence; and then they ask peace men to allay the storm in a moment.

Two years ago, a fearful rebellion occurred in one of our state prisons; and it became “necessary,” as was alleged and commonly believed, to fire on the convicts. Two were killed, and the rest submitted. “Well” asked a friend triumphantly, “what would your peace men have done there?” The reply was, those prisoners have been governed by brute force; the law of kindness has not prevailed there; they have been threatened, irritated and whipped. Now, after having stirred up their vindictive passions, and thoroughly educated them to revenge, it is absurdly unjust to ask peace men to step in, and suffer the consequences of such teaching. Look at the Albany Penitentiary. The prisoners there see a *system* of kindness and love in their keepers, not assumed for a moment, or in some emergency; and the consequence is, no prison has more perfect discipline, although no corporeal punishment is ever resorted to.

I see in the two leading editorials of the *Advocate*, positions laid down

which I did not expect to find. These are, that while nations have no right to go to war with each other, they may "hang murderers, and suppress mobs, riots and insurrections," and that a government may "put to death a crew of pirates," "execute a gang of robbers," and "suppress a mob or an insurrection with bullets or bayonets." Among rebellions, they cite the instances of Shay in Massachusetts, Dorr in Rhode Island, and the present secessionists of South Carolina.

I do not suppose that the subject of capital punishment is directly connected with that of peace as advocated by the American Peace Society, yet as it has been admitted in its organ, may I not with propriety enter my objection? (1.) I know of nothing in the New Testament that allows it. The expression of the magistrate "bearing the sword," if literal, implies that, after condemning criminals, he pierces their bodies, and thus combines judge and executioner. Is their not stronger reason for believing the "sword" merely emblematic of authority, or figurative like the description of the Christian's armor in the Epistle to the Ephesians? Or, if he literally "executes wrath" by stabbing the prisoner, does this necessarily justify the act as Christian, any more than Nebuchadnezzar and other conquerors became good men, because they were the agents to execute the purposes of God on the offending Israelites? How fearful, then, the act of strangling to death a fellow being with a rope, on the strength of a doubtful permission at best.

The responsibility becomes greater when we remember the uncertainty of courts of law, and the fact that many innocent men have been hung as criminals, and will be as long as the law allowing it continues, who should be permitted to live, and be the comfort and support of their families. Daniel O'Connell saw a frantic mother rush through a guard to take a last farewell of her three young sons, who were all hung, and all found afterwards to be perfectly innocent. Some years ago, a young man, the brother of a respectable clergyman at the North, was arrested at Vicksburg for murder, and convicted on very strong circumstantial evidence, which some lawyers maintain is the best of all evidence. He read a plea at the gallows which he hoped would clear him, but it did not; when he found he was about to be sacrificed, his screams were heart-rending, in the midst of which he was swung off, struggled and died. A few days after, he was found to be innocent, and the real murderer detected. Can it be that Christianity requires a law that must, more or less frequently, lead to such scenes as this?

I once heard war justified beyond cavil, as the speaker thought, by the quotation from our Saviour, "Nations *shall* rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom." This, said he, is a positive command! And I cannot see why it is not as much so as the oft repeated passage is of capital punishment: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man *shall* his blood be shed;" or, "He that taketh the sword, *shall* perish with the sword." Early education will often give a meaning to a passage never intended, and which no amount of evidence can afterwards alter.

Is an apology required for thus alluding to this subject? It is admitted and proved by statistics, that the prevalence of capital punishment increases the frequency of murders by holding up human life as a cheap thing; and it must increase the war-spirit in the same way, by destroying the sacredness of the lives of human beings. Consequently the *spirit of peace* cannot prevail universally while it exists. It is then worthy of the labors of peace men to seek its abolition.

Allow me to say in behalf of William Penn, who has been alluded to in connexion with this subject, that I never understood that "he incorporated in his code the death penalty," as the Advocate states, but that he had to take his charter as it was given him, yet he never carried such a law out in practice. (2.)

Now, as to the right of government to "suppress insurrections with bullets or bayonets." If our general government may send an army to put down the secessionists, can we expect that the soldiers will not be actuated by the "*devil-like feeling*" so strikingly portrayed on another page of the same number of the Advocate, where the shout was for "blood, more blood!" and "kill! kill! kill!" If it is in accordance with the doctrines of the Prince of Peace to put down insurrections or rebellions, then Great Britain was justified in attempting to suppress the rebellion of her American Colonies, Austria in the subjugation of Hungary, Naples of Sicily, and Turkey of Greece. Certainly all our moral influence as peace men will be utterly destroyed by our engaging in such conflicts.

Peace men sometimes admit too much by being driven into a corner, when their warlike neighbors ply them with such questions as 'What will you do *now*? Will you go and give a marching army soft words to stop them?' No doubt similar questions were asked William Penn when he was about to enter unarmed the territories of what were then deemed the most ferocious savages on the earth. We have only to point in reply to the seventy years of peace and prosperity of Pennsylvania, and contrast it with the merciless and exterminating wars of New England, where every man was armed to defend himself. Doubtless such questions were asked the Friends in Ireland, when the rebellion broke out their towards the close of the last century; yet while blood flowed like water, only one out of the many thousand Friends was sacrificed, and he in consequence of forsaking his peace principles. A similar result, with a smaller number of Friends occurred during the Indian wars of New England.

I have no doubt that if a nation could adopt and carry out peace principles, systematically and continuously, it would exert an influence among the kingdoms of the earth of which we can now scarcely form a conception. Let it show justice, kindness and liberality in its intercourse with others; let half the money usually wasted in war, be spent in educating and christianizing its people; let it pay one tenth the money to settle disputed questions peaceably, that is commonly squandered in fighting; and above all show to the world that a fixed, unalterable Christian spirit, and not

intrigue and selfishness, rules its councils and its people; and mankind would look on with a respect and admiration such as they have never yet felt towards a nation. Such a nation would have the same influence in the world at large, as William Penn's colony had with the Indian tribes around him.

But while men are governed by a war-spirit, while a feeling of resentment prevails in the minds of the people at every real or supposed injury, instead of forgiveness and love, such a nation cannot be found; and, in the meantime, the spirit of brute force, mixed up indeed with much that is good, and with a desire for justice and order, will rule the nation, and maintain that order by an ultimate resort to bullets and bayonets. But let the advocates of the Gospel of Peace adhere firmly to their principles, and exhibit on all occasions the spirit of kindness and love, and their influence will not be in vain.

J. J. THOMAS.

Union Springs, N. Y.—2 mo., 4, 1861.

EXPLANATIONS.—The foregoing article, written with so much ability, and in so excellent a spirit, we gladly insert, though occupied chiefly with a subject not "directly connected with that of peace as advocated by our Society," which expressly says in one of its tracts, that it "does not inquire how murder, or any offences against society, shall be punished; how force shall be used for the suppression of mobs, and other popular outbreaks; by what specific means government shall enforce its laws, and support its rightful and indispensable authority; to what extent an individual may protect himself or his family by violence against murderous assaults; how a people, deprived of their rights, shall regain and preserve them, or in what way any controversy between a government and its own subjects shall be adjusted. With such questions, however important, the cause of Peace is not concerned, but solely with the intercourse of nations for the single purpose of abolishing their practice of war." In the "two editorials" criticised by our friend, all this was taken for granted; and the editor very justly complains that the cause of peace should be expected to meet such cases as those of pirates, mobs and insurrections, for which it was never designed. "The cure or control of evils like these belongs, not to Peace, but to Government. It comes not within the province of Peace to prevent or punish crime in general." It restricts itself to the single purpose of *doing away the custom of war*, and leaves its friends each to his own views and peculiar modes of reasoning on all other subjects. We suppose very few of our co-workers believe in the strict inviolability of human life.

1. On this subject there is much diversity of views among the friends of peace, and we seldom allude to it except merely in passing, as we did in the articles under review. The drift of public sentiment is certainly in the direction of our friend's argument; and there is much force in the facts he adduces.

2. We quoted from what we deemed good authority in saying that Penn's code retained the death penalty; but our friend we presume to be better informed than we are on this point, though his proof is not decisive. We know well that the followers of Penn are *now* opposed to taking life in punishment for any crime. Not a few believers in the doctrine of all war contrary to the gospel, still discard the strict inviolability of human life, and urge many reasons for taking it in certain cases. It is a point that Peace does not profess to decide.—ED.

MR. COAN'S VISIT TO THE MARQUESAS MISSION.

The Christians in the Sandwich Islands, more especially those in the church or *diocese* of Rev. Titus Coan, have for some time supported missionaries in the Marquesas; and about eleven months ago he made, on board the missionary ship *Morning Star*, a sort of episcopal, apostolic visit to the missionary stations there. We have already published from his pen a letter giving some account of this visit; but from a fuller report in the *Honolulu Friend*, we select a few more items.

EFFECTS OF PEACE PRINCIPLES.—These missionaries, as would of course be expected of converts under Mr. Coan, seem to believe and put in practice the principles of peace taught in the gospel, and the results are quite striking in their rude field among savages and cannibals. "They have the respect of all the people. They are meditators, peacemakers. Their houses and premises are cities of refuge. Their names are a safe passport, their persons sacred. They can travel in safety even among the most fierce and warlike tribes. They have weakened the war spirit,—have lessened the war party." Such is the general experience of these missionaries, who feel no anxiety for the safety of themselves or their friends. Their character as men of peace is a sacred and sure protection. At a general meeting of the missionaries attended by Mr Coan, "all expressed the opinion that, both at home and in travelling around the islands, they were as safe as in any other country. They disclaim all fear. Their names and persons are sacred everywhere."

Here is one instance of their influence. "War has not disturbed the repose of this valley (Hivara) since it has been occupied by the missionaries. It is occupied by two classes, the upper and lower. Feuds have occasionally arisen between the two parties, but no blood shed. The reason assigned by the natives is that, as the missionaries occupy the centre of the valley, they cannot pass them to fight each other; nor can they send the leaden messengers of death over their dwellings, or past their doors, or through the thicket which surrounds them. Thus they are mediators, and there is peace in the valley. All the people seem to respect them, though most stand aloof from their instructions."

CONTRAST—*The result of a warlike policy.*—"In 1842 the French, under command of Capt. Edouard Michel Hailey, took possession of this bay and strongly fortified it. They built a fort on a headland commanding the harbor, the valley on either side, and the approaches from the ridges in the rear. They also erected block-houses with loop-holes, a house for the governor, an arsenal, a bakery, barracks for soldiers, resi-

dences, and a battery in the valley and on other ridges lower than the lofty one on which their chief fortress stands. With these carnal weapons, and this hostile display, were united the priest, the crosier and the Papal creed. Thus the advent of the Prince of Peace was announced with the thunder of cannon, the rattle of musketry, the roll of the drum, the notes of the bugle, the flashing of steel, and the floating of the tri-colored banner. Conflict ensued, blood flowed, the gallant Capt. Halley fell, his marines bit the dust. From all the surrounding thicket the stealthy and concealed Marquesans poured in a leaden hail which filled the proud Frank with dismay. How many fell I could not learn. Some said 100, others 40, and others 10; but none of these estimates are reliable. The statement of foreigners at the station can no more be depended on than those of the natives. Half a mile up the valley, and in a thicket of bushes and trees, is a small enclosure of stone and mortar, and there lay the remains of Halley, captain of the corvette, member of the Legion of Honor, founder of the colony of Vaitahu, &c., &c. The fort is dismantled, the guns on the ground, the military roads are a thicket, brambles cover the ramparts, dilapidation is written on all the buildings, desolation howls from the windows and loop-holes; the clarion, the trumpet, the bugle, the fife and drum, have ceased their notes, the warrior's tread is no longer heard, the priest and the crosier are gone, and the immortal Halley sleeps in the jungle. "They have left him *alone* in his glory." Not a Frenchman is left at Resolution Bay.

Savages aping the war-policy of Christendom.—"Like some of the great powers of the earth, the Hanavavians are attending to the military defences of the realm. Fortifications are going on with great zeal. They have thrown up a zigzag breastwork of stone about half a mile long, some ~~at~~ to eight feet high, four feet thick, and pierced full of loop-holes for musketry. They also have guard-houses, and they feed soldiers who watch by day and night. We found men at work on these defences, and took occasion to recommend the Gospel and the Spirit of the Prince of Peace. "Go," said a stern warrior, "and preach peace at Omoa; first convert them, and then come to us with your counsels!" On telling them that we had done so, that we were direct from Omoa, and that we had advised the war party there to cease hostilities, to forgive and to love their enemies, they replied, "The people of Omoa are bloody liars; they rob and steal and kill, and we must defend ourselves." Immediately a fierce warrior, who was laboring on the fort, fired up with zeal, came towards us, held up his foot, and told us to look at a great scar where an Omoan bullet tore through his leg. Another came forward, and wished us to feel a ball which had passed through his body from the shoulder blade and lodged in the skin of his breast. I examined and found it even so. By a small incision, the bullet might be removed, but he will not allow it; he glories in it as marshals do in scars, and he carries it in his bosom as a vow of vengeance. Surely "the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty—they lay wait for blood—they lurk privily for the innocent."

WAR A HELLISH WORK.—If there be a work of the devil on earth—one in which the most malignant and hellish passions inflict hellish miseries on men, and leave a heritage of hellish passions to coming generations—that work is the work of war, "War is hellish work," was the heartfelt utterance of a brave old English general at a public meeting. Who can gainsay him?

PLEA FOR THE UNION AS A PEACE-MAKER :

OR ITS EFFECT IN GUARDING OUR COUNTRY'S PEACE BOTH AT HOME
AND ABROAD.

From Senator SEWARD's speech in the U. S. Senate, Jan. 12, 1861, we quote some pregnant paragraphs on the above topic :

"The first object of every human society is safety or security, for which, if need be, they will, and they must, sacrifice every other. This security is of two kinds; one, exemption from foreign aggression and influence; the other, exemption from domestic tyranny and sedition. Foreign wars come from either violations of treaties, or domestic violence. The Union has, thus far, proved itself an almost perfect shield against such wars. The United States, continually enlarging their diplomatic acquaintance, have now treaties with forty-six foreign governments. Nevertheless, the United States, within their entire existence under the federal constitution, have had flagrant wars with only four states, two of which were insignificant powers on the coast of Barbary, and have had direct hostilities, amounting to reprisals, against only two or three more; and they are now at peace with the whole world. If the Union should be divided into only two confederacies, each of them would need to make as many treaties as we have now, and, of course, would be liable to give as many causes of war as we now do. But we know, from the sad experience of other nations, that disintegration, once begun, inevitably continues until even the greatest empire crumbles into many parts. Each confederation that shall ultimately arise out of the ruin of the Union will have necessity for as many treaties as we now have, and will incur liabilities for war as often as we now do, by breaking them. It is the multiplication of treaties, and the want of confederation, that makes war the normal condition of society in Western Europe and in Spanish America. It is union that, notwithstanding our world-wide intercourse, makes peace the habit of the American people.

I will not descend so low as to ask whether new confederacies would be able or willing to bear the grievous expenses of maintaining the diplomatic relations which cannot be dispensed with except by withdrawing from foreign commerce. Our federal government is better able to avoid giving just causes of war than several confederacies, because it can conform the action of all the states to compacts. It can have only one construction, and only one tribunal to pronounce that construction, of every treaty. Local and temporary interests and passions, or personal cupidity and ambition, can drive small confederacies or states more easily than a great republic into indiscreet violations of treaties. The United States being a great and formidable power, can always secure favorable and satisfactory treaties. Indeed, every treaty we have was voluntarily made. Small confederacies or states must take such treaties as they can get, and give whatever treaties are exacted. A humiliating, or even an unsatisfactory treaty, is a chronic cause of foreign war. The chapter of wars resulting from unjustifiable causes would, in case of division, amplify itself in proportion to the number of new confederacies, and their irritability. Our disputes with great Britain about Oregon, the boundary of Maine, the patriot insurrection in Canada, and the Island of San Juan, the border strifes between Texas and Mexico, the incursions of the late William Walker into Mexico and Central America; all these were cases in which war was prevented only by the imperturbability of the federal government.

This government not only gives fewer causes of war, whether just or unjust, than smaller confederacies would; but it always has a great ability to accommodate them by the exercise of more coolness and courage, the use of more various and more liberal means, and the display, if need be, of greater force. Every one knows how placable we ourselves are in controversies with Great Britain, France, and Spain; and yet how exacting we have been in our intercourse with New Granada, Paraguay, and San Juan de Nicaragua. Mr. President, no one will dispute our forefathers' maxim, that the common safety of all is the safety of each of the states. While they remain united, the federal government combines all the materials and all the forces of the several states; organizes their defences on one general principle; harmonizes and assimilates them with one system; watches for them with a single eye, which it turns in all directions, and moves all agents under the control of one executive head. A nation so constituted is safe against assault or even insult. War produces always a speedy exhaustion of money, and a severe strain upon credit. The treasuries and credits of small confederacies would often prove inadequate. Those of the Union are always ample.

I have thus far kept out of view the relations which must arise between the confederacies themselves. They would be small and inconsiderable nations bordering on each other, and therefore, according to all political philosophy, natural enemies. In addition to the many treaties which each must make with foreign powers, and the causes of war which they would give by violating them, each of the confederacies must also maintain treaties with all the others, and so be liable to give them frequent offence. They would necessarily have different interests resulting from their establishment of different policies of revenue, of mining, manufactures, and navigation, of immigration, and perhaps the slave trade. Each would stipulate with foreign nations for advantages peculiar to itself and injurious to its rivals. If, indeed, it were necessary that the Union should be broken up, it would be in the last degree important that the new confederacies to be formed should be as nearly as possible equal in strength and power, that mutual fear and mutual respect might inspire them with caution against mutual offence. But such equality could not long be maintained; one confederacy would rise in the scale of political importance, and the others would view it thenceforward with envy and apprehension. Jealousies would bring on frequent and retaliatory wars, and all these wars, from the peculiar circumstances of the confederacies, would have the nature and character of civil war. Dissolution, therefore, is, for the people of this country, perpetual civil war. To mitigate it, and obtain occasional rest, what else could they accept but the system of adjusting the balance of power which has obtained in Europe, in which the few strong nations dictate the very terms on which all the others shall be content to live? When this hateful system should fail at last, foreign nations would intervene, now in favor of one and then in aid of another; and thus our country, having expelled all European powers from the continent, would relapse into an aggregated form of its colonial experience, and, like Italy, Turkey, India, and China, become the theatre of transatlantic intervention and rapacity.

If, however, we grant to the new confederacies an exemption from complications among each other and with foreign states, still there is too much reason to believe that not one of them could long maintain a republican form of government. Universal suffrage, and the absence of a standing army, are essential to the republican system. The world has yet to see a single self-sustaining state of that kind, or even any confederation of such states, except our own. Canada leans on Great Britain not unwillingly, and Switzerland is guaranteed by interested monarchical states. Our own

experiment has thus far been successful; because, by the continual addition of new states, the influence of each of the members of the Union is constantly restrained and reduced. No one, of course, can fortell the way and manner of travel; but history indicates with unerring certainty the end which the several confederacies would reach. Licentiousness would render life intolerable; and they would sooner or later purchase tranquility and domestic safety by the surrender of liberty, and yield themselves up to the protection of military despotism.

SCIENCE PLEADING FOR PEACE.

At the late meeting of the Social Science Congress in Glasgow, Lord Brougham read from two eminent Frenchmen, Garrigues and Damarest, a paper from which we quote a few extracts:—

“We wish to rouse all generous souls against war—the terrible scourge of humanity—and with you to seek the means of preventing it. May God hear and help us! Sovereigns of states are excited to war by ambitious interests, feelings of hatred, personal questions, desire for glory, or a thirst for revenge. War is sometimes in their hands an instrument of expending the vital fire which animates a nation, and the thirst for liberty which devours it. But for the people there is only one kind of war which is just—it is the war entered upon to defend their homes, the tomb of their ancestors, the cradle of their children, their standard, honor, liberty, independence, their native land, sacred word in which all is contained, for there is no native land for the coward who submits without resistance. Except war in the defensive, all war is a crime against humanity. The glory which sometimes arises from it, fills the world with mourning and despair; the day of expiation will come sooner or later.

For some time past the present period seems destined for great disasters. We hear the word, ‘a general war in Europe;’ and because Italy has recovered her ancient spirit, and a hero who wears his sword to deliver her from the yoke of the stranger, the whole earth seems shaken. Europe looks on attentively, and trembles with emotion. But must there be a general war? Against whom? Against what? Where is the individual, or the party, or the nation, to whom war would not be fatal?” • • •

After alluding to the evils inseparable from war to the various nations of Europe, they say, “We know that by the discoveries of science war would for the future be fearfully disastrous. Every day new weapons of war are invented, cannons with a range of from six to eight kilometers, which would carry the strongest walls in an instant, and by their power carry off masses at once. We cannot forget that at the battle of Solferino there were in a single day, of Austrians, Piedmontese, and French, more than a hundred thousand left wounded or dead on the battle-field. A friend of ours, who is captain of a vessel, told us that the English and French vessels are so well armed, and their sailors so good, that two ships could not fight without being both destroyed at the end of an hour. We do not mention this in order to attempt frightening the two nations. They have learned together, fighting side by side in the Crimea, how both can die. But as philosophers, we cannot but think that Providence seems to endow men with the power of inventing such instruments of destruction that they shall not be able to fight. In a general European war, can we think without trembling of the loss which would be sustained in men and riches, the cities ruined, dwellings ransacked, the warehouses destroyed, and countries laid waste?”

It is better to view this infernal picture before than afterwards. Can anything be more fearful than seeing men, who loved and esteemed each other the day before, throwing themselves upon each other, tearing each other with the sword, the sabre, the bayonet, the dagger, the gun, the pistol, the cannon, devouring each other with their teeth like ferocious animals; and all this for difficulties which might have been avoided, and which are generally more intricate after the battle than they were before? In former times when nations warred against each other, in destroying the neighboring country they only wronged that one country, as they consumed only the products of their own land, and produced no more than they consumed; but in our days, when one country produces for others, and the neighboring lands consume our products, there is no interest in killing our purchasers, and impoverishing them. The nations in our times are closely connected with each other. Great Britain could not make war on the United States without injuring her own interests. Science, commerce, industry and agriculture, have changed the intercourse of men over the world, especially in Europe. The old world is dead: a new world is rising. Happy are those who see and prepare for it; they shall be the first among all. By the railways, barriers are broken down, mountain chains are penetrated, rivers are no longer any frontiers. The sun shines for all. Nations approach, see, know, esteem and love each other. By the telegraph, distance exists no longer; people converse spontaneously with each other, from one end of the earth to the other. By commerce, industry and agriculture, they have continual intercourse, they have common interests and identical aims. Credit has become one in Europe. From the moment it is affected in one place, all other places of commerce and business are involved in it. The State loans are drawn from all sources. The last loans made by the Russian Government, to pay the last expenses of the Crimean war against France and England, were drawn from France and England. The French are interested in the construction of railways in Russia, Austria, Spain and Italy. These are evident facts; it is impossible to deny them, and not to see that the finger of God points out another end in view for which we require new ideas and new means of acting. Science and credit are advancing towards that end; politics alone are behind. Diplomacy seems powerless. Fate seems to play with the perspicacity of diplomatists. Diplomacy negotiates a great deal; it is always negotiating, but never advancing. The treaty of Villafranca died before it was born.

In these circumstances we have come to you, gentlemen, to ask you, who have taken upon yourselves the sublime mission of advancing the cause of social science, to lend us your aid in its diffusion over the whole of Europe. We can foresee, at an approaching period, the creation of the *United States of Europe*, leaving to each nation their nationality, customs and character. As individuals retain their personality in a community, towns in a state, so will every nation retain its nationality in the association of the European States. We can foresee a parliament composed of the representatives of every country, regularly elected, who will decide on all international questions. We would ask you, could you not add to your important sections that of "International Relations." to discuss all the projects of the European future, the news of a new world? Call to you all the celebrated men of all the courts of Europe — our countrymen will come by hundreds; and when you have invited them on the soil of Great Britain, you may exclaim, 'The nations have shaken hands! the blessed work is accomplished.'

It is clear that the essential ideas involved in our plan of a Congress of Nations, are gradually yet surely working their way into the public mind,

and must in time be woven into something like that at which we aim—such a *system for the peaceable adjustment of all national disputes as shall supersede the practice of war; the introduction of laws and courts, instead of the cannon and the sword.*

ENGLAND'S WARS HER OWN FAULT.

The formidable invasion of England by the Spanish Armada, was plainly provoked by Elizabeth's unjustifiable conduct. On one occasion, some Spanish ships having taken refuge on the coast of England, she ordered them to be seized, and with their stores, to be appropriated to her use. Her captains were sent to the Spanish settlements in South America, and there committed acts, which in Algerines and Malays would be condemned as piracy. Jealous as Elizabeth was of her own rights and dignities, and of her power to dictate what form of religion she thought proper to her own subjects, she yet completed her provocations by sending large sums of money, and 6000 troops to the Netherlands, to assist them in throwing off their allegiance to the King of Spain. Irritated by such acts, Philip determined to subdue England, hoping that when he had done so, he should be able to recover the Netherlands with ease. While, therefore, we view with abhorrence the Spanish barbarities in the Netherlands, we must remember that those provinces were perhaps more legitimately subject to the king of Spain, than British India is to the crown of England; and would not most Englishmen think, that in a similar circumstance, they had ground for "a just and necessary war?"

With regard to the French war, and the contemplated invasion of England by Napoleon Bonaparte, it is now generally admitted that England was the aggressor, and by her unnecessary interference caused much of the bloodshed and misery in which Europe was involved for twenty years. When the news of the insurrection in Paris in 1792 reached this country, our Ambassador was immediately recalled, and shortly afterwards the French Ambassador was ordered to leave England. It had been stipulated in a treaty between the countries, that such an act should be considered equivalent to a declaration of war. The French, however, redoubled their efforts to maintain peace. Even Allison says, "No doubt can now exist, that the interference of the Allies augmented the horrors and added to the duration of the Revolution." To extricate themselves from the dilemma in which many, who professed to vindicate defensive wars only, were involved by their eagerness to plunge into the late Russian war, they called that "a just and necessary war." Probably, most of them now see that it was an unnecessary and unjustifiable war.

It appears that, for nearly eight centuries, England has not been engaged even in a defensive war, but such as she *might* have avoided by non-interference with the affairs of other nations. History, however, tells fearful tales of her *aggressive* wars in every quarter of the world. There needs no other evidence against her as an invader and aggressor, than the common boast of Englishmen, that "the sun never sets on the dominions of their sovereign."—*Herald of Peace.*

RECRUITING IN RUSSIA.—No new levy of men for the Russian army is to take place for three years. After the peace, the Emperor decided that no levy should take place until 1859, and now a new exemption for three years has been accorded.

SECESSION :

OR THE SLAVE-HOLDERS' GREAT REBELLION.

We quote a few extracts embodying facts and views on this subject. The whole thing looks more like a wild, crazy dream than like a sober reality. It has arisen not unlike a whirlwind of fire at mid-day upon a western prairie; and unless checked, God only can foresee the full sweep of its evils.

WHAT THE REBELLION IS LIKELY TO COST.—The S. C. Legislature has already made appropriations for war purposes amounting in all to little less than \$3,000,000, though the Tax Bill to provide the means for paying has not yet been passed. Probably not less than \$2,000,000 additional will be required to cover what is deemed immediately necessary to the plans of the Revolutionists. Not less than \$5,000,000 will be required, if everything goes on smoothly, and without war. If the worst should come, there is no telling how much more would be necessary. Considering that the total white population of the State is less than 300,000, she is taking on rather heavy loads."

Such facts as these are only indices of what is to come all over the South. We have not at hand the data requisite for a full or exact comparison with what South Carolina has heretofore been paying under the Federal Government; but we think it safe to say that the former are likely to be three, if not five times as large. They are sure to pay dear enough for their whistle.

HOW THE MONEY IS GOT FOR THESE EXPENSES.—"I learn from Charleston" says a writer in the *N. Y. Times*, "that the proposed State loan of \$4,000,000 is already parcelled out among the wealthiest men of the State, and that each one is expected to furnish his share, under the penalty of being considered *disaffected*. It will be a *forced* loan as thoroughly as was ever any loan during the French revolution, or during the chronic revolutions of Mexico. The truth is, the secession movement is in the hands of the *mob*, and the planters, merchants and other men of substance are powerless against them."

"It is beginning to leak out now, through private but reliable information, that merchants and other men of property are *compelled by threats of personal violence to become subscribers to the State loan*. Some who were told that unless they paid \$1,000 each, their houses would be torn down over their heads, have paid it, and then fled for their own safety and that of their families, to cities further north. It is also reported, and there is no reason to doubt the truth of the report, that *a tax has been privately levied on slaveholders of \$16 per head for each slave owned by them*—a tax so onerous that, in some cases, the slaves will be confiscated and sold in order to meet it. Of course all this is kept carefully out of the published news and official proceedings. It shows to what straits the secessionists have already reduced themselves, and how they are sowing the seeds of discontent among their own adherents."—*Albany Journal*.

A leading citizen of Charleston, writing to the *Philadelphia Press*, says, "I could not publicly utter the sentiments of this letter without risking my life. The leaders of the Convention, like their prototypes of the French revolution, are beginning to be terrified at the fruits of the seed they have sown; but, as yet, the time for reaction is not here. The people have been infuriated through the efforts of the politicians, and now

like a Parisian mob, are pushing their captains and lieutenants into the very midst of the danger. What may bring these men to their senses is, the tax-system they have adopted. When a *per capita* sum is levied upon negro slaves, those who began and have driven forward this miserable business, will feel, in their own purses, that which is now afflicting men in my situation. They will be brought to their senses; for it stands to reason that we can no more maintain a permanent military force without immense and burdensome taxation, than we can eat our own cotton, or trade with Europe with Uncle Sam's fleet in our harbor."

"Several gentlemen, who have been engaged in trade at Charleston," says a Philadelphia paper, "have arrived North within a few days. One of them kept a provision and grocery store. A demand was made upon him for an exorbitant sum to sustain the State authorities. He offered them State stocks; but they would accept only a moderate amount of these securities, and finally they removed by force about one half of all the goods from his store. He did not dare to remonstrate; but he quietly sent his slaves to Richmond, Va., and, between two days, packed up the remainder of his property, and left the State. His case, he says, is only a sample of multitudes of others. It is no uncommon thing to notice the closing of stores, when an inspection of the premises reveals the fact that all the merchandise has been removed."

EFFECT ON BUSINESS.—"Every man in the community (Charleston) is anxious. Almost any change would be accepted as a relief. Business is as nearly suspended as possible. Merchants' new year's accounts bring no money. Where thousands are due, dollars fail to be forthcoming. Merchants of large means have hardly the necessary money to pay their daily expenses. The failure to respond to their obligations at the North, is not the consequence of any disposition to avoid such obligations, but is the result of the impossibility of collections in the interior. Planters' crops have come forward only in a limited degree. Of course they cannot pay till they have realized from the crops. Again, the last three months sales have been as nearly nothing in many branches of business as possible. No man has bought anything he could dispense with. Hence stocks have accumulated, and merchants cannot pay notes with stocks in their stores. Owners of bonds, stocks, real estate, find it impossible to raise money on them. Everything combines to render it next to impossible to get ready money."—*Cor. Boston Post.*

A letter from Montgomery, Ala., says, "I notice that your journals speak of the stagnation of business in your city (N. Y.) The word may do very well for you; but we need a noun of more forcible import. Seek out for us a word which expresses most strongly, not declination, but death, annihilation; a word which tells of laborers without work, stores without customers, banks without deposits, a whole people living on credit. The time for festivities has come; but there are no festivities. There is no social life. There is no business life. Real estate is falling every hour, plans are withdrawn from the hands of builders, orders for goods countermanded, even poor sewing women find themselves without work, because the ladies say they must try to do for themselves what they cannot do without. Everywhere there is an air of seriousness, if not of gloom. These are not discoveries of mine, made up from rare exceptions, but the common topics of street chats and evening calls. In some parts of the country there promises to be positive suffering."

"I have been," says one from Miss., Dec. 25th, "through several counties in this State, and some of the northern counties in Alabama; and I have no

hesitation in saying, that *the men of property in both States are unanimously opposed to the Secession movement.* It is got up and engineered by the politicians and poor whites. *The slaveholders are compelled to fall in with it for fear of having their property confiscated.* The largest slaveholder in this State was warned, the other day, that if he gave vent to his Union sentiments, he would be lynched, and his property confiscated. He took the hint, and left the State. It is so in every county, and also in Alabama, Louisiana, and Georgia. The interest of the owners of slaves, and property of every kind, makes them friends of the Union; but in the present state of feeling in these States, they cannot declare themselves without running more risk than they care to encounter. I have very little hopes myself in the future. If I could sell my slaves, I would go North; but I could not sell now without losing sixty per cent., at least, on their cost. So I must swim with the tide, and bear what fortune brings along."

"It is," says another writing to the *N. Y. Tribune*, "an undeniable fact, that starvation, and danger from mobs of the poor whites, and insurrection from the slaves, are daily staring them in the face. Many are sending their families to the North, and many more would do the same if they had the money. A resident of South Carolina, who owns over 100 slaves, writes to a friend that he has been taxed \$16 on each of his slaves, and that it would ruin him to pay it; some of his neighbors have had their slaves confiscated because unable to pay the tax; that there is no more business done in his town at mid-day than there is at 12 o'clock at night."

"The Secession," says the Nashville (Tenn.) *Democrat*, "has almost ruined every man in Tennessee. The price of property is reduced about three-fourths of what it was worth before the election; the poor are thrown out of employment, and their families brought to the point of starvation; every interest in the State has suffered; men almost bankrupt, who would have been wealthy but for the secession of South Carolina. The Disunionists, not satisfied with the ruin they have brought, propose to make the ruin still greater by the establishment of a standing army, and, to cap the climax, bring Disunion, with all the horrors of a civil war. At present our poor men can scarcely get bread for their children. Men who have lived comparatively comfortable heretofore, are now brought almost to beggary. Suppose this condition of affairs should continue for a month or two, and grow worse every day, as has been the case for six weeks past, there would be such a degree of starvation as would make men desperate, and ready for the most rash acts. What is to be the result of this pressure, no man can tell.

MORAL EFFECTS OF THE REBELLION.—The Sabbath.—"The Secessionists at Charleston, having repudiated their oaths and obligations to the General Government, of course can not consent to be trammelled in their course of pro-slavery independence by the law of God. On Sabbath the 30th ult., their Convention was in session, and on the afternoon of the same day they took possession of the United States Arsenal, raised over it the Palmetto flag and fired salutes in honor of treason, slavery, and Sabbath breaking.—*Wis. Chr. Ad. Jan. 1861.*

Intemperance.—A gentleman, recently from Charleston, says that *whiskey* had a great deal to do with the secession movement in Charleston. The entire population seems to be in a perpetual debauch. Bar-rooms, restaurants, stores, shops, all public places were crowded incessantly with a drunken, blaspheming mob. This is the material which constitutes the principal strength of the secession movement. The orderly and conservative portion of the citizens are completely overawed by them, and carefully avoid taking any steps which might excite their displeasure.

The general Spirit.—Every man here wears a pistol in his belt, and a bowie knife in his bosom. *You scarcely see a woman that has not learned to shoot.* Everywhere the insurrectionary movement is going on; and men look forward with fearful apprehensions. I fancied when in New York we heard exaggerated accounts of the excitement here; but it is beyond even my wildest conjecture. Men seem *drunk with passion, and women share their frenzy.* Disunion, disunion is the watchword everywhere; without bloodshed, peaceably, if possible; if not, with bloodshed and ruin as its attendants.—“For a while” says a lady in Ala. writing to a friend in R. L., “I was the most cowardly of cowards; now, *I am all anxiety to be nearer the scene of action. I can mould bullets, make cartridges, prepare lint, bind up wounds and nurse the sick.* Do not think that we are going wild, and casting off the fear God. Oh no: I pray that we ever may be a God-loving, God-fearing people. Our motto is, ‘We will fight, and trust in God.’ Almost every public meeting is opened with prayer; at the departure of the soldiery, prayer is offered for their preservation and success, and as many a manly form passes by, a fervent ‘God bless you!’ is sent up from many hearts. We are willing to deny ourselves every luxury, that necessities may last the longer, and our surplus funds we will spend for arms and ammunition.”—*Prov. Press.*

INHUMANITIES.—Hospital at New Orleans.—The barbarizing tendency of affairs in the seceding States, is well illustrated in the inhuman conduct of the rebel authorities of Louisiana, in regard to the United States Hospital at New Orleans. Downright savages could hardly have gone further in outraging the sentiments of the civilized world, than these conspirators in ordering the removal of nearly three hundred invalids from the hospital, to be left at the mercy of outside benovolence, or altogether to chance. Whether the prompt and indignant rebuke of Secretary Dix will have any effect in bringing the insurgents to a sense of their shameful conduct, and cause them to retrace their steps, is perhaps worse than doubtful.—*Cinci. Enq.*

Murder in cold blood.—The Patterson (N. J.) *Guardian* narrates a horrible case of Southern fanaticism and brutality. Two young workmen, the one named Ackerman and the other Bartolf, went South in the autumn to work at their trades. They found work in the vicinity of Charleston, S. C., but on the outbreak of the secession frenzy, lost their employment. All business was stopped, and they concluded to come home. But having to wait several days in order to get the money due them, they were denounced in the interval as abolitionists and spies, the mob seized them, and they were tried and hung within an hour.

“The first intimation,” says the same paper, “that was received concerning their fate, came from the man for whom they had worked in the vicinity of Charleston, who, finding out what had been done and where Bartolf’s father lived, wrote a statement of the circumstances, regretting the affair, and saying that had he been informed, or time allowed the suspected persons, their innocence might have been established and their lives saved. An agent has been despatched by the friends of the deceased, and it is supposed the remains of the unfortunate young men will be brought on for interment. Both were clever and industrious mechanics, and were unmarried men. Concerning another young man who was with them, and formed one of the party, nothing is known, and it is believed he too was in some way or other disposed of by the traitors who hold high revel now in the city of Charleston.”

A less offence than this, committed by the Barbary states upon American citizens, led to a vindictive war. The same offence committed by any of

the Central or South American nations would cause them to be swept from the face of the earth. If England or France, or any other powerful nation, should suffer it to be done, without bringing the offenders to punishment, the United States would cease all friendly relations at once, and demand redress.

Threats against the Capitol.—"We tell the people of Washington," says the Richmond (Va.) *Inquirer*, "as soon as the State of Virginia shall take active measures of resistance to Black Republican rule, her authorities cannot and will not brook the presence of a Federal army of coercion at Washington. If the army shall remain there, it must be driven out and the city captured, even if an assailing force of one hundred thousand men shall be required, and if successful assault shall first require a cannonade which will level every roof with the pavements of the streets."

Retaliation on the Mississippi.—Such orders have been given at the New Orleans State Custom House in regard to the shipment of goods to certain ports of delivery, as will no doubt cause much irritation at the Northwest, and show those who dwell on the upper Mississippi and its tributaries, that they must, sooner or later, prepare for war against foreign, hostile and aggressive States on the lower Mississippi. I hear the most moderate north-western men declare that they will not submit to such aggressions as are contemplated and perpetrated. They say that they want no other force for offensive war than their own natives of the Mississippi, with which they will flood the enemy States and cities, overwhelming everything in destruction. All they have to do, they say, is, when the river is full, to open the sluices through which the overmastering deluge will be poured. They are in no haste, they say, to make military preparation, because when the war shall begin, it will last long enough for the entire generation of military ardor.—*Cor. N. Y. Jour. of Com.*

A Southern view of the dangers ahead.—If war breaks out, it will rage in the interior, on our seacoasts, on the high seas, and on our frontiers. One section will let loose the Indians on another section. Twenty millions of Northern people will at once become our enemies. They will war upon us along a line of three thousand miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific. One section will call in foreign troops against another section. One confederacy will humble itself before the powers of Europe to get better commercial terms than the other confederacies. Meanwhile war will rage. Negro property will cease to be valuable, because the products of slave labor and of all other labor, will be in a great degree cut off from the markets of the world. The negroes will know, too, that the war is waged on their account. They will become restless and turbulent.

Heavy taxes will result from these wars. These taxes must be paid mainly out of slave labor. Strong governments will be established, and will bear heavily on the masses. *The masses will at length rise up, and destroy every thing in their way. State bonds will be repudiated. Banks will break. Widows and orphans will be reduced to beggary. The sword will wave everywhere paramount to all law. The whole world outside the slaveholding States, with a slight exception, is opposed to slavery; and the whole world, with slave labor thus rendered insecure, and comparatively valueless, will take sides with the North against us. The end will be—Abolition!*"—*Raleigh (N. C.) Standard.*

Such extracts as these are of course to be taken with many grains of allowance; but they undoubtedly contain an amount of truth that ought to make the nation pause before plunging into the deluge of crimes and woes inseparable from civil war. Through the forbearance of our national

government, the mischief has not yet reached actual war; and devoutly should all lovers of their country and their race pray that it may never come to a catastrophe so fearfully deplorable.

THE HERALD STAR: A CHRISTMAS POEM.

BY THE HON. MRS. MORTON.

Lo ! the recurring Season, and the time
Of festal meetings and familiar love;
And the sweet pealing of the silver chime
That gives the day its blessings from above.

Once more, innumerable teachers read
The wondrous story of the Saviour's birth:
The Herald Star that promised to our need
Peace and Good-will through all the suffering earth.

It shone not on the steel-clad conqueror's tent.
Nor on the palaces of sleeping kings;
Nor where the sage's studious head was bent,
Rose the white lustre of the angel wings.

On Herod's purple couch no glory fell;
To Pilate came no quick revealing gleams;
Nor lords nor princes started as some spell
Flashed their bright warning through their land of dreams.

But to the men of toil and simple need,
Whose lives were subject unto others' wills;
Whose emblematic task it was to lead
Flocks to green pastures by refreshing rills;

To them the choral angels in that night
Sang the meek advent of the Shepherd Lord;
They saw the shining of the wondrous light,
Sought the Redeemer, found Him, and adored

We hear the marvel ! Yea, Lord, is it so ?
Shall we, too, find Thee, after many days ?
Is there yet light to guide us in the glow,
That lingers faintly from Thy vanished rays ?

Our earth is full of tumults and of wars —
Our map of nations, rife with battle-fields,
Shows like a warrior's face all seamed with scars,
Dead on a heap of broken spears and shields;

And far and near the horrid clash of swords,
And serpent tongues of swift destroying flame,
And crimson streams of blood, and shouted words
Of marshalling cries, proclaim peace but a name.

Yea, where war is not, suffering yet appals;
The meek are crushed: the Despot smiles and dares;
The poor lean shivering up by rich men's walls,
And Slander wrecks the good man unawares.

How long, O Lord; we ask, ere Peace shall come?
 Let our souls dwell in patience: God sees best.
 The cross, and then the crown: the struggle home,
 And then the hush of an eternal rest.

"Peace and good will!" the choral hymn of Heaven;
 Are not faint echoes of it yet on earth?
 Are not some softening gleams of glory given
 In each recurring day of Jesus' birth?

Do not men lean more kindly to the poor?
 Hear with more reverence the church bells chime?
 While prodigals creep hopeful to the door,—
 "Father, forgive us, — this is Christmas time!"

Yea, the light is not vanished from our gaze!
 A lingering comfort visits us from far;
 Repent; resolve; forgive; these are the rays
 Still shining from the unapparent Star!

As our own sun, when he from us declines,
 To orb full splendor in another sphere,
 Through western skies with spreading glory shines;
 Though his concentrated light be vanished here.

Till with reflected glow the earth is decked;
 Each cold grey cloud takes color to his breast,
 And all the wide expanse of Heaven is decked
 With isles of light, and paths of shining rest.

Even so the Star that heralded Christ's birth
 Shall gleam among us, till the source of Light
 Shall come again with glory to the Earth.
 And bring the Eternal dawn that knows no night.

GARIBALDI IN A HOSPITAL.—Mason Jones, describing in a lecture at Hull, Eng., some scenes he had witnessed in the hospitals of Italy last year, thus introduces the great Italian Patriot Warrior:

"I went through one of these hospitals with Garibaldi. We went from bed to bed, the great general shaking hands and giving a comforting word to every one of the poor wounded lying in it, who forgot their sufferings in the pleasure they experienced in beholding their noble commander. In one of the wards was a young boy, only twelve and a half years old, who had been seriously wounded in the leg while fighting in the very front of the battle of Volturno. He had partially recovered, and when they entered was busily employed polishing a sword. Garibaldi spoke to the boy kindly, and then took him into his arms, and pressed him fondly to his bosom, and then they wept long and loudly together. We next entered another ward, in which was a young Venetian, the son of a nobleman, who was just dying. He was also one of the boys who had fought so valiantly in the front of the battle of the Volturno. He had received four wounds in various parts of his body, in consequence of which he was then rapidly dying. Garibaldi asked him if he could do anything for him. The poor boy looked up at the general, and gasped in piteous tones, 'Oh, my beloved general, my darling mother! shall I never see you more? Oh, do not forget my country! Viva Garibaldi!' And then he lay back and died.

Garibaldi stooped down, and, taking the dead body in his arms, he kissed it, while the tears flowed plentifully down his cheeks, as he said, 'No, no, no, I shall not forget, then turning to me said, *Liberty is not worth such sacrifices as these*. I do everything in my power; but I cannot do all that is in my heart.'

INCREASE OF OUR MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

The friends of freedom have always been jealous of standing armies; but we fear they may be tempted, under the pressure of our present dangers, to make such additions to our military force as future ages will deeply deplore. The following extracts indicate what is now passing in the public mind on this subject:—

"A despatch from Washington says that it is the settled policy of the Republican party to establish an army and a navy of sufficient force to meet such emergencies as now exist. We know not what may be the policy of the Republican party on this point, but the disgraceful events of the last three months have demonstrated that the regular forces of the government ought to be largely increased, if our government is to be anything beyond a mere government in name. Those events show that there are men in the United States who can be restrained from lawless deeds only by the display of a powerful military or naval force. There ought to be added ten thousand men to the army, at the very least; and the pay of the men should be increased, so that they might be bound to the nation by the strongest ties of interest. The army should be a class apart, and should have no sympathy with this or that section or party. Measures ought to be taken to get rid of all the disaffected men in both services, so that they might be purified and reconstructed, at the same time that they should be enlarged. Sectionalism has now become so strong that it would not do to employ the *militia* of one class of States to enforce the plainest laws in other States. President Washington could employ Virginians and Marylanders to enforce a law of the Union in Pennsylvania, but any such proceeding now would be sure to light up the flames of civil war over the whole South. Were a militia force sent from Pennsylvania and New Jersey to act in Virginia, no matter how proper soever its action might be, the Southern States would all rush to arms to effect its extermination. The Border States, in this respect, are as bad as the Cotton States. The only occasion on which a Northern force would be allowed to enter the South, would be when a slave insurrection on a large scale should occur.

From this state of things it follows, that the military force of the nation should be composed of regular troops only, who would know nothing of any state or section, but be as ready to put its bayonets into rebellious Southrons as into rebellious Yankees. The navy should be correspondingly increased with the army. The pay of officers should be increased, as well as that of the men; promotion should be made more rapid, and pensions should be conferred on soldiers and seamen who should have served a long time with credit. We have starved both services: but we are now beginning to discover that they are useful; and what is useful deserves to be well paid."—*Boston Traveller*, Feb. 11, 1861.

We devoutly hope that such ideas will never prevail in any party among us; for the day when they do, will date the sure, ultimate downfall of our

free government. It was the sword that stabbed the liberties of Greece and Rome; and, if used in the same way here, it will in time prove equally fatal to ourselves.

We know the plea, as old as despotism. We shall be told that the laws must be enforced, the authority of government maintained, and that this will require a large, permanent increase of our military forces. But the theory of our government puts it in the keeping of the people, and the only valid, or plausible argument for an active militia, is its alleged necessity on emergencies in enforcing the laws, and putting down mobs, insurrection and rebellion. If the people cannot be entrusted with this service, they are not fit for self-government, and must in time pass under some form of despotism, as a refuge from the evils of democracy. If we must have a standing army to execute our laws, the sooner we exchange our present form of government for a monarchy or oligarchy, the better; and, if we increase our military establishment in the way proposed, it can hardly fail to become in time an engine of oppression, and a fruitful source of corruption and danger.

HOW THE EARLY CHRISTIANS REGARDED WAR. — The New Testament history affords but little information respecting the influence of Christianity in the army. Mention is made of several pious centurions, but nothing is said of their future conduct. If they continued faithful Christians, they doubtless quitted the army, for they could not remain in it, without complying with some of its idolatrous practices, as well as renouncing the peace principles of the gospel.

That the immediate successors of the apostles believed war to be unlawful, we have ample testimony both from their friends and enemies. Celsus, who lived at the end of the second century, in his attack on the Christian religion, makes it a charge against its professors, that *they refused to bear arms for the emperor*. Gibbon also says, "The humble Christians were sent into the world as sheep among wolves; and since they were not permitted to employ force even in the defence of their religion, they would be still more criminal if they were tempted to shed the blood of their fellow-creatures in disputing the vain privileges or the sordid possessions of this transitory life. They held the principle of passive obedience, and in the space of three centuries their conduct had always been conformable to their principles."

The case of Marcellus shows what was the practice of those who became converts to the Christian religion, while serving in the Roman army. He was a centurion, and threw down his military belt at the head of the legion, declaring that *he could no longer serve in the army, for he had become a Christian*. For this testimony to the peace principles of the gospel, he suffered martyrdom. In those days the Christian church and the peace-at-any-price party were identical. There have been those in all ages since, who have received the peace principles of the New Testament in their simplicity, and who have believed that abstinence from war is essential to the character of a Christian. And such having been the effects of religion in the ranks in the best days of the church, it will doubtless have the same influence when the church shall come out of the wilderness.

HOPE OF CONTINUED PEACE IN EUROPE.—There has long been a settled expectation of general war on the Continent in the opening of spring. We have been slow to share these fears; and we are glad to find in an able and very elaborate article from the pen of a French Deputy, M. Granier De Cassagnac, "that peace is infinitely more probable than war." We quote a part of his argument for this belief:—

"Russia," he says, "is emancipating her peasants, constructing railways, re-organizing her administration, and renewing her naval stores. England, overwhelmed by the expenses of India, disquieted by the perturbation which the events of the United States have already caused in her finance and commerce, and which may at any moment occur in her cotton manufactures, has in no respect any interest direct or great enough to accept lightly conflicts and adventures; and already important sections of the majority in Parliament make economy the condition of according their support to the ministry. Austria, occupied with internal ameliorations, and borne down with the expenses occasioned by the abandonment of feudal institutions, and still more by an excessively large army, sighs for the repose which is necessary for the success of her reforms and for the reduction of her military expenditure. France, whose finances are in a much better state, and much more solidly established, has only just opened her markets to the raw and manufactured productions of England, and will shortly do so to those of Belgium. In presence of that flood of foreign productions, French commerce, in order to maintain itself and prosper, has an imperative need of capital and of markets—two things which war takes away."

MILITARY EFFECT OF SECESSION.—We see all over our land the influence of secession in rousing a war-spirit, and stimulating preparations for an appeal to arms. It is a state of things full of both political and moral dangers. The South has seemed for many months a sort of general camp, and the North is at length putting its militia in readiness for special emergencies. The manufacture of fire-arms and implements of war is pushed forward, day and night, often with two sets of hands. Strange that such a people should at such a period be wasting its time and resources in such preparations for mutual mischief and slaughter.

ENGLISH LIBERALITY TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE.—In our last Advocate we quoted from a circular issued by the London Peace Society, last Nov. soliciting subscriptions for a more reliable and more adequate income in prosecuting their work. In the Herald of Peace for Feb., 1861, we find that these subscriptions, nearly all of them *permanent*, already amount to more than *nine thousand dollars*. Such is the *reliable* basis on which our English co-workers are putting our cause there, and thus enabling its managers safely to plan a wider and more effective prosecution of their work. When shall we see the like among ourselves? The cause of Peace *originated here* with such men as Worcester and Channing. Shall we not find their mantle resting on their successors in the present-generation?

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

FOR

MAY AND JUNE.

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1861.

T H E

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MAY AND JUNE, 1861.

PROOFS OF PROGRESS IN PEACE.

America has led the world in two of its grandest movements since time began. She has experimentally proved that an enlightened and religious people can govern themselves, making their own laws, and appointing their own men to execute them. And she has shown, that Religion needs no aid from the State, and that the State can safely give equal protection to all sects and parties of Christians. Most of a century has rolled away during which she has held up, to the eyes of mankind, these sublime truths. The full effect cannot be known.

This day she is displaying before the astonished nations another and even sublimer lesson, viz: that a nation may be dismembered — revolutionized, without the shedding of blood. For months we have been in the midst of a revolution, while business, though checked, is not stopped, and a mighty people confine themselves to arguments and persuasion. Never before has a nation passed peaceably through such a struggle of conflicting sentiments and interests. Never has a portion of a nation given such provocations, without the central power resorting to military measures.

How it enobles our estimate of man to see a great and powerful nation, badgered and robbed by a faction, or fraction of its people, and yet remain calm, conciliatory, kind. Representatives from the disturbed section have been allowed to sit in the national councils, and utter provoking, denunciatory and treasonable sentiments, avowing them-

selves the while to be foreigners, and irrevocably disconnected with the nation! Commissioners from the revolted district have been allowed to visit the Capitol, urge their "claims" upon the Chief Magistrate in person, threaten all sorts of violence, if decisive measures are taken to preserve the Union, and return to their homes without arrest. Never, on this earth, has it been thus before!

Let what may happen, a new lesson, august and lovely, has been given to the world. Many weeks of excitement and provocation have glided by; but our streets exhibit no squads of recruits, no tocsin calls our free men to arms. Instead of this, what do we see? A PEACE CONGRESS! Day by day is considered every asserted grievance, and debated every proposed remedy. There have men of opposite views given each other a patient and respectful hearing, and at length united in proposing a peaceful settlement, embracing mutual concessions.

Whether the proposed mode of settlement be good or bad, sufficient or insufficient, the glorious truth remains, that the nation, instead of rushing to arms, took this mode of proceeding. A large gain is secured, a glorious example set. The public ear has become accustomed to the term, "Peace Congress;" and passion has had time to subside. But lately, such arbitrations *after* fighting have been always resorted to, and commissioners have made peace, while generals could not. Now, we set the world an example of employing peace commissioners *before* fighting. Presently, the day will come when national contentions, like private ones, will be settled *without* fighting! Henceforth the "Peace Society" will no longer be graciously let alone by civil and religious magnates, as a harmless collection of kind-hearted dreamers, but will stand high among the great benevolent institutions which aim to procure the triumph of true religion in the earth.

There is hope now, that the States which have united in a new Confederacy, will be allowed to proceed, and form a government in their own way. If they should find that secession was a grave error, and seek to return, another Peace Congress can determine whether to re-unite or not, and, if to re-unite, on what terms. Our children will be as capable of making wise arrangements as we are, and more so, as they will act in view of facts and events which we now cannot foresee. Why should we resort to brutality and blood, forbidden alike by Christianity and common sense? Why attempt to *force a union*, and thus withdrawing the noble lesson we have been holding forth, make ourselves both abhorrent and ridiculous? We may ravage the Cotton States, and leave them with little else than orphans and widows, mourn

ing over burnt homes, and blackened fields; but will this make "Union?" Will this remove any grievance, quiet any apprehension, or settle any dispute? Will it not be necessary, after inconceivable damage on both sides, to appoint commissioners, and have another "Peace Congress"?

Let every child in America pray for peace. It is the great want; and, if we can reach the end of these difficulties without a fierce, protracted war among ourselves, we shall teach a lesson of incalculable value to the whole world, the lesson that *there is no real need of war in any case.*

INCIDENTAL BEARINGS OF THE PEACE CAUSE.

Our readers are well aware that the mass of Christians practically ignore the claims of our cause to their active support. Right or wrong, the fact that they do so, is undeniable; and at every turn do we meet it as a quiet but very effective obstruction to our progress. They all profess to be friends of peace, as much so as anybody, but refuse or neglect to do anything for it. If we ask them to give either money or labor, to preach or pray on its behalf, they are ready with some excuse or other that proves how little they know or care about it. They seldom betray any active hostility—most of them are too indifferent for that; but, while acknowledging the excellence and vast importance of our object, they plead either that there is no need of any special efforts for its accomplishment, or that they are in truth laboring for it by their support of the gospel at home, and its spread among the heathen. They tell us they are now doing all they can in other and more effective modes of usefulness, from which they cannot withdraw to spend their energies or funds in a cause from which so much less is to be expected for the ultimate welfare of mankind.

Now, we are far from calling in question the motives of those who honestly reason in this way, as there is clearly room for a conscientious diversity of opinion here; but for the sake of all the great enterprises in which Christians of different denominations are engaged, both at home and abroad, for the recovery of a lost world to God, we think they ought all to examine, with far more candor and care than they have yet done, the bearings of the Peace movement upon these various enterprises of Christian Benevolence and Reform. They form perhaps the chief glory of the age in which we live; and we deem it wrong for

those embarked in them to overlook what is so essential as Peace confessedly is, to their own steady progress, and their final complete triumph.

The subject has a reach too vast for a satisfactory discussion in a single article. We propose calling attention to it ere long in a series of articles, designed to show *how important and indispensable is the cause of Peace to the success of all enterprises of Christian Benevolence and Reform*. We fully believe, and trust we shall be able to prove, that it is the grand pioneer and auxiliary of all such enterprises; that its support, in one way or another, is quite essential to their success; that its defeat, or only partial failure, must put them all back on the great dial-plate of the world's progress; that without peace, revivals of religion must cease, and the various enterprises of Christian benevolence, as well as those of reform, will all be arrested, paralyzed or seriously crippled. Peace, indeed, is the great desideratum of the age and the world, the hinge of almost everything good; and in no other way can either money, labor, or influence be expended to better purpose for the glory of God, or the highest temporal and spiritual welfare of mankind, than in a wise, zealous support of this cause.

Glance at a single aspect of this argument. Forty-five years ago, the friends of Peace started our cause in this country; and, by God's blessing upon perhaps \$100,000, or more, spent here in its prosecution during this period, there has been formed a public sentiment, chiefly in the Free States, that sufficed, for a time at least to hold us back, in the face of a most provoking rebellion, from the nameless evils of a civil war. It was a deliverance due mainly to the influences diffused for nearly half a century by our cause. Had the North been like the South, where very little has been done to change the war habits of past ages, we should all have plunged at once into a death-struggle from which we could hardly have hoped to escape without ages of strife and blood-shed whose evils no imagination could foresee or fully conceive. Had Christians as a body done their whole duty to this cause from its start; had the press and the pulpit, the church and the fireside, the leading influences of the land, rallied all along to its steady, resolute, untiring support; had there been spent in its prosecution only the thousandth part of the money and moral power worse than wasted already in the rebellion now in progress, the terrible evils now upon us would never have come. Could such a result have been reached, what arithmetic could compute its importance to the various enterprises of Christian benevolence and reform, to the prosperity of our land, to the welfare of the world?

MR. COAN'S LETTER.

G. C. BECKWITH, D. D., *Sec. of Am. Peace Soc.*

MY DEAR BROTHER:—It is always pleasant to remember the cause of peace. It is a joyful exercise. It is God-like, Christ-like, heaven-like. It calms the soul, makes it reasonable, prostrates its baser passions, exalts the good, teaches moderation, forbearance, forgiveness, *love*. It is blessed to think of "the *Prince of Peace*"; to set him always before us; to contemplate his gentleness, his meek and lowly heart, his stainless life, his gracious words — 'Learn of me; take my yoke; love your enemies; feed them; bless them; blessed are the peace makers—that ye may be the children of your Father in heaven.' Is it not good and comely to meditate on this theme? Will it not transform us, making us "peaceful, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy, having compassion one of another, pitiful, kind, forgiving one another in love, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us?"

How soon we catch the image of the object we contemplate. So Christ's pure and peaceful image, by a steadfast and admiring contemplation, becomes ambrotyped on the soul. "We all, with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory as by the spirit of God."

What is more to be desired than that all Christians should be disabused of false reasoning and false principles on the subject of war; that they should get rid of the *spirit* of retaliation and revenge; that they should understand the import of the assertion—"Vengeance is mine"; that they should have confidence in the protecting power of goodness and love; that they should *dare* to copy the example and to follow in the footsteps of "Him who, when he was reviled, reviled not again"; that they should listen to the teachings of Him who said, 'see that ye resist not evil—put up thy sword—love your enemies—do good to those that hate you.' Why is it that these simple, sublime and heavenly truths, illustrated and enforced as they are by the life and death of their Divine Author, should be so misinterpreted, misunderstood, misapplied and neutralized in the minds and lives of professed Christians? 'They are so plain that a child may comprehend them, and so distinct that "he may run who reads them"—and the way—"I am the way"—is so open and so straight, that "the way-faring man, though a fool, need not err therein."

But the whole subject has become mystified by sophistry, complicated by human reasoning, and darkened and obscured by human passions. Pride, ambition, envy, jealousy, cupidity, fear, contempt, hatred, revenge—these are some of the elements which kindle the fires of war, and none of them are from above. All are "earthly, sensual, devilish." So long as these baleful fires burn only *outside* of the church, we have nothing to fear; holy martyrs would soon quench them. Our chief danger is when our

Zion is in conflagration--when "our holy and our beautiful house" is burning--when the citadel of our strength, our tower of safety, is in flames, then it is that we have no refuge, no shelter, no asylum--no sacred sanctuary where the wings of the Eternal cover us; no peaceful port of observation where we may survey the scenes of tumult and blood with pity and supplication; and no holy watch-tower where we may receive the bread at God's lips, and send out notes of reproof and warning from him. We mingle in the strife, we are lost in its smoke, we are silenced by its roar, we fall in its ruins, we welter in its carnage, we die by the weapons we wield, and thus the unheeded warning is verified, "He that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword."

Am I right in my reflections? Surely my *faith* can take no other view of the life and teachings of our Lord. And why not venture in his footsteps? Why not take the path he took? Why not feel, and speak, and act like him? If we bear his name, why not bear his image? Why do what he would not do, and what he would not allow his first disciples to do? Surely the disciple is not above his Master; and if the "Master of the house" could endure the insult to be called "Beelzebub," why may not "those of his household" be a little patient under indignities and wrong?

This is the way my mind reasons; and to me it looks like the gospel of Christ; and never, *never* can the horrors of war cease or die out of the world until Christians come out and put off their "garments rolled in blood," and clothe themselves in the pure and peaceful robes of Christ. Then will Zion arise and shine; then will she be the light of the world, a city on a hill; then will her light break forth as the morning. She will be beautiful as Tirza, comely as Jerusalem, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, terrible as an army with banners. With her *spiritual* panoply she will conquer the earth, and inherit all nations.

Peace principles make slower progress than we desire, and yet they *do* make progress. Wars grow briefer, and less ferocious, and God seems to be overruling the conflicts of nations so as to further the great end in man, viz: to fill the earth with peace and joy. Would every Christian at once abandon all participation in war, and give his decided testimony on the side of peace, there never, in my opinion, would be another battle fought in Christendom. The thing would be morally impossible. And if this be true, what amazing responsibility rests on the disciples of Christ! Would that the church knew her weapons, her power, her privilege, her time, her duty.

But we must *wait*, not in silence and inactivity, but in meek, patient and believing activity. We must live and die in a world of turmoil and strife; but our descendants will live in a world of peace where war is unknown, and its diabolical art untaught. And may we not from the peaceful hills of heaven, look down on a world cleansed from blood, and redeemed from every curse? God grant it.

In our Annual Convention of native church officers we appropriated fifty dollars to the Am. Peace Society, for which see enclosed order on Henry Hill, Esq., Boston. We desired to send you more; but as we have the Marquesas Mission on our hands, beside other objects of care, we could not well go higher now. This church has just given \$700 to support our native missionaries in the Pacific, besides \$400 for other objects which call on our benevolence. You will accept the mite we send with the assurances of our warm sympathies, and continued prayers for the blessed cause of peace; and may the God of love and peace bruise Satan under your feet shortly.

And believe me as ever, your friend and brother in Christ,
Hilo, Hawaii, Jan. 16, 1861.

T. COAN.

GLIMPSE OF A BATTLE.

FROM ADDRESS OF HON. JOSIAH QUINCY, BEFORE MASS. PEACE SOCIETY,
 1820.

Science and revelation concur in teaching that this ball of earth which man inhabits, is not the only world; that millions of globes, like ours, roll in the immensity of space. There doubtless dwell other moral and intellectual natures, angelic spirits, passing what man calls time, in one untired pursuit of truth and duty, still seeking, still exploring, ever satisfying, never satiating, the ethereal, moral, intellectual thirst, whose delightful task it is, as it should be ours, to learn the will of the Eternal Father, to seek the good which to that end he hides, and finding, to admire, adore, and praise, 'him first, him last, him midst and without end.'

Imagine one of these celestial spirits, bent on this great purpose, descending upon our globe, and led, by chance, to an European plain at the point of some great battle, on which to human eye, reckless and blind to overruling heaven, the fate of states and empires is suspended. On a sudden, the field of combat opens on his astonished vision. It is a field which men call "glorious." A hundred thousand warriors stand in opposed ranks. Light gleams on their burnished steel. Their plumes and banners wave. Hill echoes to hill the noise of moving rank and squadron, the neigh and tramp of steeds, the trumpet, drum and bugle call. There is a momentary pause. A silence like that which precedes the fall of the thunderbolt, like that awful stillness which is precursor to the desolating rage of the whirlwind. In an instant flash succeeding flash, pours columns of smoke along the plain. The iron tempest sweeps, heaping man, horse, and car in undistinguished ruin. In shouts of rushing hosts, in shock of breasting steeds, in peals of musketry, in artillery's roar, in sabres' clash, in thick and gathering clouds of smoke and dust, all human eye, and ear, and sense are lost. Man sees not but the sign of onset. Man hears not but the cry of 'onward.'

Not so the celestial stranger. His spiritual eye, unobscured by artificial night, his spiritual ear unaffected by mechanic noise, witness the real scene, naked in all its cruel horrors. He sees lopped and bleeding limbs scattered; gashed, dismembered trunks outspread, gore-clotted, lifeless; brains bursting from crushed skulls; blood gushing from sabred necks;

severed heads, whose mouths mutter rage amidst the palsy of the last agony. He hears the mingled cry of anguish and despair issuing from a thousand bosoms in which a thousand bayonets turn; the convulsive scream of anguish from heaps of mangled, half-expiring victims, over whom the heavy artillery wheels lumber and crust into one mass, bone, and muscle, and sinew; while the fetlock of the war-horse drips with blood, starting from the last palpitation of the burst heart, on which his hoof pivots.

"This is not earth," would not such a celestial stranger exclaim, "this is not earth, this is hell? This is not man, but demon tormenting demon." Thus exclaiming, would not he speed away to the skies? His immortal nature unable to endure the folly, the crime and the madness of man.

If in this description there be nothing forced, and nothing exaggerated; if all great battles exhibit scenes like these, only multiplied ten thousand times, in every awful form, in every cruel feature, in every heart-rending circumstance, will society in a high state of moral and intellectual improvement endure their recurrence? As light penetrates the mass, and power with light, and purity with power, will men in any country consent to entrust their peace and rights to a soldiery like that of Europe, described as a "needy, sensual, vicious cast, reckless of God and man, and mindful only of their officer?"

"Revolutions go not backward." Neither does the moral and intellectual progress of the multitude. Light is shining where once there was darkness, and is penetrating and purifying the once corrupt and enslaved portions of our species. It may occasionally, and for a season, be obscured, or seem retrograde: but light, moral and intellectual, shall continue to ascend to the zenith, until that which is now dark, shall be in day, and much of that earthly crust which still adheres to man, shall fall and crumble away as his nature becomes elevated.

With this progress, it needs no aid from prophecy, none from revelation, to foretell that war, the greatest yet remaining curse and shame of our race, shall retire to the same cave, where "Pope and Pagan" have retired, to be remembered only, with a mingled sentiment of disgust and wonder, like the war-feast of the savage, like the pledge of revenge in the scull-bowl of Odin, like the murder of helots in Greece, and of gladiators in Rome, like the witch-burnings, the Smithfield fires, and St. Bartholomew massacres of modern times.

DUELLING.—Travelling in a stage coach, Professor V — got into an argument with a fellow traveller about duelling, the necessity of which the Professor strenuously denied. The other stoutly maintained it, and insisted that there were many cases which could be decided only by a duel. "I deny that," said the Professor. "Poh!" exclaimed the other, "it is quite clear. Why, what else can you do? Here are you and I talking together; and suppose we get into a warm argument, and I say to you, 'you lie!' what can you do then? You must fight me—there's no other remedy." "I deny it," replied the Professor, with provoking coolness. "Well, but what *can* you do?" "Why," he again replied, "if you say to me, 'you lie!' I should say, prove it. If you do prove it, I *do* lie; if you *don't* prove it, it's *you* that lie. And there is an end to the matter."

THE VULTURE'S LECTURE TO HER CHILDREN.

Many naturalists are of opinion, that the animals which we commonly consider as mute, have the power of imparting their thoughts to one another. That they can express general sensations is very certain; every being that can utter sounds, has a different voice for pleasure and for pain. The hound informs his fellows when he scents his game; the hen calls her chickens to their food by her cluck, and drives them from danger by her scream. Birds have the greatest variety of notes; they have indeed a variety, which seems almost sufficient to make a speech adequate to the purposes of a life which is regulated by instinct, and admits little change or improvement. To the cries of birds, curiosity or superstition has been always attentive; many have studied the language of the feathered tribe, and some have boasted that they understood it.

A shepherd of Bohemia has, by long abode in the forests, enabled himself to understand the voice of birds; at least he relates with great confidence a story, of which the credibility is left to be considered by the learned. "As I was sitting," said he, "within a hollow rock, and watching my sheep that fed in the valley, I heard two vultures interchangeably crying on the summit of the cliff. Both voices were earnest and deliberate. My curiosity prevailed over my care of the flock. I climbed slowly and silently from crag to crag, concealed among the shrubs, till I found a cavity where I might sit and listen without suffering or giving disturbance. I soon perceived that my labor would be well repaid; for an old vulture was sitting on a naked prominence, with her young about her, whom she was instructing in the arts of a vulture's life, and preparing by the last lecture for their final dismission to the mountains and the skies.

'My children,' said the old vulture, 'you will the less want my instructions, because you have had my practice before your eyes; you have seen me snatch from the farm the household fowl; you have seen me seize the leveret in the bush, and the kid in the pasture; you know how to fix your talons, and how to balance your flight when you are laden with your prey. But remember the taste of more delicious food; I have often regaled you with the flesh of man.'

'Tell us,' said the young vultures, 'where man may be found, and how he may be known. His flesh is surely the natural food of a vulture. Why have you never brought a man in your talons to the nest?' 'He is too bulky,' said the mother. 'When we find a man, we can only tear away his flesh, and leave his bones upon the ground.' 'Since man is so big,' said the young ones, 'how do you kill him? You are afraid of the wolf and of the bear; by what power are vultures superior to man? Is man more defenceless than a sheep?'

'We have not the strength of man,' returned the mother; 'and I am sometimes in doubt whether we have the subtlety; and the vultures would seldom feed upon his flesh had not nature devoted him to our uses, infused into him a strange ferocity, which I have never observed in any other being that feeds upon the earth. Two herds of men will often meet and shake the earth with noise, and fill the air with fire. When you hear noise, and see fire with flashes along the ground, hasten to the place with your swiftest wing, for men are surely destroying one another; you will then find the ground smoking with blood, and covered with carcases, of which many are dismembered and mangled for the convenience of the vulture.'

'But when they have killed their prey,' said the pupil, 'why do they

not eat it? When the wolf has killed a sheep, he suffers not the vulture to touch it till he is satisfied himself. Is not man another kind of wolf?"

'Man,' said the mother, 'is the only beast who kills that which he does not devour, and this quality makes him so much a benefactor to our species.' 'If men kill our prey, and lay it in our way,' said the young one, 'what need have we of laboring for ourselves?'

'Because man will, sometimes,' replied the mother, 'remain a long time quiet in his den. The old vultures will tell you when you are to watch his motions. When you see men in great numbers moving close together, like a flock of storks, you may conclude that they are hunting, and that you will soon revel in human blood.'

'But still,' said the young one, 'I would gladly know the reason of this mutual slaughter. I could never kill what I could not eat.' 'My child,' said the mother, 'this is a question which I cannot answer, though I am reckoned the most subtle bird of the mountain. When I was young, I used frequently to visit the ærie of an old vulture, who dwelt upon the Carpathian rocks; he had made many observations; he knew the places that afforded prey round his habitation, as far in every direction as the strongest wing can fly between the rising and setting of the summer sun; he had fed year after year on the entrails of men. His opinion was, that man had only the appearance of animal life, being really vegetables with a power of motion; and that, as the boughs of an oak are dashed together by the storm that swine may fatten upon the falling acorns, so men are by some unaccountable power driven one against another, till they lose their motion that vultures may be fed. Others think they have observed something of contrivance and policy among these mischievous beings; and those that hover more closely round them, pretend that there is in every herd one that gives directions to the rest, and seems to be more eminently delighted with a wide carnage. What it is that entitles him to such a pre-eminence, we know not; he is seldom the biggest or the swiftest; but he shows, by his eagerness and diligence, that he is, more than any of the others, a friend to the vultures.—*Johnson's Rambler*.

COURTS MARTIAL.—When the nation was engaged in war, more veteran troops and more regular discipline were esteemed to be necessary, than could be expected from a mere militia. And therefore at such times more rigorous methods were put in use for the raising of armies, and the due regulation and discipline of the soldiery, which are to be looked upon only as *temporary excrescences* bred out of the *distemper of the state*, and not as any part of the permanent and perpetual laws of the kingdom. For martial law, *which is built upon no settled principles, but is entirely arbitrary* in its decisions, is, as Sir Matthew Hale observed, in truth and reality *no law*, but something *indulged* rather than allowed as a law. The necessity of order and discipline in an army is the only thing which can give it countenance; and therefore *it ought not to be permitted in time of peace*, when the king's courts are open for all persons to receive justice according to the laws of the land. Wherefore Thomas Earl of Lancaster, being condemned at Pontefract, 15 Edward II, by *martial law*, his attainder was reversed, 1 Edward III, *because it was done in time of peace*. And it is laid down, that if a lieutenant, or other, that hath commission of martial authority, doth in time of peace, hang or otherwise execute any man by color of martial law, this is murder; for it is against magna carta. The petition of right, moreover, enacts, that no commission shall issue to proceed *within* this land according to martial law.—*Blackstone*.

ALGERNON SIDNEY ON ENGLAND'S CIVIL WARS.

William the Norman was no sooner dead, but the nation was rent in pieces by his son Robert contesting with his younger sons, William and Henry, for the crown. They being all dead, and their sons, the like happens between Stephen and Maud. Henry II. was made king to terminate all disputes; but it proved a fruitless expedient. Such as were more scandalous, and not less dangerous, did soon arise between him and his sons, who, besides the evils brought upon the nation, vexed him to death by their rebellion.

The reigns of John and Henry III. were yet more tempestuous. Edward II.'s lewd, foolish, infamous and detestable government ended in his deposition and death, to which he was brought by his wife and son. Edward III. employed his own and his subjects' valour against the French and Scots; but, whilst the foundations were out of order, the nation could never receive any advantage by their victories. All was calculated for the glory, and turned to the advantage of one man. He being dead, all that the English held in Scotland and in France, was lost through the baseness of his successor, with more blood than it had been gained; and the civil wars raised by his wickedness and madness, ended as those of Edward had done.

The peace of Henry IV.'s reign was interrupted by dangerous civil wars; and the victory obtained at Shrewsbury had not perhaps secured him on the throne, if his death had not prevented new troubles. Henry V. acquired such reputation by his virtue and victories that none dared to invade the crown during his life; but immediately after his death, the storms prepared against his family, broke out with the utmost violence. His son's weakness encouraged Richard, Duke of York, to set up a new title, which produced such mischief as hardly any people has suffered, unless upon like occasion; for besides the slaughter of many thousands of the people, and especially of those who had been accustomed to arms, the devastation of the best parts of the kingdom, and the loss of all that our kings had inherited in France, or gained by the blood of their subjects, four-score princes of the blood, as Philip de Comines calls them, died in battle, or under the hand of the hangman. Many of the most noble families were extinguished; others lost their most eminent men. Three kings, and two presumptive heirs of the crown, were murdered, and the nation brought to that shameful exigence to set up a young man to reign over them who had no better cover for his sordid extraction than a Welsh pedigree, that might show how a tailor was descended from Prince Arthur, Cadwallader, and Brutus. But the wounds of the nation were not to be healed with such a plaister. He could not rely upon a title made up of such stuff, and patched with a marriage to a princess of a very questionable birth. His own meanness inclined him to hate the nobility; and, thinking it to be as easy for them to take the crown from him as to give it him, he industriously applied himself to glean up the remainders of the house of York, from whence a competitor might arise, and by all means to crush those who were most able to oppose him. This exceedingly weakened the nobility, who held the balance between him and the Commons, and was the first step towards the dissolution of our ancient government; but he was so far from settling the kingdom in peace, that such rascals as Perkin Warbeck and Simnel were able to disturb it.

The reign of Henry VIII. was turbulent and bloody; that of Mary was furious, and such as had brought into subjection to the most powerful,

proud and cruel nation at that time in the world, if God had not wonderfully protected us. Nay, Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, notwithstanding the natural excellence of their dispositions, and their knowledge of the truth in matters of religion, were forced by that which men call "jealousy of state," to foul their hands so often with illustrious blood, that if their reigns deserve to be accounted amongst the most gentle of monarchies, they were more heavy than the government of any commonwealth in time of peace; and yet their lives were never secure against such as conspired against them upon the account of title.

WHAT MIGHT BE DONE.

BY CHARLES MACKAY.

What might be done, if men were wise,
 What glorious deeds, my suffering brother,
 Would they unite
 In love and right,
 And cease their scorn for one another?

Oppression's heart might be imbued
 With kindling drops of loving-kindness,
 And knowledge pour,
 From shore to shore,
 Light on the eyes of mental blindness.

All slavery, warfare, lies and wrongs,
 All vice and crime, might die together;
 And wine and corn,
 To each man born,
 Be free as warmth in sunny weather.

What might be done! This might be done;
 And more than this my suffering brother—
 More than the tongue
 Ever said or sung,
 If men were wise, and loved each other.

FREEDOM NOT BY FORCE.—It is not very long ago since the question of obtaining amelioration, of winning freedom, by physical force, was mooted in England. Let the student of its history say at what age, under what sovereign, amid what arrangement of external circumstances, freedom in England has ever been won merely by the exercise of physical force. There is no instance of the kind. The same unvarying tale is told from the beginning to the end, from first to last, from Cade and Tyler to Frost and Williams. They all bear one self-same testimony; they all tell us that the intellectual is not to be gained by the physical; that freedom of institutions, and, above all, freedom of mind, are things to be wrought out by a different process; that there is no safety in battles won, or in armies sustained, unless the mind and *morale* of a nation go along with them in the struggle; and that by peaceful means alone has any advantage ever been gained that has proved a lasting benefit to the people of this country.

There was no real exception to this in the civil wars in the time of

Charles I. The Puritan army prevailed; the sovereign was brought to the block, the Protectorship established; but it was not a real Commonwealth, and all the advantage that had been gained passed away like the dry leaves of autumn when driven along by the breeze. Scarcely a trace was left behind; and for this reason, that how much soever those who were victors in that contest might have had right, truth, and justice on their side, they yet were anticipating the time when knowledge and opinion would have backed the change. They were in a state of things which made them rest upon violence; and the success which that violence gave them faded away, and left them forlorn and dejected; and the world had to begin over again, and by another process, that which they had endeavored to gain by their sudden irruption upon the ancient state of things, and which they thought to conquer only because they were "Ironsides," and knew how to wield their swords as well as their Bible. They add to the monitions which all other records furnish, and assure us, that in the action upon public opinion, in the resolve rather to endure martyrdom than to perpetrate aggression in the formation of our own characters for the possession and the exercise of intellectual as well as political liberty, and in the making our bond of union a peaceful, an intellectual, and a moral one, in this is our security; in this is the pledge of a success, which, as its rests not on the bayonet, the sword, or the cannon, so neither by the bayonet, the sword, nor the cannon can it be put down, or torn away from the people who have once in their enlightened mood made it their own possession.—*W. J. Fox.*

WHAT IS STILL LEFT OF OUR COUNTRY.

Of the fourteen sermons preached on the late Fast Day in Boston and its immediate vicinity, and reported more or less fully in the *Boston Traveller*, we select some extracts from that of Rev. Dr. Putnam, Roxbury, which can not fail to interest all right-thinking men, as striking the true key-note of the times :—

The question is, what is left? What of hope, what of duty, what of nationality, what means of civil and social well-being? What remains we should inquire, and strengthen that, and build upon that, in faith, and patience, and patriotic determination.

1. There remains then, first, the hope, however faint you may think it,—the hope, not yet given up, that the breach may be healed, the seceders return, and the old harmony, or something better than that, be restored. Public men, and the press, seem to cling to this hope. God grant the prophecy may prove true! say I, and most of you will say; but not with overmuch confidence. It can only come to pass through great suffering and humiliation in one section or another. It is hard reuniting such a bond, thus broken, so as to give us back the country that we had, or thought that we had.

2. And if this best and first hope must fail, still the question recurs, what remains? There remains, secondly, the bulk of the old nation—twenty-seven States out of the thirty-four, a country of vast extent and of a vast population; only two or three millions of free citizens gone, their places to be made good by the natural growth of the population long before another census is taken. Boundaries as they are to-day, keep them fixed and perpetual; and what is lost will hardly be missed in the estimate of numbers, of power, or of resources.

Would that we could be sure the boundaries will remain as they now are; but they are insecure. As many more states are in suspense, doubting whether to stay or go, with strong proclivities towards going. And it seems but too probable that they will remain only upon such conditions, if at all, as cannot be granted without making their adhesion a worse calamity than their secession; for, even if everything be granted that they can ask on the question of slavery, they will only stay upon the understanding that they may go when they please, that they are not bound for a moment by any mutual obligations. They will stay only so long as they can have their own way, elect their men, and carry their measures; they will go whenever they get out-voted in anything. When their candidate is not chosen, their favorite policy not adopted, they will hold up their threatening finger, and prepare to go; and the other States through a majority, must always waive their principles and their rights, in order to avert the prospect of a new breach, a new convulsion, a new panic, and a new ruin to commerce and industry. If they remain upon such terms, with such an understanding, it is but a hollow truce and a transient peace they give us; a government without power or credit; a republic without all republican principle; a nominal union, with a match always in hand to fire it.

But still the question recurs, what remains? What remains to possess, or to do, or to hope, after all that? This is forever the question for the brave and the manly heart of the people to turn to and to ponder—not what we have lost, but what remains. We must choke down our grief, brush away our tears, and not go maundering, in broken-hearted despair, over the sad remembrances of an irrecoverable past, whose glory is departed, but look around to see what remains. If the land below the Ohio and the Potomac shall become foreign, what remains?

3. There remains, thirdly, a country the largest in the world, I suppose, except perhaps Russia, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific; a country with two oceans, with rivers and lakes, with a rich soil, and resources hardly yet begun to be drawn upon, and a population of twenty millions, with room and opportunity to multiply that number twenty-fold; a people composed of various races, and those the strongest in the world, all of good blood, and the better for mixing—Saxon, Celtic, Teutonic, Scandinavian—inured to all pursuits of industry, trained to all knowledge. A country surely this is of magnificent capabilities; and, freed from that element of slavery which has proved so disturbing a one, accustomed to the republican system, to the rule of the majority, a country strong enough to maintain order at home and command respect abroad; with a climate favorable to physical strength, to industrious habits and to mental development. That is what remains.

It has been our pride and boast heretofore, that our country included all climates and all latitudes, yielding every variety of products; but instead of that, there may remain the satisfaction of having a homogeneous people, bound together by interests and pursuits and temperaments and sympathies, united and strong through those national and industrial sympathies which are more tenacious and reliable than any political ones. Surely it will be a splendid country, a powerful nation. And when once commercial relations and political power get adjusted to the new order of things, and we get reconciled to parting from the old, dear historic properties, I am not sure that there will not remain for us a stronger and more harmonious country than that which our fathers purchased with their blood, and gave to us, as they fondly hoped, for an everlasting inheritance.

But, it will be said, we are not sure of having even so much of a country

as that left to us. Some persons think that when once division takes place, and is acceded to, there will be subdivisions; that the process of disintegration, once begun, will go on until it cuts the nation up into various independent sovereignties, bringing upon us we know not what form of anarchy, or what form of social and political chaos.

The latest political programme of proceeding that I have noticed, is one in which it is proposed to cut off New England from the other States, and leave it alone to itself; and that fate is considered, by those who broach the scheme, as the direst calamity that could befall us. That is *their* vengeance upon New England. That threat, it is presumed, will be sufficient to bring us to any terms of humiliation, and to force from us a consent never again to have a mind of our own, never for a moment to think for ourselves, and never to speak out our thought, or to cast any vote except at the dictation of those States which claim a divine right to rule, and will never submit to be out-voted.

The next political map may possibly represent these six States severed from all political connection with the rest of the continent. Who knows? I do not believe it; I do not desire it. New England loves the Union, and loves loyalty to it; and the more States she can maintain her connection with, the better,—the whole thirty-four, if possible, and twenty rather than a less number.

But supposing the threat should be carried out, then it is still our duty manfully to meet the question, what remains? What remains to be strengthened, to be maintained, to be relied upon? And we need not be afraid to face that question. What if it should come to that, and New England alone be our country, what remains? A small corner of the continent, to be sure, a little corner, which the rest may think they can well spare. But countries are apt to be small corners of continents. They may be strong and prosperous, notwithstanding. I am not aware that the people of large countries are individually any more enlightened, or more prosperous, or more contented, than the people of small countries.

It does not appear that the people of Holland are any more wanting in the essential elements of well being than the people of Prussia, or the people of Belgium than those of France; or that Switzerland has any occasion to envy Austria for her size; or that it is a misfortune to be a citizen of Sweden rather than of Russia. As a matter of fact, it appears that great countries have proportionally great burdens to bear and great perils to undergo; that they have more frequent wars, and, generally, severer despotisms, and are liable to bloodier revolutions. What is there, after all, so dreadful in belonging to a small country? History would show, I think, that the advantages pretty well balance the disadvantages. Accustomed to contemplate the large spaces of the old continent, with its boundless outlying territories, we have perhaps come to conceive that New England is too small to be a country. But, if we come to comparisons, it is larger than Old England, with Wales added. It is nearly six times as large as Belgium or Holland—that Holland, too, which once waged a successful war of Independence against Spain, when Spain was the first power in the world, and which contended with England on equal terms for the naval and commercial supremacy of the seas.

New England is more than three times as large as Denmark, and four times as large as Switzerland. But in population it even now exceeds the joint nations I have named in comparison, and possibly Belgium, the thickest-peopled spot in Europe. Something, then, remains for a country, something as to extent and numbers, even upon this last and worst and direct supposition of New England's being cast out alone.

But the strength of a nation does not, any more than its general well-

being, depend solely upon extent and numbers. It depends mainly upon its social compactness and harmony, and the disposition of each section and portion to stand by all the rest. And New England alone, thoroughly compacted in a national unity, each section and class of it willing to take its turn in being out-voted, each party acquiescing in a temporary defeat from time to time,—New England alone, thus consolidated, would be stronger than the whole of the rest of the continent merely united in that sort of league in which minorities have no respect for majorities, and in which every State, or county, or town, assumes the right, and is prompt to protect it or to exercise it, of withdrawing whenever any public question is not decided according to its wish. Stronger, I say, not for a single battle perhaps, but stronger for the strains and the exigencies of any twenty years' political existence.

And there is more yet remaining to New England after the terrible disruption shall have come, if come it must. There remains the character of her people. And here, in character, lies the principal element of every nation's power and prosperity. The people of New England, as a body, are intelligent, industrious, energetic and frugal. They love liberty, not a wild and lawless liberty, but liberty as protected and regulated by law. They respect religion reverently, and support its institutions liberally; and with all their wretched short-comings that give them so much reason for repentance and shame, I suppose they do observe the practical Christian virtues as faithfully as any people in the world. It is a fixed principle with the people of New England, to provide for the education of all the children within her borders. Her seminaries of learning are the largest and best endowed in the land, and far the most numerous in proportion to the population. She furnishes—a most significant fact, though not spoken of with much respect—the school-masters and school-books of the continent. And what section has produced so many eminent scholars, poets, historians? She is eminent for the provision she makes for the noblest charities. She provides for her poor, and for the world's poor—as many of them as come. She takes thought for her deaf and dumb and blind and idiotic and insane, and all the children of misfortune; nor does she cast off her criminals as beyond the hope of recovery. She sends her contributions liberally beyond her own borders, as no other people do. She builds the colleges and churches of the West; she sends her Bibles broadcast over all the world; she earns the chief support of missions.

Now, here certainly are some of the elements of a national existence. And then, what is better than all, the children of New England love their Mother. Wherever they go, they honor and applaud her, and carry as much of her with them, in their habits and institutions, as they can. They believe in her. Her inhabitants are conscious of a sort of unity among themselves, such as makes the best strength of a people.

Such is the spirit that makes a nation one, and strong in its oneness. And perhaps it will be found, in the end, that there cannot be any real and firm union any farther than this spirit extends, and that it is the ultimate destiny of New England to be a country alone. Who knows? And if it must come to that—we do not desire it, we will avert it if we can—but if it must come to that, I, for one, should not despair, and should have small misgivings as to the ultimate results. Much will be lost in a political and commercial view; but much will remain whereon to build a new hope and a new prosperity.

The character of a people is everywhere the principal thing. A strong, intelligent, free-minded, industrious, and frugal people, be they many or be they few, will always constitute a stable and well ordered nationality. They cannot be dispersed by the powers of earth; they never will be

forsaken of God. With New England alone for my country—if that must be—I should expect as much solid prosperity and enduring peace, and as happy an order of things, as the human lot admits of, and as much power as is useful for any purposes but those of pride and vain-glory.

But if the change must come, when it is fully accomplished it may reasonably be expected that a more steady and reliable commercial prosperity will be built up, less liable to these rumors, panics and crises which are incident to political dis-harmony and convulsions. I do not think many of us desire disunion; I, for one, assuredly do not; but instead of being overpowered by fear about it, as if it were the knell of our doom and the seal of our ruin, it is more manly, it is wiser, it is Godlier, to look the possible event bravely in the face, and think of the things that remain, and not only to think of them, but, according to the principle of our text, to do what we may to strengthen them. If the country must go to pieces, let us flee to the rock on which we can take our stand and find safety. For us there is such a rock, and no storms from without can shake it.

Free minds, free speech, free industry, free worship; the strong arm and the strong intellect; religious faith, moral convictions, the Christian's hope; brave men and true women, venerable wise men, and beautiful children; industry that never tires, enterprise that never flags, and affections that grow not cold; home comforts, fireside contentments; loyalty to one another, and trust in God;—these, these are the things that remain; and where these are, there is a country to love and to honor, there is a prosperity which panics cannot blight, and a power that enemies cannot crush, and a hope that civil convulsions cannot extinguish. We will pray God to spare our country as it is, and as it was; but if that, in His unsearchable wisdom, may not be permitted, we will rejoice and give thanks for the country that will be left to us, for "the things that remain."

PEACEFUL REVOLUTION.—The friends of liberty and popular rights in England have at length learned the true way — by legal, peaceful means. Lord Brougham, in a recent statement, thus explains the process: "The progress of our institutions in England has at times been rather slow; their amelioration has been gradual; but reciprocal concessions, while frustrating the hopes of the most enthusiastic spirits on either side, have produced a result the most advantageous to the public interest, and with this inestimable benefit, that the motion of the machine has been gentle, without any overturning or breaking, without even any serious shock — at the utmost, nothing more than a jolt now and then — no revolutionary crisis, no alternations of anarchy and absolutism. More than two centuries have elapsed since our last revolution; for the event which was so called forty years later was but a change, and a very small change, of dynasty and persons. The nearest approach to a revolutionary crisis was the affair of 1832, in which I took part, as being at the head of the Government with my dear and illustrious friend Lord Grey, one of the most enlightened and most virtuous of statesmen. I then thought: 'saw the revolution, though still far off, and its features were such as to give me no desire to see it closer.'

FEDERATIVE UNIONS.

To devise a federal bond strong enough to hold together free communities, without crushing their liberties in the very attempt to combine them, has been the object of thought and experiment to the formers of liberal constitutions for twenty-five centuries. The Amphictyonic Congress of Greece is even older than authentic history. It was a venerable but powerless council, without executive vigor, or even effective judicial power, which sought by *influence* mainly to heal the feuds and dissensions constantly springing up between those fierce democracies. When the Greeks found it necessary solidly to combine against the colossal power of Persia, they did not unite under the Amphictyonic Congress, but under a general convention specially assembled for the purpose. The Panionion of the twelve commercial states of Asia Minor had even less of administrative consistency and strength. It was rather a festive religious solemnity than a political organization; and though not without unitive political influence, (all popular conventions are attended with more or less of that,) utterly inadequate as a federative bond.

The Bœotian, Cetelean and Achæan Leagues, successively formed from the sixth to the second centuries before CHRIST, show a great development of the grand political idea of federation. The last named, the Achæan League, consisted of several states of lower Greece, with Corinth at their head. Cemented by the eloquence of Aratus, and the military genius of Philopœmen, it formed the last barrier of Greek nationality and independence. But shortly after the death of the great men who formed it, the union was dissolved, and the states fell, one by one, before the highly centralized, and therefore invincible, power of Rome. The political elements let loose by that dissolution, along with the foreign invasions to which it left the country exposed, demolished not only the liberty but the very fertility and population of that once rich and flourishing region. "The civil contests of the Greeks among themselves," says Hermann, "and the wars which the Romans waged on their soil, made that land a wilderness; for whole days' journeys the country lay depopulated, or was a mere haunt of robber bands. Three thousand fighting men were the utmost that all Greece could furnish;" that Greece which, united, was an overmatch for the greatest monarchy of the world on the battle fields of Marathon and Plataea, and strewed the sea with the wrecks of her vast fleets at Salamis and Mycale.

The modern attempts at federation have been more successful. The Helvetic Confederacy has taken five centuries to reach its present power. In 1307, three cantons, Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, entered into a confederacy for mutual aid against Austria. Other cantons have been added from time to time—some by conquest, others by voluntary annexation. The present number, twenty-two, was not completed till the time of Napoleon I.; and the present compact, by which all are placed on a perfect equality, only dates from the peace of 1814.

The Swiss confederacy greatly lacks political unity and efficacy. It is rather an association of cantons for mutual defence, than a fusion and assimilation of peoples into one body politic. The general diet, it is true, declares war, concludes peace, contracts foreign alliances, nominates diplomatic representatives, determines the amount of military force, and governs the expenditure of the finances of the confederation. But it has no head. The president of the diet is simply the burgomaster of the canton in which it meets. The republic has no president, no individual executive under any name. The scanty executive and judicial powers which are vested in the federal government, are lodged with the diet, a body con-

sisting of fifty to a hundred members, and therefore tardy and inefficient in its operations. If a Swiss canton is invaded, it demands help from the adjacent canton, and at the same time sends word to the *vorost*, which convokes the diet, and federal interposition cannot be had till after the debates and decisions of that body. A rapid and energetic enemy, as in the case of Massena, has often done great and irreparable mischief before the unwieldy powers of the general government could be summoned and concentrated. Switzerland, which has been compared to a great town, of which the valleys are the streets, and the mountains groups of contiguous houses, owes the preservation of its liberties more to its very peculiar physical surface than to the energy and efficiency of its government. Its free and hardy races are held together more by the circumambient pressure of the European monarchies, than by the strength or vitality of their federal bond.

The provinces, or states of Holland, federated by the *Union of Utrecht*, in 1579, enacted a brilliant part in the history of Europe in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The compact was an imperfect one—a combination of states, not a union of people, animated by one political life. Identity of language, religion, interests, and dangers, however, secured a long duration to this confederacy; and with all its imperfection, its astonishing results have caused it to be regarded as a master-piece of enlightened and successful policy. Under the combined influence of freedom and union, the people who occupied that strip of sand, not unfrequently submerged beneath the ocean, rapidly rose to the rank of a first-rate power, attained a great colonial empire, a commerce and an opulence beyond that of any other nation in Europe, and enjoyed internal tranquility, and religious freedom and life, while the rest of Europe was desolated by religious and political convulsions. Long prosperity and teeming wealth, however, engendered or stimulated the seeds of political decay. Holland was rent asunder by the violence of party dissensions, and weakened by an increasing disposition to intermeddle in the wars of France and England. After the terrible vicissitudes of her later history, she was willing to repose under the shadow of royalty, and the greatest republic of the Old World is now one of the smallest of its monarchies. The benefits which union and freedom had conferred upon her, however, appear from the fact that, after all her losses and the long interruption of her commerce, Holland was still, at her emancipation from the yoke of the French in 1814, “the richest country in Europe.”

Our own republic brings up the rear in the order of time and history of federative unions. It is the first which really deserves the name of a union. Our fathers were familiar with the history of the earlier federations. They are often alluded to in the discussions of our transition period. But it was felt that none of these would meet the exigencies, or satisfy the aspirations of the American people. Alliance, solemn league, and covenant, confederation, compact—none of these were satisfactory. They demanded a union; a union which, as WASHINGTON expressed it, would make them “one people;” a union which, in the impassioned language of OTIS, would “knit into the very blood and bones of the original system every section as fast as settled.” Such a union was formed when, instead of states, provinces, or cantons, as before, the people themselves consummated the federative bond, in that memorable enacting formula of our Constitution:—“We the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

It was the first federative union in history which had been formed by the people—the whole people. It was a grand and solemn act of popular sovereignty, an expression of the popular will and heart. It was the birth

of a nation ; the coming forth into light and life of a body politic which, as we have already shown in these columns, had been forming and growing in the womb of history for near a century and a half before. Those manifestations of a common life animating the colonies from the beginning, were now to be developed with more active vitality, and higher power in the form of a popular union. And the growth of this republic for the first seventy years of its life, to which that of no earlier federation, not even Holland itself, is comparable, is a proof of the amazing vitality and expansive power which lie in the combination of the two political forces of freedom and union. The last of federative unions is the most perfect. May it prove, under the guardianship of the same Divine Providence who first harmonized its passing demerits into one system, also the most enduring.—*N. Y. World.*

SECESSION :

THE GREAT SLAVEHOLDING REBELLION.

HARD TIMES.—Times, says one writing Feb 9, from Charleston, S. C., are essentially hard here. There is no use for the papers to deny it, for it will not alter the fact. Not only are the poor people driven to the last extremity, but the merchants have to resort to every means to pay their notes and drafts. It is almost impossible to collect bills and accounts. The oldest and ablest firms have not yet paid their July bills, and of course employees can get scarce enough to sustain them, and often have to run in debt for their board. This is one occasion of so many joining the army. Urged by necessity, and having the tempting allurements of but little to do, with plenty to eat, drink and wear, their friends and associates around them, is it any wonder that so many join the service ?

Though there was a general complaint of the insufficiency of provisions when the companies were first called into active service, they are now well fed and comfortably provided for. No liquor is furnished the men by the State; but they have the privilege of getting as much as they choose, and they are not slow of availing themselves of it. Happening to be down on the wharf a few minutes before the steamer left for the various fortifications, I took an inventory of the freight to be sent. It consisted of the following articles : Two barrels whisky, one hundred hollow shot, two demijohns labelled whisky, one quarter of beef, two jugs labelled whisky, eighty loaves bread, two barrels powder, two other demijohns whisky, with about a dozen bottles, supposed whisky, in the hands of as many soldiers returning from leave of absence. This glorious privilege has been abused to such an extent that one company which was stationed at the Arsenal, has been removed, because of the facilities for procuring whisky.

TAXES.—The City Councils of Charleston have passed, to the point of ratification, a bill for taxing persons and property to a frightful amount—\$1 30 on every hundred dollars of real and leased property; the same on all goods and merchandise; \$2 50 on every one hundred dollars of interest on any obligation; the same on every one hundred dollars of dividends on stock; \$3 a head on slaves; \$30 on every four wheel coach for two horses; \$20 and \$15 on other vehicles; \$2 50 on every one hundred dollars of income of profits on the last year; the same amount on all commissions; \$1 25 on every one hundred dollars of insurance premiums; 60 cents on gas stock; 75 cents on every one hundred dollars invested in shipping; \$10 for every horse or mule; \$2 on each dog; \$2 50 on the

receipt of all agencies ; \$1 poll tax ; \$5 for every slave brought in for sale ; every free negro, \$10 within certain ages, or \$5 or \$4 if females. Pedlars are to give penal bonds in \$1000 to make true returns, &c. The whole shows a sad condition of things, and no community could stand the load, except they were slaves.

THE GAIN OF SECESSION.—One might have thought that even the strong appetite for gain would hardly have blinded the white men of the Southern States to the great loss and the risk which they are about to incur. To our minds, the loss would seem to be so enormous as far to outweigh any pecuniary gain. They would at once cease to belong to one of the greatest nations of the world ; but if patriotic pride does not sway them, still we cannot help wondering at their readiness to incur the heavy taxation which a separate confederacy must entail. It will be necessary for them to maintain a fleet and an army, unless they choose to be exposed to insults from their Northern neighbors. The whole cost of their civil administration, hitherto divided between the North and the South, will fall upon them. But more than all this, there is the risk that, should civil war break out, the negroes might take part in it against their masters ; and that in any case the neighborhood of free States whose enmity to slavery has been inflamed by these dissensions, will render insubordination and desertions far more frequent among the slaves.

No event of our own day has been half so wonderful as the one before us. Who, *a priori*, could have believed that in the nineteenth century a new State should be organized by the grandsons of Englishmen, solely on the principle of preserving and extending a system of slavery ? A more ignoble basis for a great confederacy it is impossible to conceive, nor one in the long run more precarious. The permanent renunciation of sound principles and natural laws must in due time bring ruin. No great career can be before the Southern States, bound together solely by the tie of having a working-class of negro bondsmen. Assuredly it will be the Northern confederacy based on the principle of freedom, with a policy untainted by crime, with a free working-class of white men, that will be the one to go on and prosper, and become the leader of the New World.—*London Sat. Rev.*

TREATMENT OF SOLDIERS.—The mutiny on the islands, says the correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune on the spot, which I told you occurred from non-payment of wages, has been quieted by promises for the time ; but the complaints on the part of the regular troops are loud and long. Still no beds, and insufficient food, are the cries, and a very unwilling volunteer who came over on furlough this morning, tells me that the scenes which occurred during yesterday and last night, were horrible and heart-rending. During the evening it rained in torrents ; and in the night a snow storm came on, the first Charleston has known for years, and three inches, and in some places six inches of snow lay on the ground till ten o'clock this morning. The weather was exceedingly cold, and during the whole of it, the poor men, who, when enlisted, had no more idea of fighting against the United States than they had of engaging in a crusade against 'Vaterland,' were exposed to the piercing cold and the pitiless storm. Information which reaches me, not only from undoubted sources, but a great deal of which comes under my own observation, leads me to believe that a few more weeks' occupation of the island batteries will bring sickness, misery, and death, such as will compare not unfavorably with the worst horrors of the Crimean war. I will only add, the enlisting men in the 'regular Southern army,' are now the subjects of treatment such as is utterly unworthy of a civilized, not to say Christian land, and all this

is in spite of the most earnest promises that their health and comfort would receive especial care. At the same moment that this misery is calling loudly for redress, the men in high authority, even on the islands, fare sumptuously every day.

COST OF BOMBARDING.—A letter from Charleston to the New Orleans *Delta*, gives the following item of the expense to be incurred in the siege of Sumter: "Every gun fired by the State will be an average expenditure of \$9. A prominent officer of Fort Moultrie informs me that, by a close calculation, it has been ascertained that when its batteries open, the cost per diem to the State, at that fort alone, will exceed \$15,000. Pretty heavy, that. But this is the surest way of mastering the fort, and we had better spend money than lives in its acquisition."

HOW REBELS REASON.—It is a striking commentary on the force of prejudice and depravity, that deeds which most men hold in deepest abhorrence, are extolled as deserving of the highest admiration and eulogy. Hear what is said by the *Southern Confederacy*, Ga., of Floyd, the Benedict Arnold of the South, worse than the world-scorned traitor of West-point: "But for the foresight and firmness and patriotic providence of John B. Floyd, in what stress and peril would the Cotton States be floundering in this day. He saw the inevitable doom of the Union, or the doom of his own people. For many months past, from his stand-point, he had an expanded field of vision which enabled him to see the great danger which threatened us, but which was hid below the horizon from the eyes of most of us. When his faithful loyalty to his own persecuted people began its labors in our defense, in what a condition were the Southern States? The North had the heavy guns, the light arms, the powder and ball, just as the North had everything else that belonged to the common Government. How quietly were men shifted from our soil who might have been here to-day to murder us at Abraham Lincoln's order. How slender the garrisons became in Southern forts, which were made for us, and belonged to nobody else, but which a savage enemy now chafes and rages to get possession of. Who sent 37,000 stand of arms to Georgia? How came 60,000 more prime death-dealing rifles at Jackson, Mississippi? In short, why have we anything at all in the South to mail the strong hands of the sons of the South with at this hour, when every heart, and head, and arm of her children is needed in her defense? Truth demands it of us to declare that we owe to John B. Floyd an eternal tribute of gratitude for all this. Had he been less the patriot than he was, we might now have been disarmed, and at the mercy of a nation of cut-throats and plunderers."

HEAPING COALS OF FIRE.—Our readers have certainly heard of the great scarcity of food, approaching to a famine, which now exists in Northern Mississippi. Appeals have been made for assistance, and an agent has been sent to Illinois on this errand. The manner in which he was received there, is a delightful interruption to the dreary discord of the past few months, and is so truly a Christian mode of treating those who have been breathing out sentiments of the deepest hostility, that we cannot be surprised at the softening influence it has exerted in the Mississippians. "On our first page," says the Brandon (Miss.) *Republican*, "will be found a letter from Major Benjamin Hawkins, who is now in Illinois, buying corn from the citizens of Scott, Smith, and Rankin counties. He says that he can get the corn on a credit, if the people can raise the money to pay the freight. Major Hawkins took with him a list of the poor of his neighborhood, who were unable to buy or pay freight, and who were compelled to starve unless assistance were rendered them. From his letter it will be

seen that the citizens of Springfield, the home of Lincoln, have contributed one thousand bushels of corn, and that much more will be contributed to relieve the distress of the poor in this section. How humiliating, to every Mississippian, to know that, *after cursing and denouncing the people of the North*, as our citizens have been in the habit of denouncing them, *we are compelled to turn around and beg them for bread, and they in turn are trying to kill us with kindness*, by treating our agent with the greatest respect, and not only giving him more than he asked for, but paying for the sacks to put it in. It certainly places us in a very humiliating position. Some narrow-minded demagogues say that the citizens of Illinois give us corn because they fear us, and wish to get on good terms with us again. We believe they are actuated by purely Christian motives, and that they have purer and better hearts than those who make such charges."

DESPOTISM OF SECESSION.—It has been all along a practical oligarchy, ignoring democracy. It has gone on without asking the people. Here is what is said on the spot: "Are we to have no showing? Are the people to have no choice? Can a Convention alter Constitutions, impose taxes, appoint Constitution makers, inaugurate Presidents? Are they oligarchs, and are we nothing? And each citizen has to confess that there was no reply to these questions. We live under an oligarchy that has not yet dared to trust the people with a say as to its consent. Right as the South is upon the great question at issue, its position has been compromised by the events of the last two months. The consent of the governed is an essential element of government. The people of the Southwest might have voted for all that has been done, but their consent has not yet been either asked or obtained."

NORTHERN CITIZENS AT THE SOUTH.—It is computed that at least one million of the citizens of the South are natives of the northern states, who have settled in the South, and in many instances intermarried with southern families, and are among the most loyal and public spirited of the population. This is especially true of Georgia, South Carolina and Louisiana. Charleston has a large proportion of natives of northern states among her population; and the city of Savannah is, in its habits and aspect, more like a sober business New England town, than a southern city. New Orleans and Augusta have each a large northern element; and there as elsewhere, northern adopted citizens are among the most valuable and reliable men in the community.

The number of citizens of the North of southern birth is, also, very large. They may be found everywhere—in the most remote portions of New England, and are scattered all over the North-western states. There are more natives of Virginia now resident in New York than of New Yorkers resident in Virginia. In many instances they, too, have intermarried into families in the land of their adoption.

Thus linked together by the most sacred ties, what new and unspeakable horrors are involved in the idea of civil war! Does it not become all good men, all men who are not given over to hardness of heart, and demoniacal malice and cruelty, to labor with their whole souls, and to besiege the throne of Heaven with their supplications, that this hitherto the happiest of all nations may be saved from such an unnatural collision and fearful catastrophe?

THE CONTRAST—THE MAN OF WAR AND THE MAN OF PEACE.—On his way to assume the duties of his office as President of the newly "Confederated States," Mr. Jefferson Davis, in addressing his countrymen said: "The time for compromises is past, and we are now determined to main-

tain our position, and make all who oppose us smell Southern gunpowder and feel Southern steel."

On his way to assume the duties of his office as President of the United States, Mr. Abraham Lincoln, in addressing his countrymen, said: "Now, in view of the present aspect of affairs, *there need be no bloodshed or war*. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course; and I may say in advance, that there will be no bloodshed, unless it be forced upon the government, and then it will be compelled to act in self-defence." That language is worthy of the day on which it was spoken, of the spot on which it was said, and of the man who is going to the office which Washington was the first to fill. In behalf of the Christian people of this country, in behalf of civilization, religion, commerce, humanity, and freedom, we thank Mr. Lincoln for those noble words. We send them out in contrast with the words of Mr. Jefferson Davis; and we wish to write them distinctly, and hold them up in the sight of heaven and earth, that all men may know on whom the responsibility rests if the country is plunged into the horrors of civil war.—*N. Y. Observer*.

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN OUR COUNTRY.

In a late number of the *Friend*, (Phila.) we find some views so pertinent and so fully accordant with our own, that we take pleasure in copying them entire, with a query on a single point. God grant that such Christian principles and feelings may prevail among the millions on both sides of this deplorable controversy!

"Our country is at the present time passing through a fearful ordeal. For several years the antagonism between the free and the slave States has been developing itself in various ways, and each side has striven to marshal its forces for the final contest, which both saw must come sooner or later, and so to manœuvre them that there should be no escape from a battle that would decide which should henceforth have pre-eminence in the government of the country. In the last presidential election, every class of society was moved to its lowest depths; political intrigue, party spirit, and sectional interest were all enlisted and actively engaged to operate upon the great issues at stake; and the result was the triumph of freedom over slavery, or at least the instalment in power, of a party which declared slavery to be a social and political evil, and that it ought to be restricted to that portion of the country where it already exists. There is no doubt that the verdict of the ballot-boxes was constitutionally authorized and fairly rendered. But a portion of the losing party determined not to submit to the clearly expressed will of the majority. Claiming to act in accordance with the precept that government rests upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter and abolish governments whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established, they have attempted to justify the revolutionary course they have taken, by asserting there is an inevitable and irreconcilable conflict of principles, institutions, and interests between their section of the country and that where slavery is abolished; that on the slave issue they can never yield their settled preferences; and that it is insulting and injurious to them, for the North to persist in refusing what they are irrevocably determined upon demanding, the recognition and adoption of slavery as a national institution; therefore, it is their inalienable right

to withdraw from their former compact, and set up a government of their own.

It was not to be expected that the United States government would recognize the justice of this reasoning, or at once submit to dismemberment, brought about by the treasonable scheming of many who had been entrusted with its most lucrative and influential appointments, acting upon the blind infatuation of wide-spread sectional prejudice and animosity. Nor have the people of the free States failed to feel the deep wrong done to the whole country by the secessionists, and the dangerous principle that would be sanctioned by a quiet acknowledgment of the new "Confederated States." Moreover, the aggressive acts of the secessionists, and the insulting tone of their abettors, have increased the feeling of irritation, and disposed many to favor measures of retaliation.

Under these circumstances, we cannot but think it *remarkable, and esteem it as a blessing, that so far there has been no act of hostility committed on the part of the United States*, and that the President who has just retired, and he who now fills the office, have declared their determination to preserve peace, if possible. The Constitution authorizes the President to employ force in order "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasion;" but the setting up of a new government by a number of adjoining States was not contemplated, and the posture of affairs attending its initiation and consummation, renders the President now almost powerless. There is a new government *de facto*, apparently supported by the good will of the people over whom it exercises authority; and the whole question between it and the United States appears to resolve itself into this, whether the new government shall be acknowledged and treated with, or an attempt made to overthrow it by force, and reduce its millions of citizens to obedience by the horrors and destruction of war. (?)

It is certainly a most extraordinary occurrence, and one, which in one sense, argues a highly improved state of feeling and civilization in a large portion of our countrymen, that in a nation of thirty millions, such a revolution, originating from such causes, should have taken place without a single drop of blood being shed, or hostile armies being brought in array against each other. Surely, this is a favor for which all good citizens should be thankful, and which should inspire them with hope for the future, and stimulate them to use whatever influence they may possess to preserve peaceful relations between the parties, and secure a bloodless issue to this most lamentable controversy. That such an issue is altogether possible, we have not a doubt; even while a consistent protest is maintained against rebellion, and the fact clearly demonstrated to the world, that there has been no shadow of excuse for resistance to the authority of our government; and that it is not lack of physical power to enforce obedience that keeps the sword in its scabbard, but the conviction that an appeal to its bloody arbitrament, would be unchristian and impolitic; because after inflicting upon both parties the horrors of civil war, whatever wrongs had been done, and whatever rights invaded, there must be a peaceful solution of the difficulties, at its conclusion, such as may be arrived at before it is begun.

What more noble and elevating spectacle could the United States exhibit to other nations than, laying aside all feelings of resentment for injuries received, and actuated by a truly christian spirit, it should magnanimously refuse to plunge its citizens in fraternal strife, for fear of what the world might say of its moral courage or physical strength, and, in a peaceful and legalized manner, dispose of the difficulties and dangers which threaten it, and allow the withdrawal of those discontented and revoted

States, which desire to leave its support and protection. Such a course, however its necessity may be regretted at the present time, is incomparably better than to kindle the fires of war throughout the land, and crimson the soil with human blood, which no sacrifice of national pride or material interests should be deemed too great to avert. Were this dreadful game once to commence, no one could foresee when it would be completed, or a tithe of the misery it would inflict; and before it would be played out, our boasted free government, and our professed Christianity, would become a by-word and a scorn throughout the world.

Let, then, each one strive to inculcate and bring into action the principles of peace and feelings of good-will towards all, in order that no circumstances may provoke those in power to commence hostilities, and that the statesmen of the North and of the South, instead of devising means for imbruing the hands of the people in each other's blood, may agree in good faith upon terms of mutual concession and separation. May we not hope that such action will draw down the Divine blessing, and in the end bring about what is so greatly to be desired, a re-union of the dissevered States, and lead to the final extinguishment of the great national sin, for which, together with other departures from the law of righteousness, the country is now suffering correction."

Excellent advice; but we have little hope of its being heeded in the hot whirlwind of passion now sweeping, like a moral Sirocco, over the land. How long it may take to cool down this excitement, it is quite impossible to foresee; but sure are we that, sooner or later, combatants on both sides must cease from their work of actual slaughter, and betake themselves at length to the very measures of rational, peaceful adjustment for which we so earnestly pleaded from the start. To this they *must* come in the end; and the only possible good that can ever result from years or even ages of bloodshed, will be the willingness of the parties to do at last what they *ought* to have done, and *might* have done, far better before than after fighting.

WEAPONS OF WAR.—Notwithstanding the assumed superiority of the Armstrong gun in a late trial, the French authorities have pronounced decidedly against it. The cost of these guns is believed to be the chief objection to them. The British government has expended ten million dollars for Armstrong guns, and their average cost has thus far been \$10,000, and nearly all of them are small field pieces. The large guns of this sort have never yet stood the tests required, and not a single gun larger than a 25 pounder has been received by the navy.

Cham, the clever caricaturist, is making himself very merry with the long range weapons now so generally in vogue. According to him, the word of command on drill, will be, "Attention, Spyglasses! Fire!" The new weapons enabling the hostile armies to fight at great distances, the vanquished army will be summoned by telegraph to surrender; and a victorious hero returned from the battle-field, and recounting the events of the campaign, when interrogated respecting the personal appearance of the people against whom he has been fighting, will be obliged to confess his inability to satisfy the curiosity of his hearers upon this point, as, though he saw the fire, he was quite out of sight of the enemy.

Mr. Heinlein has presented to the Bavarian government a new model of a rifled gun. A cavalry carbine of this model, with a barrel only 17 inches long, drove a ball through 8 inches of timber at 800 paces.

An Italian has invented a new weapon, very light and very easily managed, destined to replace the lance used by cavalry and the bayonet of the infantry. Armed with this weapon the soldier may make terrible havoc in the ranks of the enemy without exposing himself to the action of any cutting weapon now in use the new arm, enabling its possessor to inflict mortal wounds at a distance of twenty-five feet.

EFFECTS OF WAR UNNATURAL.—Look at the abnormal condition of the world now. Has the Creator made provision for such an *extra* supply of men, that 50,000 Austrians and 40,000 Frenchmen may be killed in a day, and not destroy the ordained proportions and harmonies of male and female life? Has nature made any provision for our thus slaughtering one another, and slaughtering only one sex? No wonder that women in those countries are turned out into the fields and workshops to do men's labor. Thousands are driven to unnatural toil, and tens of thousands to crime. "War is hell," said Napoleon I.; and so say the laws of God. When will the human race learn that the only way to attain the *highest* prosperity and happiness is to *keep inviolate the laws of nature?*

THE FRENCH IN ALGIERS.—The army of occupation in Algiers, averaging generally 100,000 men, costs annually \$12,500,000. The government and police cost about \$2,000,000. The civil administration and attempts at colonization cost about \$1,500,000. There is at present an annual balance of \$12,000,000 against the colony. It is a very expensive nursery for warriors; and it is grievous to think that the same energies could by peaceful and legitimate means be employed, without the necessity for a single Zouave, in reclaiming waste lands, or cultivating neglected territories in places such as Asia Minor, which are only waiting for the plow to give a hundred-fold return.

The French themselves do not seem to take to the place, for it is hardly correct to say that they are devoid of all colonial enterprise. The foundations laid in Canada and the Southern United States, attest some capabilities; but they are certainly small. In as far as respects Algeria, however, it is in vain that the French government offer sixty acres of fruitful land to every husbandman who can show that he has \$60 to expend upon it; in vain does it give a free deck passage to all who will go over; in vain does it prove by the pen of M. Carette that Algeria is nine times less populous than France, and sixteen times less populous than England; there are still less than 100,000 acres allotted, and the number of allottees, which in 1848 was only 3333, is but very gradually increasing. The candidates for the unappointed 90,000,000 acres arrive very slowly.

LOVE AND WAR.—*An incident in the Crimean War.*—"One scene in the battle of Inkermann," says a private soldier, "I can't withhold, as it effected me so much. In the heat of the battle, a young Russian officer made himself very conspicuous, and appeared indifferent to danger. He was young, tall, handsome, and indeed beautiful. Twice I had my rifle raised to shoot him; but my heart smote me, and I turned it in another direction. In an hour I saw him again, but, O, how changed! His cheeks, which had been flushed with the heat of the strife, were now deadly pale. He lay, or half reclined, on the edge of a hillock, and held

the miniature-likeness of a pretty young lady in his hand, which had been tied to his neck by a small gold chain. His eyes were fixed upon it, but they were fixed in death. I can not tell you what my feelings were. Indeed, I can not venture, it would unman me."

A D D R E S S

From the Peace Society of London to the People of the United States.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CHRISTIANS,—It is in no presuming or dictatorial spirit that we venture to address to you these few words of earnest sympathy and respectful expostulation, in reference to the perilous crisis in your national history through which you are now passing. But having been long laboring in our humble measure, in promoting peace on earth, upon the broad principles of our common Christianity, we cannot but feel how deeply that cause to which we are devoted, is implicated in the result of the experiment now being enacted in your country.

We do not feel ourselves either competent, or entitled, to offer any suggestion as to the best method of solving those internal difficulties which now agitate your great Commonwealth. But we venture confidently to state, that the worst of all solutions that can be attempted, is a fratricidal war, which must, however long and fiercely it may be waged, leave the merits of the questions in dispute wholly untouched, while it cannot fail to exasperate, into ten-fold malignity, the feelings of alienation which already exist. War, under any circumstances, and between any sections of the human race, is an evil which reason, religion and humanity cannot bewail too bitterly. But a civil war in a nation like your own, one of the very foremost among the nations of the earth in intelligence, civilization and Christian enlightenment,—a war among men of the same race, language, and religion — a war which would involve neighbors, friends, brothers — members of the same Christian communions, children, it may be, of the same family, in mad and murderous conflict with each other, would be a spectacle at which all mankind would stand aghast in horror and dismay; a spectacle which, more than any event that has occurred for ages, would smite with discouragement, and all but despair, the friends of human progress throughout the world. For a long time past, thoughtful and philanthropic men, witnessing with sorrow the distracted and divided condition of the old world, and the ferocious and sanguinary wars to which these national antipathies have led, have fondly cherished the hope that the time might come when the several States of Europe might be so far federated together, as to be brought under the jurisdiction of a common tribunal, which should decide their differences without having recourse to the irrational arbitrament of the sword. In support of the practicability of such a measure, they have been hitherto wont to appeal triumphantly to the admirable example and illustration of such a system presented in your country. But the effect will be disheartening and disastrous to the last degree, if it be now found that you, Christian brethren, who had the immense ad-

vantage of growing up side by side into free communities, exempt from those hereditary prejudices which have struck their roots so deep into the soil of Europe, can find no better means of adjusting your differences than by having recourse to the old expedient of barbarism and blood, of which even Europe is beginning to be ashamed, for its combined folly and brutality.

Permit us, also, respectfully to remind you that the evils of war,—as we know to our bitter cost in the old world,—do not end with itself. On the contrary, it bequeaths to posterity a sinister legacy of hatreds, jealousies and rivalries, which poison the blood of nations for ages, and entail upon them burdens hardly less crushing than those of actual war. The enormous military establishments that are now sitting like an incubus on the heart of Europe, all but suffocating its life, are the penalties we have to pay for the conflicts into which our ancestors plunged, often in reference to questions which, all men now can see, might have been easily adjusted without a blow, if passion had not been permitted to usurp the place of reason. But the rankling recollections and mutual distrust which those quarrels engendered, are still the source whence arises the alleged necessity for the ruinous rivalry in armaments, which is hurrying us onward on a path that, if pursued much longer, can only lead to general bankruptcy. May Heaven in its mercy deliver America from a policy which would entangle it in the coils of such a system as this!

We implore you, then, Friends and Fellow-Christians, to avoid the fatal mistake of imagining that you can decide questions of disputed right by conflicts of brute force. We appeal to American patriots to save the land they love from the dishonor of appearing before the world in an attitude which can only excite the sorrow and pity of all good men. We appeal to American philanthropists to interpose their influence to ward off a catastrophe which will not only become a source of unutterable suffering and demoralization to their own country, but which will exercise a malign influence over the destinies of the whole human race. Above all, we appeal to Christian churches of all denominations, and emphatically to the ministers of the Prince of Peace, to stand between the living and the dead that the plague be stayed; by their example, by their persuasions, by their prayers, to arrest an evil which will not only paralyze their own efforts, and desolate God's inheritance by a flood of passion and crime, but which will be a scandal and a reproach to our common Christianity.

JOSEPH PEASE, *President.*

HENRY RICHARD, *Secretary.*

LONDON, APRIL 6, 1861.

The above address, so able and well-timed, we sent at once to all our newspapers, whose joint circulation reaches nearly all the readers in our land, with a special request for its speedy insertion.—ED.

REBELLION ACTUALLY BEGUN.

The slaveholders' rebellion, so long in virtual progress, has at length begun in form and earnest, by an attack upon Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, April 12, and on the fifteenth President Lincoln issued his proclamation, declaring the rebellion, calling for 75,000 troops for its suppression, and convening Congress in special session, July 4th. Thus the great crime, premeditated for so many years, and for which its instigators have been making such desperate preparations for the last five or six months, is now in full blast, and threatening the land with evils which ages cannot repair.

We have no words to express our grief and humiliation. What a sin and shame for a people claiming to be in the very van of the world's progress, all professing in common a religion of peace, and solemnly bound by the most sacred constitutional obligations to have every dispute among them decided only by legal, peaceful means, to rush, like so many madmen or tigers, to the work of mutual slaughter, for the adjustment of what must, after months or even years of fighting, be settled in the end by an appeal to reason alone. On this point we have already given our views to the public in season, and need not repeat them here. Had our views been wrought into the habits of our entire people, this terrible calamity could never have come. God grant that our friends may, in this hour of trial, be true to their principles, and exert what influence they can to avert or mitigate the atrocities and nameless evils of this unnatural strife. Let us, if possible, throw the oil of forbearance and love upon these maddened waves. Bear in mind that the parties, now in such fierce conflict, the North and the South, the friends of Freedom and the upholders of Slavery, must live side by side through all coming time. The Alleghanies will always stand just where they now do, and the Potomac and Susquehanna, the Ohio, Missouri and Mississippi will continue to roll their waters in the same channels. The men on each bank *must* live together. Shall they do so in friendship or in hatred, in peace or in war?

We trust our friends will, first of all, bear ever in mind that *Peace is always loyal*. It is not possible for a peace man to be a rebel. We may dislike the government over us, and seek to change it, but never in the way of violent resistance to its authority. We cannot for a moment countenance or tolerate rebellion. All our principles and habits require us to sustain the government in every proper, legitimate effort for the enforcement of law, and the condign punishment of offenders. The cause of Peace was never meant to meet such a crisis as is now upon us. It belongs not to Peace, but to Government alone; and all that can be required of us, is that we prove ourselves loyal citizens. The issue belongs not to peace men, but to rulers, as a question of authority, right and power. Our Government put the issue on the proper ground, by calling for the power

needed to enforce the laws against an organized and armed rebellion. It is not strictly war, but a legitimate effort by government for the enforcement of its laws, and the maintenance of its proper and indispensable authority. The principle is the same with that which quells a riot in one of our cities, or seizes an assassin or incendiary, and brings him to condign punishment. We should be tender of human life; but we must ever keep ourselves on the side of the government against all wrong-doers. If the Christianity of Paul would not let him resist by violence even the despotism of Nero himself, it surely becomes every peace-man to throw his entire influence against the gigantic crime of attempting to overthrow the freest and best government on earth, in order to establish upon its ruins an oligarchy of slaveholders for the extension of slavery over a continent. If a million of men were mustered to put down by force this climax of all offences, it would still be in form, as it ought ever to be in spirit, only a simple, rightful enforcement of the laws — the very laws which the rebels themselves helped enact—against a combined, wholesale violation of them. It is, or should be, a work of Justice, calm, impartial, awful. God grant it may not kindle among our people the fierce, vindictive passions of war!

RESPONSE TO OUR VIEWS.—We seldom report what is said about us; but we may just now be excused for copying a single specimen from the *N. Y. Evening Post*.

“The Enforcement of Law is Peace.—The magazine called *The Advocate of Peace*, which is devoted to the diffusion of the gentler principles of human duty, argues with much force that the mere sentiment of peace cannot control or cure all the evils of society. For that we must look to government, which embodies the powers specifically requisite for the protection of society. When any wrong is done or attempted by disaffected classes or persons, when pirates infest the seas, or miscreants fire and steal, when a mob prowls through the streets, or rebellion lifts its head in a State, the only method of meeting it is by the rigid enforcement of the laws. The *Advocate* says:

“Here, then, is the province of government, which was made on purpose to keep peace, by a prompt, energetic exercise of its authority. Is not this just the way, as all experience proves, to keep peace between families or communities? So on the largest scale. It was Gen. Jackson’s firmness in upholding the authority of our national government, and his inflexible purpose to enforce its laws at all hazards, that restrained nullification in 1833; and had the same hand held the reins when border ruffianism attempted such abominable outrages in Kansas, it would doubtless have averted nearly all the enormous evils that ensued. So of the wholesale nullification that now assumes the form of secession at the South. It is, in its origin and its essential character, a question of obedience to government; and a judicious, yet energetic, unflinching enforcement of its laws, would have been precisely the measure of peace needed at the right time to meet the case.”

“The *Advocate* only expresses the opinions of all law-abiding citizens in every part of the nation.”

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.—Rev. Dr. Wayland having resigned his office as President of our Society, HOWARD MALCOM, D. D., has been chosen his successor ; a selection in which all our friends will rejoice.

THE NEXT ANNIVERSARY OF THE AM. PEACE SOCIETY—will be held in Park Street Church, Boston, Monday, May 27th. The business meeting, at 3 P. M., at which a full attendance is requested. The public exercises at 7 1-2 P. M., at which we hope our new President will preside, and ELIHU BURRITT, and other distinguished friends of the cause, are engaged to speak.

WM. C. BROWN, *Rec. Sec.*

April 20, 1861.

RECEIPTS.

<i>Dedham.</i> —Dr. Burgess, \$15 00	<i>Stratham, N. Y.</i>
J. Downing, 5 00—20 00	George W. Thompson, . . . 5 00
<i>Walpole, N. H.</i> —S. N. Perry, . . . 50 00	Mrs. Thompson, 5 00
<i>Bath, Me.</i> —John O. Fiske, 1 00	Others, 2 00—12 00
<i>Bluehill, Me.</i> —Isaac Parker, . . . 1 00	<i>Millbury.</i> —Tyrus March, . . . 2 00
<i>Rochester, N. Y.</i> —Eben. Ely, . . . 5 00	Hosea Crane, . . . 2 00
<i>N. Brookfield.</i>	H. Goodall, . . . 2 00
A. Walker, 10 00	A. Wood & Co., . . . 2 00
Charles Adams, Jr., . . . 5 00	Others, 7 00—15 00
F. Walker, 3 00	<i>Springfield, Ill.</i> —Albert Hale, . . . 1 00
Others, 3 00—21 00	<i>Holland Patent, N. Y.</i>
<i>Grafton.</i> —E. B. Bigelow, 5 00	N. P. Kollo, 1 00
L. S. Pratt, . . . 1 00—6 00	<i>Pittsford, Vt.</i> —Dr. Walker, 1 00
<i>New England Village.</i>	S. Penfield, 2 00—3 00
J. H. Smith, 3 00	<i>Union Springs, N. Y.</i>
A. Dunham, 1 00—4 00	J. J. Thomas, 2 00
<i>Middlebury, Vt.</i>	<i>W. Winsted, Ct.</i>
S. W. Boardman, 3 00	Thomas Watson, 2 00
D. T. Robinson, 1 00—4 00	<i>Lowell.</i> —S. G. Mack, 3 00
<i>New Milford, Ct.</i>	W. A. Burke, 2 00
D. C. Sanford, 5 00	Others, 2 00—7 00
<i>Farmington, Ct.</i> —A. Thomson, . . 5 00	<i>Medford.</i> 3 00
Estate of the late Henry Dwight,	<i>Woburn.</i>
<i>Geneva, N. Y.</i> 280 00	Thomas Richardson, 2 00
R. I. Peace Society, 50 00	Others, 2 00—4 00
<i>Marion, N. Y.</i> —Richard H. Lee, 1 00	<i>Winchester.</i> —S. Cutter, . . . 2 00
<i>Abington, Ct.</i> —By Dea. E. Lord, 5 00	D. B. Johnson, 1 00—3 00
<i>Sherwood, N. Y.</i> —P. S. Talcot, . . 3 00	<i>Peterboro', N. Y.</i>
<i>Boston.</i> —Dr. B. B. Muzzy, . . . 5 00	Gerritt Smith, 20 00
M. W. Beckwith, . . . 2 00	<i>Dorchester.</i>
Charles Cleveland, 3 00—10 00	Mrs. STEPHEN CLAPP, L. M.
<i>Randolph, Vt.</i> —J. B. Mead, . . . 1 00	by Mrs. Richard Clap, 20 00
<i>W. Rutland, Vt.</i>	<i>Southboro'.</i> —Jonas Fay, . . . 3 00
By W. Humphrey, 5 00	Elizabeth Thompson, . . . 2 00
<i>Thetford, Vt.</i> 1 00	Others, 3 50—8 50
<i>Coventry, N. Y.</i>	<i>Northboro'.</i> —Cyrus Gale, . . . 5 00
By J. H. Hoyt, 5 00	A. W. Seaver, 2 00—7 00
<i>Penn Yan, N. Y.</i>	<i>Westboro'.</i> —N. Kimball, 1 00
C. C. Sheppard, 2 00	<i>Providence, R. I.</i> —G. Congdon, . 4 00
<i>Micronesia.</i> —L. H. Gulick, . . . 1 00	<i>Sandwich Islands.</i>
<i>Worcester.</i> —M. L. Muzzy, 1 00	Hilo Ch., by T. Coan, 50 00
<i>Gardiner.</i> —Asa Richardson, . . . 3 00	<i>Philadelphia.</i> —Dr. Malcom, . . . 5 00
<i>Glasterbury, Vt.</i> —Geo. Plummer, 2 00	<i>Fitchburg.</i> —H. Wood, 3 00
<i>West Townsend, Vt.</i>	<i>Burlington, Vt.</i> —Mrs. C. Grant, . 1 00
S. S. Arnold, 2 00	<i>Albany, N. Y.</i> —P. Smith, 1 00
<i>Waltham.</i> —A. L. Dennison, . . . 2 00	Publications, 130 00
	Interest, 45 00

Total, \$844 50

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

THIRTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY


OF THE

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

IN BOSTON, MAY 21st, 1861.

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1861.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JULY AND AUGUST, 1861.

ANNUAL REPORT.

Every year is showing more and more fully the magnitude and the difficulties of the reform in which we are engaged. Touching at almost every point the chief interests of mankind both for the present and the coming life, the Cause of Peace will be found, as age after age passes away more and still more indispensable to the world's steady progress towards that golden era, "foretold by prophets, and by poets sung," when nations shall beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more. Of such a consummation, we cannot, as believers in the Bible, allow ourselves for a moment to doubt; yet every month is disclosing more and more the difficulties that lie in the way of its perfect accomplishment. No reform is so difficult. There is not one that encounters so many obstructions from prejudice, passion, and the world's immemorial practice; none so fortified by use and habit, prestige and power; none so wrought into the whole frame-work of government, so woven into the web and woof of society, so widely, deeply rooted in the strongest, foulest, fiercest depravities of our nature. It is the grand crime and curse of all nations. It stands in Christendom prominent over all forms of mischief to mankind, and everywhere enlists in its support the leading agencies and influences of society — the sanctities of religion, and the powers of government, the hearth and the altar, the school, the pulpit, and the press, history and philosophy, poetry and eloquence, the most effective kinds of talent and skill. It wields a vast and terrible power. The ablest minds are its tools; and for its support in Europe alone there is expended even in peace, an amount of money and moral power more than sufficient, under God, for the world's evangelization.

PROOFS OF PROGRESS IN PEACE.

Such are the obstacles in our way; but through them all the cause of Peace has been slowly yet surely advancing. The proofs of such progress are on every side of us. We see them in the altered tone of public opinion;—in the general repose of the civilized world;—in the growing aversion to war, shown alike by people and rulers;—in the gradual substitution of peaceful expedients in place of the sword;—in the disposition to let every people manage their own affairs in their own way, and decide for themselves what form of government they shall adopt, and who shall be their rulers. In all these respects the past year has shown some marked proofs of progress. There have, indeed, been war-clouds in the horizon; but none of these have expanded into wide and long continued tempests. We have witnessed a brief war in China, and a series of struggles in Italy to complete her deliverance from an iron-handed tyranny; but in these cases, though pregnant with results of vast importance, there has been, in comparison with the wars of former ages, very small loss of life or treasure, hardly as much in both as used often to attend a single campaign or even battle.

In such results as these we recognize the benign agency of our cause, and find new motives for its vigorous prosecution. What changes for the better has it already achieved! How much less frequent have wars become! For some forty years after its rise,—from the downfall of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815, to the rise of the Crimean war in 1854,—Europe reposed in general peace; a longer period of rest from war than Christendom had ever known before. When war at length does come, how much sooner is it brought to a close, and how many of its incidental evils are abated! The war of the Crimea, which in other ages would probably have continued ten or twenty years, was terminated in two; and that of Italy, in 1859, which might once have drenched a continent in blood for many years, was closed in three months, without involving any but the immediate belligerents. The value of such gains alone to humanity and the world, no arithmetic can fully compute.

Consider, also, how far we have succeeded in undermining or superseding the war-system itself. When we began our labors, the practice of privateering was in full blast, vexing or threatening every sea with its wanton depredations, and occasioning a fearful sacrifice of property, life and domestic happiness. After the lapse of forty-five years, in what condition do we find this part of the war-system? Well nigh extinct. At the opening of the Russian war, in 1854, England and France, the great naval powers most interested in continuing this practice, proclaimed their purpose to issue during the war no letters of marque, without which there could be of course no privateering; and at its close, all the Powers of Europe, represented in the Paris Congress of 1856, solemnly decreed its perpetual abolition. So far, then, as respects this part of the war-system, our cause has already won in Europe a signal triumph; a result as clearly due to our

labors as the prohibition of the slave-trade, or the abolition of slavery itself in the British colonies, was to those of such men as Clarkson and Wilberforce. Had our own government at once come fully into this measure, we might have been spared the shame and manifold evils inseparable from a revival of this species of piracy by the Southern Confederacy, whose privateers may soon be found scouring every sea in quest of plunder and vengeance. It was a golden opportunity we thus lost, through the prejudices of a bellicose statesman; but we trust that the bitter fruits of our folly will constrain us ere long to join heartily in a measure so clearly demanded by the general interests of humanity and the world. We hope the report will prove true, that our present rulers, soon after their accession to office, signified to the Powers of Europe our acceptance of the code proclaimed by the Paris Congress of 1856, which declares privateering to be piracy.*

Take still another proof of progress in this cause. For ages the idea of what is termed the Balance of Power, had accustomed the leading cabinets of Europe to claim in fact, if not in form, the right of intermeddling in the affairs of its various governments, and virtually dictating, in some cases, what should be their domestic policy, and even who should be their rulers. This practice was long the hinge of European diplomacy; nor was it till the friends of peace won a wide and controlling influence that this baleful delusion was dethroned from its supremacy. They resolutely combatted it from the first, and continued the agitation until in England they gained at

*The importance of this principle to us must be obvious at a glance. "The South," says the *London Times*, May 6, "has no commerce; but the North has ships upon every sea, and is a victim that would pay a plunderer. There are silk cargoes to be intercepted even in the Eastern seas, and the treasures of California are to be met with afloat. To protect this commerce will require no small portion of the available United States navy; and it is therefore not quite certain that Mr. Lincoln can respond to the reiterated demands of the merchants of New York to blockade all the ports of the South. Looking at matters in a strictly English point of view, our interest is first, if possible, that this melancholy rupture should be repaired, and that either by reunion, or by amicable separation, peace should be restored. But, if this is impossible, then it becomes our next object that our cotton supply should not be cut off, and that the markets for our manufactures in the South should not be forcibly shut against us. With this view, we shall be compelled to scrutinize the legality of every blockade established upon the coast of the seceding States.

The Government at Washington has itself relieved us from what might otherwise have been a great danger of being the principal victim of this unhappy quarrel. At the Treaty of Paris, England and France proposed that all nations should renounce the belligerent right of issuing letters of marque. The United States then refused to join in this convention, and required for their merchant ships an immunity from men-of-war as well as from privateers. If America had then joined to make this proposition an universal law of nations, privateers would now be considered pirates, and the South would be at the mercy of the North. The proposal having, however, been rejected, the belligerent parties hold all their ancient rights, and the commissions of Mr. President Davis are as good as those of Mr. President Lincoln. As to the resolution of the New York merchants to treat the privateers of the unrecognized South as pirates, it cannot be maintained. Every jurist must hold that, so long as Mr. President Davis is President of a Confederacy of Sovereign States, he has the same right to issue letters of marque which any Chief Magistrate of a Republic either in North or South America would have."

last a signal triumph. At the first Peace Congress in London, 1843, we found our English co-workers vehemently assailed for their persistent demand, that England, so long a notorious intermeddler in the affairs of other nations, should abandon such a policy, and henceforth recognize the right of every people, without interference or dictation from any quarter, to manage their own affairs in their own way. When the Italian controversy reached its culmination in the war of 1859, this principle of non-intervention, so long kept under ban, was proclaimed by every party all over England, from the press and the hustings, by the ministry themselves, and finally from the throne, as the settled policy of Great Britain. Never was a triumph more complete; and its effect on the general peace and welfare of Europe will be found in time to be worth more than a hundred Waterloos or Solferinos. Already has it checked, and at length it may reverse that policy of intervention which has wrought so vast an amount of mischief.

In some other respects has the cause of Peace made advances still more important and hopeful. We claim, as the idea underlying our whole movement, that the principles and expedients of social justice, with some unessential modifications of form, may and should be applied to nations as they now are to individuals and minor communities. Common sense demands this; and this in time would draw after it all we ask. We look upon nations as one great family or brotherhood, with their respective rights to be guarded, their intercourse regulated, and their disputes adjusted, in essentially the same way that every civilized community provides for its individual members. To them all should be applied a common system of peaceful, effective justice by such laws and courts as would obviate the necessity of war in any event to vindicate rights, or redress wrongs.

The introduction of such a system must, of course, be a work of time, a slow and a long process. It cannot be done in a day, but will require ages to complete it entirely, and put every part in effective operation. Like the British and every other well-established government, it will grow by slow degrees toward final perfection, and almost imperceptibly weave itself into the world's fixed, permanent habits. We start the process, but cannot expect ourselves to witness the ultimate result. We are planting seed for future ages to reap. We begin by persuading two nations to stipulate in their treaties that they will settle all their disputes by amicable means. For this purpose, we ask them to obviate the necessity of war in any event, by a mutual pledge to adjust all controversies either between themselves, or by reference in the last resort to umpires mutually chosen. This practice of Stipulated Arbitration would in time train nations to the habit of submitting their disputes, as individuals and minor communities now do theirs, to a common tribunal, and acquiescing in its decisions, as every civilized society does in those of its established courts.

This process, so full of hope for the world's eventual peace, is now going on. The nations of Christendom are gradually accustoming themselves to this order of things, and forming in effect a grand confederacy, where public opinion, in one way or another, is already beginning to decide the questions between its members without an appeal to arms. We have not yet reached a Congress or Court of Nations, and cannot foresee how soon we shall; but we are steadily moving towards such a consummation, and think it sure to come in time. The germ of such a system we already have in operation on a small scale in the Congresses so frequently convened of late years in Europe on questions fraught with special danger or interest. They all rest on the same principle, employ essentially the same means, and aim at like results. Let such Congresses continue, and they will in time stereotype themselves in something like a Congress and Court

of Nations to legislate on their common interests, and decide all disputes which the parties may be unable to settle between themselves.

Such are some of the indices of progress in this great reform. We have, indeed, done only a small part of what needs to be done, yet vastly more than could have been expected from the small amount of labor and money expended. In no enterprise has more been accomplished in proportion to the means used; and should the work go on no faster than it already has, we may hope in time to see our principles woven into the policy of all civilized nations, and the sword, as the arbiter of their disputes, superseded forever by the introduction of laws and courts, a system of rational, peaceful justice between them, as now between individuals and all minor communities.

The good already accomplished in this cause pleads strongly for its prosecution upon a much broader scale. We have as yet done only a very small part of what needs to be done; but we can point to no enterprise that has done more, if so much, in proportion to the slender means used. With adequate means, how much might have been achieved! Had Christians as a body responded to the claims of this cause from the start; had they all along rallied spontaneously and habitually to its support; had the press lent its earnest, persistent, ubiquitous advocacy; had we been furnished with a tithe of the funds needed to bring and keep the subject fully before our rulers, before our seminaries of learning, before our ecclesiastical bodies, and the community at large; had there been put at our disposal one hundredth or thousandth part of what is wasted by Christendom upon her war-system even in a time of peace; we might ere this have effected a change sufficient with God's blessing to ensure permanent peace in every land blest with the gospel.

Means like these, in one form or another, will always be needed. It must be a permanent work. An evil so widely diffused, and so deeply rooted in society and government, can never be eradicated or controlled without strenuous, incessant care and effort. All men, in every age, must be educated to such habits on this subject as the gospel enjoins; and thus will the use of proper and adequate means in the cause of peace become a constant necessity to the end of time.

PERMANENT PEACE FUND.

Such facts and views suggested to our Committee years ago the importance of some provision for the steady, permanent prosecution of our cause. The immediate occasion which forced the subject upon their consideration, was the sudden illness of the Corresponding Secretary near the close of 1855. On seeking some one to take his place, they were unable to procure a suitable man without a reliable pledge for his support. The condition was deemed perfectly reasonable; but no such pledge could be given. The Secretary, having some small means of his own, had served the Society without any such pledge for twenty years, and for some ten years had made himself, as he has ever since, responsible for its current expenses; but, well aware that such an enterprise could not safely depend upon a contingency so precarious, and thinking that its leading friends ought to make some reliable provision for its permanency, they conceived the plan of raising for this purpose a permanent fund of thirty thousand dollars, to insure the 'support of a Secretary who should devote his whole time to the Cause of Peace under our Society, the publication of a Periodical as its organ, and the maintenance of an Office as the centre of its operations, said Secretaryship, Periodical and Office to be made perpetual.' The aim was to make sure, as far as possible, of a permanent system of means in this cause; and these three things were deemed most likely to compass that end.

It is quite clear that some provision must be made that shall insure permanency in the prosecution of this great and most difficult reform. It cannot all be done up in a day, an age or even a century. It must be the work of all coming ages, just as the process of training men for heaven must be continued all over the earth to the end of time. There must be used in this cause, as in every other, proper and adequate means; and its friends ought in some way to provide for their steady and permanent use. All experience proves, that no individual or occasional efforts will ever suffice. There must be a continuity of such efforts. More than three centuries ago, Erasmus, the day-star of the Reformation, wrote in behalf of Peace with an eloquence and power never surpassed; but, as no measures were taken to extend and perpetuate such influences, the custom of war continued with scarce any perceptible check. The work demands a general, permanent organization. No single mind, no temporary combination, can insure the agencies and influences requisite for the object in view. Its reliable friends, those who feel themselves responsible under God for its success, must unite to provide the means for its permanent prosecution.

How shall this be done? No single individual can do it alone; but for the present it must devolve on a select few. Unlike many causes, that of Peace cannot rely now, if it ever can, upon the million. Only here and there one appreciates fully its claims; and hence the few who do, must provide for it even to the neglect, should that be necessary, of those popular causes to which everybody gives who gives at all. In the present general neglect of its claims, its plighted friends must, as an imperative, paramount duty, sustain it at any sacrifice, until the mass of the Christian community shall wake to its adequate, habitual support.

Nor are we singular in these views. Our co-workers in England are brought by their own experience to the same conclusion. In their recent efforts "to place the London Peace Society on a *more secure and permanent footing*, such as would enable it to prosecute its work with efficiency and success," they say "it would doubtless be better, if the support of such a movement could be derived from a large number of small contributors: but in the actual state of opinion in the Christian public, the cause of Peace must, *for the present*, depend mainly upon the help of a comparative few, to whom its maintenance is a matter of deep religious conviction." Accordingly a circular was issued in November, 1860; and in two or three months, *more than nine thousand dollars* were subscribed, nearly all *permanent* annual subscriptions, in sums varying from \$5 to \$500. Nothing like this has ever yet been attempted for our cause here; but there must be before we can safely calculate upon its steady, vigorous and effective prosecution.

It is for this purpose we are endeavoring to raise a small permanent fund, designed not to supersede, but only to stimulate and insure effort in this great work. It *must* have means, much larger and more reliable than it has ever yet received; and is it not equally clear that such means must be furnished by its steadfast, plighted friends? And can they give to any object in itself more worthy, or more hopeful of the best results? The success of this cause is sure to draw after it that of almost every other. It is the cheapest, surest, most comprehensive of all charities. We would not undervalue any; but where shall we find one to match it in these respects? A single asylum for the insane, or hospital for the sick, often costs more than has been expended in the cause of Peace during nearly half a century; but the prevention of one war would avert more suffering than all the asylums and hospitals of a continent in an age—would save more from poverty, widowhood and orphanage, from disease, mutilation

and death. It is a most economical way of doing good upon a scale well nigh boundless. While the custom of war is now wasting in peace for Europe alone, directly and indirectly, a thousand million dollars every year, one thousandth part of this sum, a single million a year, if used aright in this cause, would probably suffice, under God, to prevent at once nearly all actual wars in Christendom, and put an end at length to her entire war-system. Can money be used to any better purpose?

The prospects of this permanent fund are better than our early fears. It was started in 1857; and the times nearly ever since have been extremely unfavorable for such an effort. The Secretary was expected, as a mere incident to his ordinary labors, to undertake the raising of this fund, and hence it became necessary to allow five years in which to complete it. No subscription is to be binding unless twenty thousand dollars shall be secured by the first of January, 1862; and about half of the thirty thousand dollars has already been obtained in sums varying from \$100 to \$5,000. Personal applications have as yet been made to very few; but the responses to these encourage the hope of a large liberality from friends possessed of much ampler resources.

OPERATIONS OF THE YEAR.

During the year we have pursued our wonted course, in some departments upon a larger, and in others upon a somewhat smaller scale than usual. Our aim has been, as far as possible with our very limited means, to set at work, in behalf of our object, the agencies and influences which create or control public opinion on every question like that of Peace or War, such as the pulpit, the press, and especially those higher seminaries of learning where are trained the men that mould or sway both society and government our legislators, and teachers, our authors, editors and professional men. With this view we have used our small resources partly in sending our periodical and some of our other publications to not a few leading ministers of the gospel, to nearly all our higher seminaries of learning, and to periodicals whose aggregate circulation probably reaches full half the readers in our land. How much we may in these ways have accomplished for our object, it is of course impossible to say; but we have deemed this the wisest and most effective way of employing the means at our command. We can expect no marked results at once; but we may reasonably hope to see such agencies and influences silently forming a public opinion that shall in time supersede the sword as an arbiter of national disputes, by the introduction of more rational, more Christian expedients in their place.

Our publications have been about the same as in preceding years. Of our Periodical we have issued, a part of the time, a larger number than usual; of the last Address before the Society between six and seven thousand copies were put in circulation; and of some of our stereotyped tracts we have published new editions. In the department of Lecturing Agencies we have done less than usual. Our Secretary has at length resumed the labors of former years, and we have also commissioned two others as lecturers; but we have not had the means of sending forth a tithe of the laborers that ought to be employed in the large field open before us.

FINANCES.—Our income, though greater than in some former years, has been less than in the year preceding. Our receipts have been \$2,754,79, and our expenditures \$2,557,38, leaving in the treasury a balance of \$197,38. Our Committee, under a standing, imperative rule of the Society, have for the last year, as for the fifteen years preceding, gone

upon the principle of paying as we go, and have attempted only what they could do without running in debt. Whenever our friends shall furnish more means, we shall rejoice to use them as wisely as we can in extending our operations, as they certainly ought to be, all over our land.

DECEASE OF FRIENDS.—We mourn to-day the loss of some of our most distinguished friends, especially Hon. DANIEL A. WHITE, of Salem, CHAS. LOWELL, D. D., of this city, and Rev. JOHN WOODS, of Fitzwilliam, N. H., all in a ripe and much honored old age. Judge White, a classmate in college with William Ladd, the Founder of our Society, was a steady and liberal contributor to the cause for many years. Dr. Lowell, a graduate of Harvard sixty-one years ago in the class of Allston, Buckminster and the late Judge Shaw, and for more than half a century the much esteemed pastor of one of the churches of Boston, became early an active and efficient supporter of our cause under Worcester and Channing, was for some years President of the Massachusetts Peace Society, and a Vice-President of our Society for more than twenty years. Rev. Mr. Woods, just deceased at the age of seventy-six, was through all his long and honored ministry a devoted friend of our cause, and in his own character a fine illustration of its principles. We cannot help feeling poorer at the loss of such men; but it is much that the memory of their works and their services in this cause of God and Humanity may still linger among us to hallow and cheer the work they leave us to complete.

We meet to-day under circumstances entirely new and unexpected. We are in the midst of a rebellion the most gigantic perhaps that the world ever saw; and at every turn we are asked, just as if we in particular were bound to answer the question, what shall be done in this terrible emergency? How would the Peace Society deal with such a case? What course would its principles require or allow?

Our answer is at hand. *Under our system, such evils could never have occurred; and under no view of the case, is it ours, as a Peace Society, to meet them, and say what ought to be done.* They lie not in our sphere. They come not from our principles, but from those which we are trying to change, and to substitute in their place such as would have anticipated and averted them. We have no control, no direct responsibility in the case. It belongs not to peace reformers, but to society at large, or to the government as their organ and agent. Ours is a work of prevention, slow but sure; and, had our people been from the start trained to the views and habits we inculcate, nothing like this rebellion could ever have arisen. It all comes from their wrong education, an education nearly the reverse of what our principles would have given them. They have been taught, North as well as South, to rely, in the last resort, on brute force, instead of an appeal to reason and right, to laws and courts, for the settlement of such disputes as these; and, now that their interests have come into point-blank collision, and their passions are sufficiently roused for the purpose, they are ready to sweep the land with blood and devastation. The result is perfectly legitimate; and in it all we are just reaping the fruits, not of peace principles or measures, but of those which the custom of war has sown broad-cast over all the earth from time immemorial.

Now, is Peace to be held responsible for what War alone has done? Let the dead bury their own dead. Let the war system meet the recoil of its own principles and expedients. The Peace Society has had no voice or agency in the case, and of course cannot be held to any responsibility in saying what shall be done. This question the government must meet; and, being the organ of a people trained to reliance in the last resort on war measures, they must be expected to do so in the usual way of violence and

blood. They know no other; there is at present no other for them; and, until it can be superseded by a better, peace men, like other good citizens, must of course acquiesce in the result, and lend their moral, if they cannot their active support to the government over them.

Nor is this a new position; the Peace Society has held it from the first, and stereotyped it long ago in its publications. We never were so quixotic as to regard Peace as a cure for every sort of evil, but have all along restricted ourselves to the single object of doing away the well-defined custom of war, the practice of nations settling their controversies by the sword. We are not organized to oppose any other evil; nor do we hold ourselves responsible for the way in which our friends may choose to argue or act against any other. We merely ask them to help us do away this custom. It may be connected with many other questions; but it is no part of our mission as a Peace Society, to say what shall be done with thieves and robbers, with pirates, mobs or rebels. Such questions belong to government, and there we must leave them.

But has our cause in truth, nothing to do with such evils as are now upon us? Certainly, a great deal; but chiefly in the way of introducing a new and more thoroughly Christian civilization, that shall supersede them, and render them morally impossible. Here is our specific sphere. No people, educated in our views, would ever abet or tolerate rebellion; and it is just the lack of such principles that has let loose these evils upon us. Had the South been trained even to the lowest views of peace, even half as well as New England has been, they would have calmly waited for peaceful, legal means to redress their alleged wrongs; and whenever our principles are wrought into the habits of our whole people, we shall hear no more of rebellion, nor ever see our land drenched in fraternal blood.

But what, after all, shall peace-men do in this crisis? Stand by the government in every way not forbidden by your principles. No peace-man can ever be a rebel, or lend the slightest countenance to rebellion. True, it is not ours, as a Peace Society, to say what shall be done with rebels; but it is ours, as loyal citizens, to stand firmly by the government, and render such aid as we consistently can in executing its laws, and bringing offenders to condign punishment. The government may not be right in all respects;—we never knew one that was;—but no peace-man can consistently refuse to uphold its authority, or fail to throw his influence against the gigantic crime of attempting to overthrow the best government on earth, in order to establish upon its ruins an oligarchy of slaveholders for the spread of slavery in perpetuity over a continent.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The American Peace Society held its thirty-third anniversary in the Park Street Church, Boston, May 27. In the absence of the President, Hon. AMASA WALKER, one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the Chair. Prayer was offered by our learned and venerable friend, WILLIAM JENKS, D. D. The Report of the Treasurer was presented, and that of the Directors read in full by the Secretary, both of which were adopted. Rev. George Trask and L. T. Hutchins Esq., were appointed to nominate officers.

The Secretary then read, for the consideration of the meeting, a series of resolutions, designed to elicit a free interchange of views relative especially to the present crisis in our country. Several hours were spent in an able and very animated discussion, in which Hon. AMASA WALKER,

ELIHU BURRITT, Esq., E. S. GANNETT, D. D., LEWIS TAPPAN, Esq., HUTCHINS, Esq., Rev. L. H. ANGIER, ELNATHAN DAVIS, and M. THOMAS, took a part. A house unexpectedly full listened with unwearied interest to the speeches made, only a part of which we have been able to procure for publication.

At the close of the discussion, the Society chose, for the ensuing year the following list of officers, (see last page,) and then adjourned *sine die*.

RESOLUTIONS.

- Resolved, 1. That the events of the past year, on both sides of the Atlantic, conspire to show more and more the vast evils inseparable from the custom of War, and the duty of much greater efforts for its extinction.
2. That the steady and alarming increase of rival preparations for war in Europe, absorbing so large a part of its wealth and most effective talent diverting so many millions of its laborers from the pursuits of a peaceful, beneficent industry, imposing such enormous burdens, and keeping in such constant peril or suspense the general peace and prosperity of the world, ought to put our own people upon their guard against the gradual, insidious adoption of a kindred policy, so hazardous, if not fatal, to our future welfare.
3. That the gigantic Rebellion now threatening to plunge us in all the atrocities and horrors of civil war, adds startling motives for a more extended and more vigorous prosecution of the great reform in which we are embarked.
4. That this reform, if pursued in season as it ought to have been, would in all probability have rendered morally impossible the evils that are now upon us, by educating our people, South as well as North, to such habits of obedience to government, and of reliance on peaceful means alone for the settlement of their controversies, as would have obviated all thought of appealing to the blind, brutal arbitrament of the sword.
5. That the permanent inauguration, as now threatened, of a War-Policy, in place of that established by the fathers of the Republic in its system of laws and courts for a peaceful adjustment of all disputes among ourselves, will be likely to entail upon us in perpetuity such evils, financial, political and moral, as no arithmetic can compute, and no imagination adequately conceive.
6. That the crisis now upon us, so far from shaking, serves rather to confirm, our confidence in the truth of our principles, in the wisdom of our measures, and the importance of training society to the views we inculcate, as the only sure guarantee against the evils to which we are brought or exposed.
7. That till our principles shall prevail throughout the land, we can have no reliable security against such evils, but our own republic, like most of its predecessors, must eventually fall a prey to its own suicidal war-habits.
8. That the Cause of Peace, restricting itself to the single object of doing away the custom of War, the practice of nations settling their disputes by the sword, has never attempted, because outside of its proper sphere, to decide how an oppressed people shall vindicate their rights; how murder, or any other offences against society, shall be punished; or in what way government shall deal with a mob, an insurrection, or an organized rebellion.

9. That the Peace Society, while regarding questions like these as beyond its legitimate province, has ever been, as it ever must be, loyal to government, a steadfast supporter of its just authority, and in favor of having its laws duly enforced as indispensable to the public safety and weal.

10. That our principles and measures, so far from being inapplicable to the present troubles of our country, will be found, when the heat and smoke of the contest are over, indispensable to their satisfactory adjustment; for, after the sword shall have finished its terrible work, and filled the land with anger and wrath, with havoc and devastation, with sorrow and lamentation unutterable, the parties must cease from this wholesale mutual mischief, and betake themselves at last to reason and conciliation, as the only way to end the strife.

11. That, though we deem it no part of our mission to say how a government shall maintain its authority over its subjects, and enforce its laws against rebels, or any other wrong-doers, we approve, as proper and wise under the circumstances, the effort of our Executive Committee, in their appeal last January, to dissuade our people, both South and North, from all thought of settling the issues before them by a resort to arms, and to rely only on the peaceful expedients provided in our constitution and laws expressly for the purpose.

12. That the present crisis, so far from dispensing now or hereafter with the Cause of Peace, just serves to prove more fully than ever its urgent necessity, and calls aloud for a large increase of effort in its behalf.

HON. AMASA WALKER'S ADDRESS.

Gentlemen :—This is the thirty-third anniversary of the American Peace Society, and we meet under the most remarkable circumstances. War, and civil war, the most dreadful of all wars, is raging in our own midst. The largest armies ever known on this continent are in the field, amounting perhaps on this very day, in the aggregate, to some 200,000 men, besides vast numbers more preparing for military service. The whole country is in a state of the highest excitement, and the war spirit is universal.

The question which comes with the greatest force at the present moment is, what is the duty of Peace-men in the circumstances in which they are now placed? It seems to me very clearly that our first duty as the friends of Peace, is to examine the correctness of our principles, so that, if our position is right, we may stand by it. But we should do this in a spirit of candor, and, if we find we are in the wrong, we should retract. We should neither be afraid nor ashamed to do this.

What, then, has been our leading object, that which for a third of a century we have endeavored to promote? I answer, the Prevention of War; nothing more, nothing less. But what is war, as defined by this Society? Armed conflict between different nations. It is this, and this only. With the maintainance of law, the suppression of mobs, insurrections or rebellions, this Society, so far as I know, has never interfered. It has ever protested against the confounding of war with the preservation of civil government. This fact should be remembered by all who are disposed to examine its principles and action.

For the advancement of its objects, this Society has labored to show that war is unnecessary; that national disputes might be, and ought to be settled without recourse to arms; that nations, instead of fighting first, and negotiating afterwards, ought first to negotiate, and then, when all efforts for an adjustment had failed, to refer their disputes to arbitration. Have we been right in this? Is it not more reasonable to negotiate first, and then fight, if fight we must, than to fight and then negotiate? We say it is best to negotiate and arbitrate first; and that is just the practical difference between a peace man, and one who is not.

Now, if we are right in this our first position, let us hold to it, and defend it. If wrong, let us lose no time in abandoning it. What does common sense teach in this matter? Mr. Guizot says that "common sense is the genius of humanity." To that common sense we are ready to appeal.

A great part of our efforts for the last twenty-five years have been directed towards the establishment of a Congress of Nations. We have insisted on this as the great instrumentality by which the war-system may be dispensed with. We have maintained that the establishment of such an international tribunal is a necessary step in the progress of Christian civilization; that it is the great want of humanity; that it is perfectly feasible and rational. Have we been right in this action? We have endeavored to influence the different nationalities to do something towards the attainment of this great object. We have held several international Peace Congresses with a view to forwarding this specific end. Is all this right or wrong?

What are the practical teachings of the age on this matter? How many Congresses have been held by the sovereigns of Europe within the last fifteen years? Has not their frequency and efficiency greatly increased; and are they not evidently advancing toward the goal we propose, viz. a Permanent Congress for the settlement of all national disputes? What has Garibaldi said in relation to the absurdity and wickedness of the war system, and the desirableness of adopting a more rational and Christian mode of preserving peace? No man has spoken more nobly and impressively on this subject than the Liberator of Italy. How significant, too, the fact, that one of the German Princes has recently obtained an interview with Louis Napoleon with special reference to the establishment of some agency by which the bloody arbitrament of the sword may be dispensed with! Are we ashamed, then, of our past advocacy of a Congress of Nations? Are we ashamed that our Society offered prizes for the best essays, and published a large volume on this subject?

Another and prominent point we have made, is, that the different nations of the earth might and ought to agree upon a system of mutual and simultaneous Disarmament. We have endeavored to show that the present system is totally absurd, and terribly destructive of human interests. We have insisted that nothing was gained, but a great deal lost and suffered by the present competition amongst nations in inventing and manufacturing the most destructive engines of warfare. Each endeavors, by every possi-

ble means, to produce some terrible machinery by which men and property can be destroyed more rapidly and horribly, than has ever before been done. No small part of all the energies of Christendom are at this moment employed in this revolting and insane work.

Now, we insist that this is as foolish as it is wicked; that nothing is gained to the human race by all this vast expenditure; that, when one nation has invented a Minnie rifle or an Armstrong gun, every other nation will certainly do the same, and then neither is in any better state of defence, but all are more exposed to loss and injury. Is all this so? Are we ashamed of having labored to put a stop to these mad and inhuman proceedings? Are we really to ask pardon for having labored in company with the English philanthropists and statesmen who, agreeing with us in this matter, have done all they could to do away with such an iniquitous and foolish system? Are we prepared to take back all we have said, and admit that such a system is wise and beneficent?

To impress our general views upon the public mind, we have dwelt much on the horrors of war—on the cruelties incident to the terrible system. Have we any thing to retract or apologize for on this point? We have dwelt upon the immense expenditure of national wealth involved in war and war preparations. We have showed that war is the bottomless gulf that swallows up four fifths of all the national revenues of Christendom, and keeps the masses of the people in a state of hopeless poverty and degradation. Have we been incorrect in our facts? Have we not been justified in our statements on this subject?

Lastly, we have appealed to the Christian sentiment of mankind to say whether war and the war spirit are in harmony with the teaching and example of the Prince of Peace. These are the things we have done. Have we been in error? Have we done wrong? If so, let us acknowledge it, retrace our steps, and spend the rest of our days in advocating war as a necessary means of advancing the best interests of man.

We have never interfered in any existing war, except to insist on some mode of peaceful adjustment. It has never been our purpose to show which belligerent was in the right or which in the wrong, but to induce both the contending parties to settle their disputes by arbitration. Have we been right in this? If so, then in this particular we have nothing to retract.

But it may be asked, how do you peacemen regard the present crisis? The resolutions before us answer that question. But I do not desire to shield myself behind any formal resolutions of the Society. I am willing to meet all enquirers as an individual, and am ready to say in regard to the present contest, first, that the present administration in relation to the disaffected States has done just what the public sentiment of the Free States demanded. It could not have acted otherwise, and been sustained by public opinion. The country undoubtedly demanded war; and the President has entered upon it with great energy and promptitude,

and I hope will conduct it, if it must go on, in the most judicious manner, and especially that he will close it as speedily as the best interests of freedom and humanity will allow, and no sooner. The spirit and unanimity with which the people of all ranks and parties have responded to the call of the President, is most remarkable. The sublimity of the movement, as presented the last six weeks, has been without any parallel in the history of mankind; it will astonish Europe, and excite the admiration of the world. Only two short months ago our government was regarded as a rope of sand, remarkable only for its imbecility, and worthy only of derision. To-day, it is the strongest government on earth. The President issues his proclamation for volunteers to defend the government; and the Free States, with twenty millions of inhabitants, rise as one man. In a single month hundreds of thousands of men are placed at the disposal of the executive of the nation. No conscriptions, no press-gangs, no compulsion, but the voluntary rising of a great and patriotic people. Who does not rejoice in this, if we must have war?

And if such a war must needs be, was it not right and proper that old Massachusetts should be allowed to offer the first sacrifice upon the altar of freedom? Providence so ordained it, and we ought to be grateful. It of right belonged to that State which has been first and foremost in every good work; that State which has of all others been the most shamefully villified at home and abroad for her unflinching advocacy of human rights. She had a just claim to the high privilege of re-baptizing the 19th of April with the blood of her sons.

These manifestations of the spirit and temper of the people exhibit at once their patriotism and their courage. I know, indeed, that there is much of passion as well as of principle. I know well that war is one of the strongest of all human instincts; still I think there is a great preponderance of true patriotic sentiment.

'Then you admit that this war was necessary?' No, I make no such admission. I do not believe that originally it was at all necessary. So far from it, I believe that, if on the first day of December last, the Executive chair had been filled by a man of true patriotism, energy, courage and decision, secession would have been prevented, and rebellion have been crushed in the bud. With such a President, the game of treason by the highest government officials would not have been allowed, and the country would have been saved the infinite disgrace and disaster it has suffered. Rebellion was plotted, fostered and patronized, until it was able to assume a bold and formidable position.

'But under present circumstances, you admit that war is indispensable?' I answer, no, only in so far as that the people will contemplate no other mode of adjustment. There is no other necessity than that which arises from the state of public opinion. We have been educated to look to war, as the proper and only mode of settling disputes; and hence we demand war, and in that way make war necessary. If the efforts of the friends of Peace

had been as successful as they desired, such a public sentiment would have been formed, that negotiation would have been looked to as the proper way of giving peace to the country, and preventing bloodshed. It is very certain we must in the end negotiate, and we might just as well do it first as last. In the position in which Mr. Lincoln was placed, it had become necessary for him to show the South that we had a government, and that the people were determined to sustain that government. This we have done; and now, if as a people, we were ready to settle our difficulties, we could do it most advantageously. There are obviously several ways of doing this, one of which must be adopted in the final adjustment of our national affairs.

1. By agreeing that all matters in dispute shall be waived, and every thing remain *in statu quo ante bellum*. That is, that all things shall be placed in the same condition they were at the time of the election of Mr. Lincoln. This would seem, judging from the tone of the press, and the speeches of our public men, to have been the desideratum,—the restoration of the Union with all its compacts, and compromises, and fugitive slave laws. I doubt much if the people are prepared for this, though politicians obviously are; but, however this may be, it is certain that the South will never assent to such terms, unless absolutely conquered.

2. We might settle our difficulties by agreeing upon such a change in our Constitution, that slavery should be entirely ignored by the General Government, so that it should be made wholly a State institution, and be entirely confined to those States in which it now exists, and the Government and all the Free States stand in relation to slavery as Canada does to the United States. This is the only way in which the Union can peaceably exist, or ought in my opinion ever to exist at all hereafter; and, if the Slave States will not accept the Union on these terms, a separation ought to take place.

3. This brings us to the third alternative, viz., an entire separation of the Free and Slave States, each forming an independent nationality. There are two utterly antagonistic civilizations existing in this country; and, by a peaceful separation, each might have the most favorable opportunity possible for development, and each bring forth its legitimate fruits. This is what the South wishes. They ask nothing more, and will not, except in the last extremity, accept anything less. We may subjugate them, if we can, and hold them as conquered provinces; but we all know that such a course of procedure would be totally inconsistent with the genius of our republican institutions. We are hardly, I think, prepared to repeat the tragedy of Poland or Hungary on this continent. We should hesitate, I apprehend, to place ourselves in the position of Russia or Austria.

Or, again, we might raise the flag of Emancipation, and by conquest make all the States of the Union Free States. This would cut the knot without doubt. Are we ready to do it?

One thing seems very clear to my mind — unless we are prepared to in-

sist on the complete subjugation of the South, we can settle our disputes with them now just as well as at any time hereafter, and prevent the terrible calamities of war. This, then, is the simple question now before the American people; and, if they do not resolve upon a war of extermination, where is the necessity of war at all? Here is the point which, as a Peace-man, I make. I do not hesitate to declare that the only way in which the question can be settled, short of the complete conquest of the South, and the extermination of slavery by force, is just as open and feasible at this moment, as ever it can be; and I insist that the attention of the government and the people ought to be directed to this fact, and efforts made to close the terrible conflict upon which we are now entering.

Such, then, in brief terms, are the opinions which, as an individual member of this Society, I am ready to avow and defend. I never came to an anniversary meeting of this Society—and I have attended them almost uniformly for thirty years—with greater alacrity than I have come to-day. I never felt it to be a more imperative duty to stand by the cause of Peace than I do now. I am not ashamed of the gospel of peace. I have no principles to retract, no confessions to make, no apologies to offer. I have no promises of amendment to make for the future; a Peace-man I have lived, and a Peace-man I hope to die. I never had a firmer faith in our principles, and their applicability to human interests, than at this moment. They preserve my own mind in peace amid all the excitement and delirium of the hour; and I confidently expect they will outlive all the adverse circumstances by which we are now surrounded. I do not believe in war as indispensable to human progress; and I intend while I live, to do all in my power, however little that may be, to lead my fellow-men to contemplate some other mode of settling international disputes than by resorting to the bloody arbitrament of the sword.

ADDRESS OF ELIHU BURRITT.

Peace, said one who made the saying sound like a divine axiom, Peace has its victories as well as war. It might be said with equal truth, that Peace has its heroism, too, as well as war. When the wrathful spirit of uprising nations is at its flood; when the fountains of the great deep of human passions are broken up, and the rush and the roar of the deluge seem to overwhelm and silence all the still small voices of charity and human brotherhood, it requires a courage more elevated and dauntless than that of the warrior, to go out into the storm and rebuke the tempest; to put against the tide of the world's opinion, the quiet remonstrance of reason and humanity. The last five years have been an ordeal period for the friends of peace, the like of which was never before concentrated in an equal space of time. The order of the old hopeful adage has been reversed; the darkness has been deepest just after the break of day. In the five years beginning with 1848, Peace, permanent and universal,

seemed on the eve of its coronation, as the reigning condition among men. Its advocates, of different countries, voice and language, met in the first capitals on the continent of Europe, and urged upon the peoples and governments principles and measures, which, if adopted, would forever banish the barbarism of war from the civilized world. At each succeeding Congress, new and distinguished adherents to the holy cause came in and rallied to its standard. The great masses of society began to give the suffrage of their sentiments to the policy of perpetual peace and good will among men. The tide of the world's national interests, and the social intercourse of nations, set in the same direction. The Great Exhibition of 1851 seemed the very efflorescence of all preceding efforts to establish a lasting and universal brotherhood. But the last five years, with their momentous and startling events, have brought back the deluge of the war spirit even beyond the high-water mark of its inundations in earlier epochs of civilization. First came the terrible contest of the Crimea; then, ere yet the rains and dews of a single year had blanched its battle-fields of the blistering crimson of human blood, the horrible uprising in India startled the world with its murderous and malignant conflicts. Before its sanguinary records were closed, the war in Italy burst upon the world, and such armed hosts as were never before marshalled in Europe, met at Magenta and Solferino; and reddened them with a carnage unknown to Austerlitz or Waterloo. Then, with scarcely a month's breathing space of peace, the war in China followed, and ere that was fully closed, arose the new war in Southern Italy, the achievements of Garibaldi, and the exciting events, and the excited hopes predicated upon the result of the struggle. Never, since the first organization and associate effort of the friends of Peace, has such a deluge of antagonistic events and dispositions overwhelmed their labors, hopes and faith as during the past five years. Especially have our brethren and co-laborers in Europe been subjected to a testing furnace of trial seven times heated beyond the pressure of any preceding experience. Each of the wars mentioned came with a peculiar temptation to many who felt themselves well grounded in the principles of peace. What one war left unshaken, another swept into the current of popular sympathy and opinion. Thousands who stood firm against the conflict in the Crimea, yielded to Garibaldi's struggle in Italy. Still, a brave, heroic band of good and true men in our mother-land have stood the sifting of these serried trials, and through them all have borne aloft, with steady hands and steady hopes, the white, pure banner of peace, like the morning star of Christian faith among the red and fiery planets of Mars.

And now, we who have enlisted under that same white banner, have come to our trial hour; and who shall be able to stand? Thousands in our country have felt and acted with us, to a certain degree of interest and activity, when the skies were fair and tranquil over our own land, and when the great evil of war seemed a distant and foreign eventuality. But now our turn has come, with a pressure of trial which our friends

abroad never experienced. The very structure of our Republican institutions, makes this test of our faith and duty the more intense and perilous. Here the people rule. Their sentiment and will are the great governing power of the land. He who opposes that power, when it lifts itself up in its might as in a crisis like the present, rushes against the thick bosom of the strongest force this side of Omnipotence. I say it with reverence; this people Power, somewhat resembling Omnipotence, pervades all our nation's space, listens unseen, operates unspent, and presses to the earth the man who dares to lift his opinion against the morality and justice of its rule. He who ventures to enter his protest against this awful conflict, now about to engulf our country in the carnage and desolation of a civil war, becomes instantly subject to the charge, if not the punishment, of treason. He finds the enemy and avenger of his sentiments in his own house, or his neighbor's house. His own familiar friend, with whom he took sweet counsel, and walked to the house of God in company, rises against him, as a member of the great government of the people, and taunts him with treason to its authority.

In a time like the present, where shall we go to find a rock on which to stand unmoved in the sweeping flood of public sentiment roaring around us, like the voice of many waters, for the wild tempest of war? The stronghold of our faith, the guide-lights of our duty, the canopy of our principles, are in the spirit and teachings of the Christian religion. If these teachings do not condemn war, and make it a sin against God and man, where shall we go for arguments against the bloody and delusive arbitrament of the sword? Shall we be turned out of the doors of the Bible, to find those arguments in the lower moralities of commerce, or of political economy, or of material or humanitarian interests? To my mind, one of the most painful phases of the present conflict in our country, is the attitude of Christian churches in the two sections towards each other. Three years ago, in the great Revival of 1857, they were one in the unity of spirit, and the bond of Christian faith and love. Then the lightning fingers of the telegraph, now busy with the plans and doings of war, transmitted from sea to lake, and from river to mountain, intelligence of noonday prayer meetings in the various towns and villages of the Union; of the conversion of thousands and tens of thousands, among all classes and ages of the people. Now thousands of those converts, fresh from the affecting memorials of the sacramental table, are marching towards each other, not to the music of that hymn sung by their Saviour and his disciples on the Mount of Olives, but to the sound of the fife and drum, with fixed bayonets and lighted matches, to the work of mutual slaughter. And the churches to which they belong, are cheering them on, blessing their banners, and praying for their triumph. How sad and saddening is all this! Is Christ thus divided? Are his teachings, his spirit and his life susceptible of such antagonisms as these? How completely unanimous are all the Christian churches, of all denominations, in the Southern States, in the conviction, that their cause is holy, just and true, and that

they can ask God, with a clear conscience, to crown that cause with triumph! Witness their fast-days, and especial seasons of public prayer for the sympathy and aid of the Almighty! The whole Christian church in the North, without a dissenting voice, is equally unanimous and united to sustain the war; and in every place where prayer is wont to be made, in town, village and hamlet, there is earnest supplication that the Divine power may side with the Federal Government in the struggle. This shows, how much remains to be done, and how long it will take to do it, to bring the conscience of the Christian church to one common, fixed, and unchanging standard of sentiment and duty on the subject of war. Until those who profess to be actuated by the spirit, and live by the rule of Christian faith, shall be enlightened to see that it excludes them from all participation in war, we shall see, when the trial comes, just such a scene as the country now presents.

But strong as is the Christian foundation of our cause, it does not rest exclusively upon what some may please to call abstract principle or benevolent sentiment. It is also based upon a policy sustained by arguments and interests which we may urge in season and out of season, upon the Governments and peoples of Christendom. It is the policy of universal law and order; it is the policy of equal and impartial justice and equity; it is to banish lynch law between nations, and to make them amenable to the jurisprudence of reason and humanity in their dealings with each other. What constitutes anarchy in a community? Is it anything more or less than the taking of the law into their own hands, by the individuals of that community, or making the rule and impulse of their passions and prejudices the law of their action towards their fellows? Do not governments exist for the purpose of preventing this sway of private passions and interests among men; for transferring their controversies to impartial tribunals, whose decisions shall not be biassed by any personal favor towards one of the parties to the detriment of the other? Well, the first and distinctive aim of our Peace policy is to apply the same rule to governments themselves; to induce them to set a good example of law and order to their own subjects, not by taking the law into their own hands, not by arrogating to themselves the right of being their own judges and executioners in cases of controversy with each other, but by submitting those cases to the arbitrament of impartial justice, equity and reason; it is virtually to place all the nations of Christendom, both great and small, on the same footing in regard to their rights and interests; to give as strong a guaranty to the weakest as the strongest. This policy embraces three distinctive measures, which have been developed and urged with great force for many years, by able men on both sides of the Atlantic. Of course all present are familiar with their character and purport; but we may restate and review them here, to justify the hope within us to see them at some future day adopted by the leading Powers of the civilized world.

First in the rank of these measures, it may be proper to place Stipulated Arbitration. This plan may be stated in a few words. It merely propos-

es that the leading Powers of Christendom, in a time of good will and mutual confidence, when no note of irritation is chafing their sensibilities, shall enter into a special and solemn treaty to refer to the arbitration of disinterested parties, the adjudication of every question of controversy that may arise between them in the future, which they cannot settle amicably by the usual process of negotiation. Now, one of the first and best results anticipated from this measure is this; that when any serious difficulty shall arise between the two countries, an honorable provision for its ultimate settlement would be pre-existing and available. Consequently we believe that the people of the two nations, who sanctioned or approved this provision, would rest quiet in the opinion that it would afford a satisfactory solution of the question; and they would, therefore, not yield to that excitement of the war-spirit which, more than any other influence, is calculated to embarrass and thwart the ordinary process of negotiation. Thus the very existence of such a treaty of arbitration, without directly invoking its interposition, would probably render simple negotiation effective and satisfactory between the two Powers. Such is one of the measures contemplated in our policy of Peace. We are not afraid to submit it to the most rigid examination of the most astute and casuistical statesmen and diplomatists of the world.

The second measure in order of application is based upon the same practical common sense. It is easy, simple, direct, available and effective at any moment that it shall be adopted. It is what we call Simultaneous and Proportionate Disarmament of nations. It proposes merely to reverse the process by which they have brought themselves to the threshold of bankruptcy by constantly increasing military armaments. The proposition is based upon one of the clearest principles of Euclid, "If from equals you take equals, the remainder will be equals." In other words, if by treaty stipulation, England and France agree to reduce their navies by so many guns, and their armies by so many regiments, the remainder will be equals, or bear precisely the same proportion to each other as they do now. Relatively they will be just as strong by land and sea as they are now. Thus, by a series of equal reductions, their amount might be safely set down to one-tenth of their present expenditure. We propose that the same policy of reduction should be adopted by all the Powers of Christendom.

The last and third measure is a Congress of Nations, to construct a code of international laws, and to establish a High Court to apply these laws to all difficult cases of controversy that may be referred to its adjudication. This is peculiarly a proposition of American origin, and is based upon the structure and functions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Here, then, are three practical measures for the abolition of war between nations, which the friends of Peace have pressed upon the attention of the Government and Peoples of Christendom for more than a quarter of a

century. Can any man of common sense say that these measures are the chimeras of visionary enthusiasts? They have stood the severest analysis and criticism of statesmen, and the first Powers of Christendom have done homage to their wisdom, by applying some of their vital principles to the solution of great and perilous controversies.

There is an aspect of these plans of pacification which gives a distinctive character to the aims and efforts of the friends of Peace. They are all *preventives* of war. They are measures designed to intercept the first uprising of the war-spirit between nations. Now, many persons misapprehend our position entirely. They frequently ask, in a kind of triumphant tone, what would you do in such and such a case, when two nations, aroused to the highest pitch of the war-fever, are clutching at each other's throats? As well might you ask a physician what he would do when he is first called in to a patient nine days gone with the most malignant fever, which has been set on fire by poisonous liquor, until the pulse is at the rate of 200 a minute. If he can do nothing for the recovery of such a person, does it tell against his professional ability? Whatever he might attempt to do in such a case, it is quite certain what he would say: "It is too late; you should have called me in sooner. I have no medicines that will break this fever." That is a parallel case with ours. The measures I have described are our "medicines for the mind diseased" of nations. They must be applied before that fever rages and burns to delirium. They are *preventives*. If adopted when the pulse of reason beats steady and even, the two parties will never clutch at each other's throats on the battle-field. Such an extreme emergency will never transpire.

There is another feature of these measures which it may be well to make prominent at a time like the present. They are designed to be applied exclusively to the settlement of controversies between independent, sovereign nations; between Powers which, at the fiercest stage of hostilities, recognize each other on the same footing, as independent sovereignties. Indeed it is only the hostile collision of such parties that can be legitimately called war.

It may be said with much force and propriety, "Your measures are all very well for preventing or arresting war between nations; but what have you to meet the case of a revolution in a nation against an oppressive government? What plan have you for the settlement of such a difficulty between the ruling power and its subject?" I think we must say frankly that we have no specific and direct measure to interpose between a government and the people it has wronged to the extremity of revolution. In asking that Government to accept arbitration to settle a difficulty with another Power, we recognize and honor its complete independence. We touch not a single prerogative of its jurisdiction over its own internal affairs. We do not ask it to modify a single domestic function; to change a single feature of its own policy towards its own subjects. But when we step in between it and a portion of those subjects in open revolt or revo-

lution, to propose that their respective relationships shall be changed, that it shall forego certain prerogatives, or modify certain political institutions, we immediately touch to the quick its sovereignty; we contravene the very principle which we recognise and honor when we ask that Power to settle a difficulty with another Government by arbitration.

Thus, as I have said, we have no direct plan to interpose between a Government and a portion of its subjects who have resorted for redress to that *ultima ratio gentium*, the right of revolution. But we have much that is indirect and effective to meet such cases. It is one of the fundamental conditions of tyranny, that with the oppressors there is power; that with power there is the disposition to use it despotically. This is illustrated in the character of individuals and sectional communities. For instance, when it was the custom for civilians to wear side-arms daily, murders and homicides were the commonest occurrences. Quick tempers were aroused to strike fatally at the first impulse. With the hasty will there was power to destroy life at even trivial provocations. Take the slaveholders of this or any other country. Nearly all the atrocities and iniquities of the system come from the fact, that with the oppressors there is power: and the very possession of this power stimulates its exercise to any degree of cruelty or lust. Thus, as all the world knows, the slaveholder becomes overbearing and irascible, not only towards his slaves, but towards his equals. The same is true of Governments. Those in possession of the greatest military armaments are always and everywhere the most despotic towards their own subjects. The very means they possess for oppression makes them tyrants at home. Now, then, by reducing their armaments as proposed, we relieve their subjects just in the same measure, from their liability to oppression. When a Government takes the law into its own hands, and follows its own revengeful impulse to its utmost bent, in warring with another Power, it educates itself to be overbearing and irascible towards its own people. In making that Government amenable to law and equity and impartial justice, by our system of stipulated arbitration, we just to that extent dispose it to treat its people with equity and moderation. By our plan of a Congress and High Court of Nations, we make, to a certain degree, all the Governments represented, constituents and subjects of the most august tribunal ever erected on earth. Now we can insist, without straining any inference, that all these measures are better calculated than any other projects that could be devised, to prevent revolutions by taking away all just cause for them.

Such, then, is our programme, and such our principles and policy for putting an end to the stupendous wickedness and folly of war between civilized nations.

It would almost be irreverent to the great and solemn crisis of the hour, if I closed without reference to its origin and issues. Before saying a few words upon this exciting and difficult question, I would earnestly disclaim any desire to commit this Society, or any other member of it, to the slight-

est sympathy with the opinions I may advance. I may be perfectly alone in these views, and I put them forth deferentially, as those I have been led to entertain.

For fifty years and more, men of the highest intelligence, both in the Northern and Southern States, have had a foreboding that the system of slavery would eventuate at some future day in some great catastrophe to the nation. Thousands, in both sections of the country, without believing the system to be inconsistent with religion and humanity, have entertained this presentiment. For the last quarter of a century, the portents of this disaster have thickened upon the country. This tempest that has blackened our heavens, has been the steady gathering of fifty years. I think the nation should not have waited until the storm burst over our heads with such a mine of ruin. As the North is so deeply implicated in the planting of slavery on this continent, it would have been an act of moral duty on its part, as well as enlightened policy, to have come forward, and made a generous and magnanimous overture to the Southern States, to compensate them honorably, from the national treasury, for the emancipation of their slaves. If this offer had been made five or ten years ago, I am confident that we should never have come to the present crisis and complexion of affairs. In making this offer, we should have divested the antislavery sentiment of the North of all ambiguity in the view of the Southern States. The offer once made as a standing proposition, would constitute the *ultimatum* of that antislavery sentiment. It would be saying to the South, "However we may grow in power and population, even if we should number fifty free States against your fifteen, and however opposed to slavery we may all become, we will never go any further towards the extinction of slavery than by holding out to you this generous offer of Compensated Emancipation. Nothing would have been more calculated than this overture, to banish the strong and honest apprehensions of the Southern mind that the political ascendancy of the North would lead to the disastrous overthrow of slavery. The *animus* of such an offer, the disposition that would precede and produce it, its direct and reflex influence, would all tend to reduce the antagonism of the two sections, and to the final removal of the only source of their dissensions. Thus, this old alienation might have been healed, and our great Republic have become the most illustrious and beautiful example the world ever furnished, of peace, prosperity and brotherly concord.

MR. TAPPAN'S ADDRESS.

Lewis Tappan, Esq., of New York, being called upon by the chairman to address the meeting, said :

He came here to be instructed, and not to make a speech. He was obliged to confess that, although he had belonged to the Peace Society upwards of thirty years, and had agreed with its members in believing all

war was contrary to the Gospel, unnecessary and wicked, his mind, since the commencement of the unhappy conflict in which the country is now engaged, had been in a state of great perplexity with regard to the course he and other peace-men ought to pursue.

He said he had perused and re-perused the Sermon on the Mount with a most anxious and prayerful desire to ascertain the mind of Christ in relation to the subject—to ascertain, so far as possible, what direction He would have his followers pursue at the present crisis, and what advice He would give them with respect to their duty at this time, were He now on the earth. He had also re-perused, with great attention, the essays of Jonathan Dymond, the best and most influential writer on the subject of peace with which he was acquainted; but neither the Sermon of the Saviour, nor the treatise of Dymond solved the question before him. They did not seem to point out the path of duty in the singular state of things that now existed, a state of things, he ventured to say, that had no parallel in the history of the world.

Mr. Tappan said he had hoped to have had light shed upon the subject at this meeting of conference; but although he had listened attentively to the report made by the Secretary, to the resolutions that had been offered, and to the eloquent addresses of the gentlemen who had preceded him (Elihu Burritt, Esq., and Rev. Dr. Gannett,) yet he was obliged to confess that the question, as it stood in his mind, had not been met. He agreed with what had been said on the abstract question of Peace—of its ten thousand blessings, of the disasters of war, and the evils that accompanied and flowed from it. Still he had not heard any specific directions or counsels with regard to the application of these principles to the extraordinary times in which we live, and to the momentous question now before the country.

It had been said by the Secretary that "Government must be supported;" but how supported? That is the question. Shall the rebellion at the South, and the aggressive movements of the traitors who are gathering their forces to seize upon the National Capital, the public buildings and the archives of the nation, be resisted and overcome by a thousand constables with their staves of office, as William Penn maintained his government in Pennsylvania, or by the police of the cities and towns? If the rebellion can be put down in either of these ways, we should be exceedingly glad; but if they are ineffectual, and the whole northern people rise as a police to repress invasion, protect their firesides, their homes and their altars, and defend their civil and religious liberties, to what extent shall they proceed? Shall they, if the constable's staff and the watchman's club are ineffectual, resort to the musket and the cannon? Shall they take the lives of their assailants, if the rebellion cannot otherwise be suppressed? This is the question; and it is one of practical importance at the present time. If any one present can answer it satisfactorily, he, for one, said Mr. T., would be under very great obligations to him.

This war upon the North is the most unprovoked and wanton that has ever occurred ; and it is for a reconstruction of the government in such a way as to make slavery perpetual, to strengthen and extend it, to open the foreign slave trade, and to govern the country by a military despotism. It is to override the institutions founded and transmitted by our forefathers, as a precious inheritance for us to keep unimpaired, and transmit to our children and to our children's children. The traitors at the South have been concocting their villainous schemes for a quarter of a century. They have waited only for a suitable opportunity to carry out their nefarious plot. The election of Mr. Lincoln furnished them a pretext. They have raised the standard of rebellion, and their motto is "Rule or Ruin." The leaders have openly avowed it to be their intention to take possession of the seat of government, drive the present administration from power, amend the Constitution to suit their purposes, subjugate the country, and make it a slaveholding nation.

Mr. T. said that at first he was in favor of allowing the Slave States to separate from the Free States. He was willing that an experiment should be made "before Israel and the Sun" of a slave and a free government, believing that the slave government would, within a short time, repent of their folly, and supplicate for a re-admission into the old Union on terms to be presented by the free government. But when he considered the difficulties in the way of dividing the nation, and maintaining peace; when he reflected that it would be impossible to maintain peace while slavery existed, as there would ever be an "irrepressible conflict" between Slavery and Freedom, and when no compromise or peace could be effected, unless the terms were dictated by the Slave Power, he saw no other way than to uphold the government at Washington, "peaceably, if we can ; forcibly, if we must."

The evils of war are many, and cannot be too much deprecated by the friends of God and man. But government is necessary to prevent still greater evils. The perpetual enslavement of four millions of our countrymen, and their posterity to the end of time, would be a greater evil. The overthrow of the government, the destruction of our civil and religious liberties, and the enthronement of the Slave Power was a greater evil. At all hazards we must not permit the Slave Power to obtain supremacy, and rule on this continent ; we must never submit to be deprived of our civil and religious liberties ; we must never yield up the free and glorious inheritance that has been bequeathed to us. We owe it to our forefathers, we owe it to the world, and we owe it to the Great Ruler of the world, and of the Universe, that this precious inheritance, and these invaluable privileges, and blessings be maintained and transmitted unimpaired to our children, and to our children's children. We owe it to the inhabitants of the Southern States themselves, bond and free, that we stand up manfully and courageously for the rights of human nature and for the liberties of the country.

Mr. T. said he would not say, as did a Hicksite Quaker to him lately, "I gave a friend money to purchase a revolver, because the law of love to my Southern fellow-citizens required it at my hands, for I cannot show my love to them so effectually as to do something to put down this rebellion." But he would say that he felt bound to afford all the aid he consistently could to the government of his country, to sustain them and the interests committed to them, even if he had to lay down his life as a sacrifice. Shall we give up this contest, and thus perpetuate human bondage, the chief cause of the war brought upon the country by the Slave Power? Shall we permit Jefferson Davis and his brother traitors to take possession of the White House at Washington, and raise the traitorous flag of their Confederacy over the Presidential mansion and the public buildings? Shall we permit his Secretary of State, Mr. Toombs, to muster his slave gangs on the hills of Massachusetts, and raise their flag over the State House in this city? Were he to witness such an act, said Mr. T., he believed he should imitate the act of Colonel Ellsworth, and cut it down, even if he exposed himself to be slain by so doing. Shall we, said he, allow the flag of the rebels to wave over our churches and school houses, our lips to be sealed, and the desolating and polluting system of slavery to be incorporated into our constitution and laws, and the usages of all the States in the Union?

Rather than submit to such a state of things, it would be better for us all to lay down our lives. We cannot, we must not submit to it. We must not be so recreant to duty, so apostate from principle, and so unfaithful to God. Let us stand in our lot; let us be thankful that we live in such a crisis, that we may be valiant for the truth. Let us wait and see the salvation of God.

We ought to rejoice, said Mr. T., in the unanimity of the North at the present time. The flag has been dishonored, and the people in the Free States are united. They care for the honor of the flag, with all its associations, if they do not manifest deep feeling for the down-trodden and oppressed slave. But the time may be near when this feeling will be checked. It may require the slaughter of twenty thousand of the young men of the Free States, and the expenditure of five hundred millions of dollars, to bring about this state of things. In this way the Almighty, in his retributive justice, may be inflicting a terrible punishment upon the North for its complicity with slavery, while He arouses a spirit that will not lay down the sword until the cause of the war, human bondage, is completely and forever swept from the nation.

There can be no permanent peace, said Mr. T., that is not founded upon justice, humanity and righteousness, after repentance, and bringing forth works meet for repentance. For one, said he, I want no other peace. But what a glorious career will this country have when peace shall be established on righteous principles, when the accursed system of slavery in this land shall come to an end, when all men shall be equal before the law. Then

our peace will flow like a river. The people of the North and the people of the South will embrace each other as brethren; we shall be prosperous and happy at home, and be honored and respected abroad by all the nations on earth.

Mr. T. said, in conclusion, that he loved the cause of Peace; he loved to be associated with its advocates; he looked forward to the general triumph of the principles of Peace; and he believed that after this conflict shall be ended, this triumph will gladden our hearts. He would not take his seat without expressing the hope that, if in the excitement of making these extemporaneous and unprepared remarks, he had gone too far, and appeared to be more belligerent than the gospel or the principles of the Peace Society allowed, he should be forgiven by his brethren, and be shown a better way.

GERRIT SMITH'S LETTER ON THE CRISIS.

Dr. G. C. BECKWITH, Sec'y of American Peace Society:

MY DEAR SIR: Our Society is laughed at. It is held that, in the light of the present necessities of our country, its principles are seen to be false. That the raising of armies is among these necessities, cannot be denied, even by the Society. Nevertheless, I do not see that the condemnation, or so much as any modification of its principles, is called for by the condition and claims of the country.

The Society was organized to oppose War—meaning by the word, bloody strife between nations. But the North is arming herself to protect Government against the domestic traitors and pirates who are at work to overthrow it. If there are principles of the Society forbidding this, I am not aware of them. The speech at its Anniversary, in 1858, after arguing against war,—the conflict of nation with nation,—puts the question whether a nation must not “arm herself to encounter piracies, and quell and prevent domestic disturbances?” It proceeds to say that “the American Peace Society must answer it affirmatively, and must take the ground that, although no nation needs an army to protect itself from war, every nation needs an armed police, to protect the persons and property of her subjects, both on sea and land, and to uphold civil government and the social fabric.” I do not know that any members of the Society dissent from this portion of the speech. The same speech argues that the other nations would not suffer a nation to make war upon an unresisting nation; but it does not argue that they would interpose to save a nation which refuses to arm herself against traitors in her own bosom.*

But, although the present state of the country does not falsify the principles, I confess it does disappoint the expectations of the Society. I confess, moreover, the ignorance of the Society at one point. It did not

*The precise position of the Peace Society was thus stated long ago, in one of its stereotyped tracts, (“Sketch of the Peace Cause”):—“It does not inquire how murder, or any ofences against society, shall be punished; how force shall be used for the suppression of mobs, and other popular outbreaks; by what specific means government shall enforce its laws, and support its rightful and indispensable authority; to what extent an individual may protect himself and his family by violence against murderous assaults; how a people, deprived of their rights, shall regain and preserve them, or in what way any controversy between a government and its own subjects shall be adjusted; but concerns itself solely with the intercourse of nations for the single purpose of abolishing their practice of war.” It would seem hardly possible for language to define more precisely than this does, the single aim of the Peace Society.—abolition of INTERNATIONAL WAR.—ED.

know that Slavery could produce so deep and wide-spread an insanity as this which has impelled the South to attempt the overthrow of the Government. Nevertheless, had it known that it could, and even foreseen that it would, no obligation would have rested on the Society to qualify the absoluteness of its principles against armics. It would not have been bound to provide in its positions and declarations for this exceptional case—for this only case in which on its principles the rising of armies would be justifiable. But it must be confessed that the Society did not foresee that Slavery would, or even could, muster a traitorous opposition to the Government so multitudinous and mighty, as to require for its defense not an armed police, but such vast armies and military arrangements as are called for by contests which reach the dimensions and wear the name of war. The Society had not and who indeed had? adequately conceived the power of Slavery to such an end. I repeat, however, that this treason, gigantic as it is, yet as in all probability it is not to be repeated in any of the coming centuries, should not, even if clearly foreseen by the Society, have been allowed to work the least change in its principles or general course.

What if our Southern brethren had taken to the eating of a vegetable which produces insanity, and such insanity as drives its subjects to undertake the destruction of existing governments? Surely such a wholly unexpected occurrence, such a never-to-be-repeated singularity, even had it thrown upon us the necessity of arming a million of men, would not have discredited nor called for the least changing of the anti-war and anti-army principles of our Society. The eating of the vegetable would—forcibly if necessary—have been speedily ended, and that source of rebellion have been closed forever. But the present rebellion does, no more than would that, show defectiveness in our principles. The Slavery, which is the sole source of it, is now to die; and as it is hardly possible that it will ever live again, so it is hardly possible that this type of insanity will ever be reproduced, and so it is hardly possible that our Society will ever again have occasion to approve the raising of armies. For, although the passions, prejudices and perverseness of men beget many forms of insanity, Southern Slavery only is capable of driving millions to the mad work of violently overthrowing a Government, whose partiality toward them and indulgence of them are the only wrong it has done them.

Is there one who doubts that the South is insane, and that Slavery is the cause of her insanity? We cite him to a few of the proofs of it. It is not necessary to speak of her addressing herself defiantly to the maintenance of Slavery a quarter of a century ago, when so many parts of Christendom were ridding themselves of the accursed thing. More recent proofs of her insanity will suffice.

1. What could more certainly tend to make her slaves impatient of their yoke than listening to the words and drinking in the spirit of those who had been hurled back to Slavery, after having escaped from it, and for years grown in the knowledge and for years enjoyed the sweets of Liberty? And yet the South, instead of earnestly desiring that no fugitive slaves should ever return to leaven the lump, and enlighten the ignorance of her black population, got a law enacted some ten years ago, under which she has been able to scatter these fugitive firebrands all through her powder-house!

2. She repealed the Missouri Compromise, so reckless was she of incensing the North against her bad faith and against Slavery.

3. The Dred Scott decision, which she drove the Supreme Court of the United States to make, was another kindling of the North against Slavery.

4. All through the last year the South has been exasperating the North, and outraging the moral sense of the world, by imprisoning, or tarring and

feathering, or whipping, or hanging, innocent Northern men and women. Greater will be such effect from her inviting swarms of sea pirates to prey upon our commerce. And still greater should it be from her seizing our seamen, and selling them into Slavery, as she has recently done.

5. She has broken away from the nation, and thereby not only repealed the Fugitive Slave Act, but deprived herself of the strong arm of Federal protection from her insurgent slaves.

6. The South might have left us in peace, had she but asked us to let her do so. But tyrants cannot ask. They take without asking. More than this, we would soon have acquiesced in her breaking out of the nation, could she but have restrained herself from warring upon it. But tyrants cannot restrain themselves from aggression. It is true that Government might have continued to occupy its Southern forts, and collect its Southern revenues; but not for more than a year or two. The whole North would ere long have said: "If the South does not want us, we do not want her. If she prefers to be a nation by herself, let her be it. If she prefers another government to ours, is there not at least a seeming oppression and meanness in our depriving her of the means of supporting it?" To a patient South, the North would have been like to concede much more than justice called for.

7. The South is using her black people against us. She puts spades, axes and hammers into the hands of some, and arms, it is said, into the hands of others. Thus strongly does she invite us to use our black people against her. Unless the war shall be ended very soon, black regiments will be seen marching Southward. God forbid that we should arm the slaves unless it be such of them as come into military organizations, and under intelligent and merciful guidance. Certainly, so long as they can be made free otherwise, it would be great wickedness to arm them, and leave them to their own ignorant, wild and revengeful impulses. I would commend General Butler for restraining the slaves from falling upon their masters and mistresses. But I would have him either put them into his ranks, and subject them to military rule, or send them where they can be harmless as well as free. The South is, however, provoking servile insurrections, and the provoked North is on the eve of welcoming them.

8. The North is rich, and the South is poor. She has a navy, and the South has not. The North, beside the black population of the whole land is in heart with her, has more than twice as many whites as the South. The sympathy of the world is with the North. This flagrant treason, and this organizing a nation on the boasted basis of Slavery, have turned the world against the South. Yet, in spite of all this, the South makes war upon the North, and expects to conquer her! Great as is the disparity in all these essential respects, the South insists that it is largely overbalanced by the unparalleled courage of herself and the unparalleled cowardice of her foe.

I need refer to no more proofs that the South is mad, and that Slavery has made her so. Alas this madness! and, alas, that the North is so extensively responsible for it! All over the North have there been found priests, politicians, publishers, merchants, and manufacturers, willing to serve a selfish purpose by testifying to the rightfulness of Slavery, and by flattering slaveholders in their blinding and maddening sin.

Let us thank God that anything, even though it had to be this insanity of the whole South, has brought Slavery to its dying hour. Never more will the American Peace Society witness the need of raising armies to put down a treasonable onslaught upon our Government. For the one cause of so formidable an onslaught will be gone when Slavery is gone. Besides, when Slavery is gone from the whole world, the whole world will then be freed not only from a source of war, but from the most cruel

and horrid form of war. For Slavery is war as well as the source of war. Thus has the Peace Society, as well as the Abolition Society, much to hope for from this grand uprising of the North. For while the whole North rejoices in the direct and immediate object of the uprising—the maintenance of Government; and while the Abolitionists do, in addition to this object, cherish the further one of the abolition of Slavery, the Peace-men are happy to know that the abolition of Slavery will be the abolition of one form of war, the drying up of one source of war, and of one source of occasions for raising armies.

The explanation of this Southern insanity is as simple as the fact is obvious. The worst tyranny—such as the habit of absolute control over others can alone generate—prepared the way for this insanity. Such tyranny is itself but little short of insanity. In this case the will of the tyrant is his only law; and when circumstances favor it, the will becomes so insane as to stop at no obstacle in its way, and submit to no denial of its gratification. That the slaveholders could succeed in drawing the masses into the vortex of this insanity is easily explained in the light of the fact that the Southern masses are as full of ignorance as the slaveholders are of intelligence, and as ready to be swayed as the slaveholders are to sway.

I am not unaware that all through my letter I have said *the South*, instead of *the Seceded States*. I have said so purposely. But for the presence of United States troops all the Slave States (Delaware is not one) would secede. A Slave State is as ready to go into secession as water is to go down hill. The holding back of even Missouri will require a great foreign force. A few slaveholders can always, by reason of their concentrated, intelligent and tyrannous power, control a great community.

Thoughtful and good men are sad in view of the present condition of our beloved country. But let them rejoice in its glorious future. The war will be short. It will establish Government beyond all hope of present or future traitors to overthrow it. It will free the slave; and then the North and the South, freed forever from the only cause of their mutual alienation, will grow up together into that "more perfect union" for which the Fathers ordained the Constitution, and into a nation as much surpassing every other in the work of men as it surpasses them in the gifts of God; as much surpassing every other in human development as in Providential opportunities for it. Of all this I feel thoroughly and constantly persuaded, save only when I read that our troops are sending back fugitive slaves to their murderous masters, or are threatening to take part with those murderous masters in servile insurrections. These things make me tremble with the apprehension that the North may possibly be left to sanction and sustain such devilism. For if she is, what better will she be than the South? or what better right will she have to hope for the blessing of Heaven? But in the present contest the North will not go against the slave. If she has not virtue enough to go for him, she will, at the least, be driven to his side by her anger toward his traitorous master.

With great regard, your friend,

Peterboro, May 18, 1861.

GERRIT SMITH.

MISCONCEPTIONS. — In every reform like ours, we must of course expect at every turn popular misconceptions; but we confess that our patience has of late been tried in this respect beyond measure by the misstatements respecting us, set afloat alike from the press and the platform. Some of our friends would perhaps have us enter a formal disclaimer; but if we under-

take to correct and expose such slanders or flings, we shall have little time left for anything else. We must still, as we have all along, leave time and returning candor to cure such wrongs. Some late reports of us we regard as either libels or caricatures; but in our authorized publications and servants all who choose, can find *reliable* exponents of our principles, aims and measures.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY. — We have just received a newspaper report of the proceedings at the Forty-Fourth Anniversary of this noble Society, May 20th. We have no space for even an abstract of the Report, touching on the recent war with China; the friendly visit to England of the Orpheonists from France; the great commercial treaty lately negotiated between the two countries by Richard Cobden; the address sent to the French people by a special deputation; the Society's lectures and publications; with references to the unhappy condition of our own country, and their action respecting it. We may hereafter quote from this document.

RESOLUTIONS. — The following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

1. That in presence of the deplorable prevalence of the war-spirit now manifesting itself in various parts of the world, both by actual war, and by enormous preparations for war, it is more than ever the duty of the Peace Society faithfully to uphold its testimony against all war, with a view to impress upon mankind a sense of its supreme folly, cruelty and costliness, and especially to produce in the minds and consciences of Christian men a conviction of its utter and eternal antagonism to the whole spirit and tendency of the religion they profess.

2. That this meeting rejoices in the satisfactory results of the Commercial Treaty between England and France, concluded by the wisdom, patience and courage of Mr. Cobden; congratulates the Committee of the Peace Society on the kind reception accorded to their recent mission and address to the people of France; and expresses its earnest conviction, that such measures as these—measures for promoting commercial intercourse and for cultivating kindly feeling between the two nations—will do far more to preserve peace than any amount of warlike preparations with which they may menace and irritate each other.

3. That this meeting regards with the deepest sorrow and pain the fratricidal struggle commenced between the Northern and Southern States of America, and earnestly hopes and prays that a spirit of wise and Christian forbearance may speedily subdue the passionate excitement which now prevails, so that each party may be led to cultivate a temper, and to adopt a policy more worthy of a great, civilized and Christian community.

On these resolutions speeches were made by the following gentlemen — names new to us as champions of our cause—Rev. John Hamilton, of Brighton; Mr. Joseph Thorp, of Halifax; Rev. Samuel Clarkson, of Manchester; Rev. Dr. Turner, for nineteen years Missionary in the South Sea Islands, and author of "*Nineteen Years in Polynesia*;" Mr. R. Charlton, of Bristol, and Rev. W. H. Bonner.

FINANCES OF THE SOCIETY. — Income for the year \$ 15,735, with a balance in hand of \$5,190. More than \$5,000 to begin a new year with! How soon may we hope for like liberality from the friends of Peace here?

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ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S REPORT

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY *in account with JOHN FIELD, Treasurer.*

RECEIPTS —

Balance from last year's account,	\$208 23
Receipts reported in Advocate for Sept. 1860, \$1,005.82; Jan. 1861, \$655.19.	1,661 01
" " " May, \$844.50; not reported, \$41.00.	885 50
	<hr/> \$2,754.79

PAYMENTS —

For postage, stationery, meetings, rent of office, &c.,	\$144 74
For paper, printing, binding, and other expenses relative to publication.	1,406 17
For agency services, and travelling expenses.	932 47
Balance to new account.	197 41
	<hr/> \$2,754 79

Boston, MAY 28, 1860.—I have this day examined the above account of JOHN FIELD, Esq., Treasurer of the American Peace Society, and find the same correctly cast and vouched.

JULIUS A. PALMER, *Auditor.*

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

FOR
SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

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T H E

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1861.

COURSE OF THE PEACE SOCIETY.

Every reform has its peculiar sphere and object. That of peace is restricted to the intercourse of nations, and seeks, as its sole aim, to do away their custom of war. Its whole work lies within these well-defined limits; and beyond these it has no right to act or speak in the name of its associates on any other issue. There are three classes of relations among men — the relation of individuals to each other, the relation of individuals to society or government, and the relation of one government to another. It is only with this last class of relations that the cause of peace attempts to deal; and, however extensively applicable its principles may be, we aim in this reform at only such an application of them as shall lead nations to abandon their practice of war, and resort to peaceful means alone for the settlement of their disputes, and the regulation of their entire intercourse.

Such has been our uniform course from the first. These views we stereotyped in our publications long ago, and with the utmost distinctness said, "we do not inquire how murder, or any offences against society, shall be punished; how force shall be used for the suppression of mobs, and other popular outbreaks; by what specific means government shall enforce its laws, and support its rightful and indispensable authority; to what extent an individual may protect himself or his family by violence against murderous assaults; how a people, deprived of their rights, shall regain and preserve them; or in what way *any*

controversy between a government and its own subjects shall be adjusted. With such questions, however important, the cause of Peace is not concerned, but solely with *the intercourse of nations*, for the single purpose of *abolishing their practice of war.*"

Such was our position from the start. 'But on such questions as these, have peace men no settled principles?' We presume they all have, and doubt not they are quite ready to avow them, each for himself; but they have not authorized the Peace Society to speak for them on any of these side-issues. They may differ in opinion on some of them; but, however this may be, we can claim no right to speak in their name on such questions. In the cause of Peace they are pledged only to efforts for the abolition of war, the custom of nations settling their disputes by the sword.

What, then, is War? If two theologians engage in controversy, or the members of a church get into a quarrel, or the head of a family corrects one of his children, or a magistrate arrests a culprit, and brings him to condign punishment, would the act, in any one of these cases, be war? So, if a large body of soldiers, as an armed police, were called out to keep the peace, to quell a riot, or suppress an incipient insurrection, would anybody deem this anything more than a due, peaceful enforcement of law against its violators? How, then, is this process of simple justice to become, in any strict or proper sense, war? What can make it such? The act, the whole essence of the thing, is confessedly the same; and can it make any essential difference in principle whether two, a hundred, or a hundred thousand are involved jointly in the guilt and its penalty? If the execution of a single murderer or rebel is *not* strictly war, would the execution of a hundred or a thousand make it so? Is it not still a simple, though wholesale enforcement of law?

We recur, then, to our question, what is war? Webster, an acknowledged authority on such points, defines "War a contest between nations or states, carried on by force. It is always implied that such contest is authorized by the monarch, or sovereign power." In all war, then, the parties must be nations, states, governments; nor can any conflict between individuals, or between any number of individuals and a government, be properly called war. It is, in theory and in fact, a riot, a mob, an insurrection, a rebellion, not war. What more do we find in the case now before us? There has been no declaration of war. Our President, finding a wide and formidable combination to resist the laws, merely called for troops, in place of the ordinary posse-comitatus, put them into execution. We are not at war with any nation, but

merely taking the steps prescribed by our constitution to preserve peace among ourselves. It is all, in principle and in form, a process of law against its violators, only a wholesale infliction of penalty for wholesale transgression. It *ought* to have been a peaceful process, and *would* have been, if they would have allowed justice to take its usual, proper course. It is precisely what our constitution and laws *require* to be done in such a case, and what our rulers could not refuse to do, without a clear and a fatal violation of their prescribed duty. All the vast array of forces now mustering for conflict, is only an effort of our government to maintain its authority by enforcing its laws; and the result sought is not, as in ordinary warfare, a treaty of peace with a foreign power, but simply the return of rebels, either by choice or by compulsion, to the allegiance they still owe as ever to our common country. It is an uncommon yet a regular operation of government in its dealing with offenders.

‘But of what use are all these distinctions? Men *will* call this conflict of ours war, and war in one of its worst forms.’ Of course they will, as we do ourselves; but we still think it well to ascertain, if we can, precisely what is meant in this case. It certainly is not *ordinary* war, not an *international* war, not a conflict by force of arms between two *nations*. It is a home feud, a quarrel among ourselves. It is *civil* war; a war in which one part of a people are leagued to resist and overthrow the government, while loyal citizens unite to uphold it against the rebels, and bring them to submission, if not to punishment. It is a very peculiar kind of war, and surely not the *custom* of war which peace societies seek to abolish. It is no custom or usage at all, but just an anomaly or exception. It is only such war as a parent wages against a disobedient child, a teacher against an unruly pupil, or a magistrate against those who refuse obedience to the laws. All this we may, in loose parlance, call war; but it clearly is not *ordinary* war. It is not what we commonly mean by war; certainly not war between *nations*; not the *kind* of war which peace men are pledged to oppose; not the *custom of war*, not the war-system, which alone peace societies are laboring to do away.

In such a case, then, what shall the Peace Society do? Join the rebels? All our principles of peace compel us to be loyal, and forbid us, however much dissatisfied with the government over us, to resist it by acts of violence, by any other than legal, peaceful means. Can we encourage or tolerate their rebellion? Never in the least, as we certain-

ly shall, if we retail their arguments, or palliate their great offense against society, or refuse to aid the government, as far as we consistently can, in bringing them to submission, or allow ourselves in any way to screen them from the punishment they so richly deserve for the gigantic, wholesale crimes they are committing. We can never become rebels, but must always stand on the side of law and order. However wrong the government, rebellion is not the proper way to set it right; but we ought to bear its evils in peace until they can be remedied by peaceful means.

Do you deem this an endorsement of the war-principle? We cannot so view it. True, it does recognize the right of government to use force; but, right or wrong, this right underlies every form of civil government, and is essential to its very existence. We see no possibility of any real, proper government without it. It must, in the last resort, rest on force. There must be somewhere a power to enforce its decrees, and inflict its penalties. Peace is not practical anarchy. We believe all *war*, but not all *government*, nor any of its legitimate operations, contrary to the gospel. Government is a social necessity; and its leading idea is that of open, active resistance to evil. There can be no real government without such resistance. Law, without penalty, is powerless; and penalty, without the right and purpose to execute it, would be a mere bugbear. Such points as these do not properly belong to our cause, and we bring them forward just to show their consistency with it. We cannot suppose that the principles of peace, taught by Christ and his apostles, were ever meant to forbid civil government, or to interfere with any of its proper, necessary operations.

In such a case as this, then, we see little or no hope of good from any interference of peace men. There was a time when we could, as we did, properly interpose our pleas for conciliation; but that time was past when rebellion crossed its Rubicon by open assaults on the government. This at once shut the door to peace; and now we cannot in any way touch the point in issue without making ourselves parties to the quarrel. The case is clear. If a child refuses to obey his father, could we interfere on behalf of the young rebel without introducing a principle that would break up every family in the land? Let the child first submit to the lawful authority over him; and then, but only then, can we plead with the father to show him indulgence. Up to that point, he *must* punish, or cease to be ruler in his own household. Just so with the rebellion now in progress. The point in issue is not a dispute with another nation, but a dispute among ourselves,

a question of life or death to our own government. On such a question, what right has the Peace Society to interfere, and how can it? It is an issue not of Peace, but of Government, to be settled on principles common to all governments. Some of our people claim the *right* to disobey, resist, and even destroy the government hitherto over them; if this claim is conceded, we have in truth no government, nor ever can have; and if peace men, under any plea, oppose suitable efforts to maintain its authority by a due enforcement of the laws against rebels, they make themselves allies of the rebellion. Does Peace ever mean this? Such a charge or suspicion would be a libel on our cause, which has ever been, and ever must be, a loyal supporter of government.

Such has been our uniform course. Before the rebellion in our land had reached the point of a direct assault on the government, and the door was yet fairly open to compromise or conciliation, we made special efforts, in which the London Peace Society kindly and very properly joined us, to dissuade both parties from all thought of appealing to the sword. 'Of what avail,' we asked, 'could such an appeal be? Would it bring a single one of the points in dispute any nearer to a satisfactory solution? . . . Would it change at all the convictions or preferences of either party? We plead mainly for a bloodless issue of the controversy. It is not ours to decide on what *terms* it ought to be settled; we only ask that it may, in any event, be brought in some way to a conclusion by peaceful means. Have we not such means at hand? Does not our government, in its constitution and laws, contain provisions to meet just such cases as this? Here then is the proper remedy; and were there a disposition on both sides to use such provision aright, we see not what occasion there could ever be for war among ourselves on this or any other issue.

'In thus pleading for peace, however, we are far from abetting rebellion. Under a government like ours, all the work of our own hands, and always under our control through the ballot-box, what shadow of excuse can there *ever* be for violent resistance of its authority? It is designed to secure the rights of all; and if any are dissatisfied, their only proper course is to wait until the expedients, provided in our constitution and laws, can be duly applied to the case. The enforcement of law is the remedy in which all parties are bound to acquiesce. If our laws are wrong or inadequate, change or repeal them. If dissatisfied with the constitution itself, take the steps prescribed for its amendment. If the parties cannot, or will not, remain united under

our present or any other common government; if there is confessedly such an inevitable conflict of principles, institutions and interests in different sections, as to forbid the hope of their ever living together in harmony; if on the slave issue neither party will yield its settled convictions or preferences; if the South is irrevocably bent on demanding what the North is equally resolved not to grant,—the adoption of slavery as a national institution, to be nursed and guarded, extended and perpetuated, in every part of our country, through all coming time; then let us, in a peaceful, orderly way, take the steps requisite for such a change of the constitution as will allow the withdrawal of those who wish to leave.’

Such was our plea for peace *when it was possible*. Would to God it had been heard in season! What a world of treasure and blood, of crime, mischief and misery, might have been averted! But the rebels, listening to no terms, but strangely claiming the *right* to resist and even overthrow our government in the execution of their schemes, compelled our rulers, in fulfilling their oath of office, to call forth the entire resources of the country for the support of its authority, and a due enforcement of the laws. On the commonly received principles, as all governments are constituted, we see not how they could have done otherwise; and, if they were wrong, then all real, effective government is wrong, and society must be abandoned to a remediless, everlasting anarchy.

THE SPECTACLE WE PRESENT.

What a spectacle we are now exhibiting before the world—how strange, mournful and humiliating! Our Union, so long our common trust and glory, now spurned, intensely hated, and desperately resisted by thrice as many as united seventy-five years ago in its formation! Our government, so lately the pride of our own people, and the admiration of the world, confessedly the most beneficent on earth, now trampled rudely, fiercely in the dust by more than ten millions of rebels leagued for its overthrow! Our country, so rich in natural resources, and till now with such fair prospects before it of permanent, steadily increasing prosperity beyond that of any other in ancient or modern times, suddenly smitten with a universal blight, and a fearful uncertainty shrowding all the future! Work-shops closed, and factories suspended; marts of trade comparatively deserted, vessels idle and

rotting at our wharves, and legalized piracy trying to sweep our commerce from the ocean; the great thoroughfares of business and travel obstructed in every direction; the chief sources of our wealth dried up, while the expenses of our government are increasing tenfold in its support of fleets and armies; the whole land one vast panorama of hosts mustering for the deadly rencontre of brother against brother, family against family, Christian against Christian, all alike professing to be followers of the Prince of Peace, and, with strange and horrid perversion of conscience, beseeching their common God and Father in heaven to help them in this work of mutual slaughter!

A sad, revolting sight! How can it be justified to conscience, to God or the world? What possible excuse for such suicidal folly, such wholesale mischief, such gigantic wickedness? With a common government over us to protect and enforce every right, with a constitution to watch over every section and every interest, with a system of laws and courts expressly designed to settle every dispute by a legal, peaceful process, what conceivable apology can there be for what we now see in our land? Surely somebody must be held to a fearful responsibility for all this.

On whom, then, does the blame rest? On those who do precisely what the constitution and laws require, or on those who are confessedly violating both by wholesale? On this point we find, in certain quarters, a strange sort of logic; a logic that makes it *wrong* for a government to assert its own authority, and insist on the enforcement of its own laws; wrong to punish disobedience, and put down rebellion; wrong even to save itself from destruction by resisting those who seek its overthrow and utter ruin! We can understand how the guilty should resort to such shifts to screen themselves from deserved punishment; but how can a friend of peace and order, or any man of sense, connive for one moment at such wretched, desperate sophistry? On this principle there *can* be no *real* government anywhere. If transgressors have a right to disobey, and rulers are *wrong* in executing upon them the penalties which the laws prescribe, then all government, whether among men, or in any part of God's dominions, must be a sheer nullity, a figment and a farce.

We marvel much that any man in his senses should charge upon our government, and its loyal supporters, the blame of the conflict now raging among us. What have they done, or attempted to do? Just what the constitution and laws prescribe for the suppression and punishment of rebellion. Is this wrong? Then all government is

wrong, and God himself an Almighty tyrant for not letting the devil and his allies have their own way with impunity. Our rulers may not be wise in every measure; but, constituted as *all* governments *now* are, they could not do essentially otherwise than they have done, without betraying their trust. The question was, whether the government, or the rebels banded for its overthrow, should rule; and on this issue, our rulers were allowed no choice, but were compelled, if not arrant knaves, or equally arrant cowards, to meet and crush the rebellion, or perish in the attempt.

Here, then, is our conclusion. War in every form we abhor as unchristian; but our principles of peace were never meant to smother our sense of justice, or tempt us either to apologize for crime, or refuse assent to its condign punishment. Peace with us does not mean covert rebellion; nor can government, in *our* view of its legitimate province and functions, ever lead to any violence *except* what may be necessarily involved in a proper, indispensable execution of its laws. Such enforcement of law ought not to be called war, nor be allowed to share any of the moral elements that belong to war.

IS NOW NO TIME TO WORK FOR PEACE?

At a time like the present, we must of course expect the cause of Peace, always the most difficult of reforms, to be environed with peculiar difficulties. It is not that we feel the slightest distrust of its merits, but that we cannot get the community to look at them in earnest and aright. At all times undervalued, just now it is in danger of being thrown quite into the shade, or trampled in the mire under the iron heel of war. Like the Prince of Peace himself, it is expected to stand before the public like a sheep dumb before her shearers, and not open its mouth in vindicating its own claims. Shall we at such a crisis abandon or suspend it? For ourselves we can see no reason at all for relaxing our efforts, but a great deal for prosecuting them with tenfold more zeal and energy. Retrace our steps! Pause in our work! What have we to retract or essentially modify? Our object, our principles, our measures, our arguments, are all the same, and rendered only the more important by the developments of the passing hour. They were designed for just such an emergency as the present; and all we ask in proof of their excellence and efficacy, is merely a right application of them to the case.

Here is surely a fair test; for nobody expects medicine to cure till it is taken.

On the question of Peace, however, the community seem strangely to lack their usual fairness and good sense. We remember, as quite in point, a story of William Ladd, the founder of our Society. On one of his journeys, he reached the house of a friend, and found it uncovered in the midst of a drenching rain. 'Why, my good friend,' exclaimed the man of peace, 'why don't you shingle your house?' 'What!' retorted his easy, improvident friend, 'shingle it in such a storm as this! Wait till the weather is fair.' So he did; but Mr. Ladd, on his return one sunny day, found the house of his good-natured, slipshod friend, still in the same condition. 'Well, my friend, I see you've not shingled your house yet. What does all this mean?' 'Oh!' said he, 'there's no need of it in such fine weather as this.' So in sunshine he would not, and in storm he could not, shingle his house.

Precisely thus fares the cause of Peace. Press its claims at the near approach of war, or during its progress; and you are confronted with the plea, 'it is out of place now; wait till peace returns.' At length peace does return; and how are you met now? Do even good Christian men, followers of the Prince of Peace, respond promptly, spontaneously to the claims of this cause, and set themselves about its great work in earnest? No; they sing the old lullaby, 'in such a time of profound peace, there surely can be no need of labor in this cause. Wait till we see some occasion for it in the approach of actual war. Everybody is for peace now, as much so as you are yourself; and no argument or influence can make them more so. Why waste effort where it is so unnecessary?'

This strange logic we have met, in one form or another, at almost every turn. When we seemed, in 1840, on the eve of a war with England respecting our North-Eastern boundary, and our society made special and successful efforts to avert the gathering storm, not a few good men, all of them quite as much of course in favor of peace as ourselves, and some of them at the head of Christian presses, scouted such efforts as entirely superfluous. 'The age,' said they, 'has outgrown the barbarism of war. True, we retain the sword still for our security; but we shall keep it in its scabbard to rust there forever. These efforts in the cause of peace are entirely superfluous. We have waged our last war, have fought our last battle. There may indeed be bluster and menace on both sides; but they will take good heed not to rush into actual conflict. No; the age is too civilized, too Christian

ever to tolerate war again; and all efforts in the cause of Peace we must regard as a grand superfluity.'

Thus reasoned such men down to the very hour when our country plunged into its piratical crusade against Mexico; but what did they say then? Why, they changed entirely their tone; and from representing everybody as so much in favor of peace as to render any efforts in this cause quite superfluous, they leaped at once to the conclusion, that the evil is really incurable. 'We verily thought,' said they, "that the people were almost cured of war; but we find them in truth as full of its spirit as ever, and there is no use in trying to restrain them. They *will* fight; and no efforts of ours can ever prevent it. Of what avail have been all the labors of the Peace Society? Nations *will* go to war whenever they *chose*; and, however suicidal the folly, we cannot restrain them, but must let them take their own course. We may deplore the fact, but cannot alter it, and must patiently wait God's good time, the glorious era of universal peace promised in his word, to see nations ceasing from the work of mutual mischief and slaughter for the settlement of their disputes.'

We have no sympathy or respect for such logic as this. No time now to plead or work for peace! 'Tell us, then, when we shall have. While a huge, terrible evil is staring us full in the face, is that no time to arrest it, or prevent its recurrence? While the plague or the cholera is raging all around us, shall we deem this no time to check its ravages, and devise means to prevent their return in future? The argument is fairly applicable to the evil now upon us; yet how many professed, sincere friends of peace would fain have us give no heed to its claims just now. Why not? In such a crisis as this, are not its arguments, its appeals, its healing influences, *most* needed? You may indeed say it is too late to realize its full benefits, since ours is chiefly a work of prevention, more an antidote than a specific remedy; but if the evil has gone in this case beyond our control, we certainly ought to gather up its dear-bought lessons of wisdom and warning for future use in our cause. It will teem with such lessons. Well and truly has it been said, that every day is our country now writing history fast; and with equal rapidity must this contest accumulate a vast amount of materials to be used hereafter in pushing our cause onward at length to a signal and glorious triumph.

CLASSIFICATION OF PEACE-MEN:

OR DIFFERENT MODES OF REASONING ON PEACE.

No two minds are cast in exactly the same mould; and hence every enterprise, requiring extended union of efforts, must allow room for a free and full play of individual peculiarities. There must of course be a perfect unity of aim in the object sought; but in reaching it, there may, perhaps must, be conceded a wide diversity of arguments suited to individual temperaments, training and circumstances. So it has been in all kindred enterprises; and in like manner must the friends of Peace be left to plead for their common object each in the way that influences himself most effectually in its behalf.

1. Now, there are four different modes of reasoning on this subject. There are the *extreme radicals in peace*. They discard, as contrary to the spirit and genius of the gospel, all use of physical force, every kind and degree of violence. They would allow only argument, persuasion, moral influence, and deny all right of one man to punish, coerce or rule another. The kingdom of God among men, the reign of Christianity on earth, they conceive to be an empire of truth, and love, and beneficence, with only moral resistance to wrong. All idea of retaliation, retribution, or penalty for offences by one man against another in society, they deem unchristian. Such are the *strict Non-Resistants*; men whom William Ladd characterized as "*ultra beyond ultra*," whose extreme conclusions even the Quakers have publicly disclaimed, and whose principles are clearly incompatible with the existence and legitimate operations of civil government. We are not aware that any Peace Society ever committed itself to principles so radical as these; and our own has from the first disclaimed responsibility for them as foreign from its single aim of doing away the practice of war. Such men are *a fortiori* friends of peace; and hence, while objecting to their logic, we must of course welcome their co-operation in behalf of our great object.

2. There is another class of peace-men less extreme, who look upon the life of man as strictly inviolable, and oppose war chiefly as a wholesale violation of this principle. The taking of one man's life by another they regard as always wrong. Hence all self-defence, all penalties, all operations of government, whether in peace or in war, that threaten the shedding of human blood, they condemn as unchristian. They make no discrimination, but forbid the taking of human life in any case for any reason. Here is the pivot of their chief

arguments for peace; and it certainly is a very kind and amiable logic, but has never been recognized as the basis of our cause. Not a few of its best friends do indeed reason in this way, but only on their own individual responsibility. The Peace Society, while freely allowing them to urge at pleasure such arguments in behalf of its great object, does not itself inculcate or endorse the principle of *the strict inviolability of human life*. It does of course oppose all taking of life in war, but deems it not within its province to say whether it may or should be taken in any other case.

We confess, however, that for ourselves we find it impossible to reconcile civil government, in its legitimate and indispensable operations, with either of the foregoing theories. We respect the believers in them as staunch friends of peace, but cannot acquiesce in their logic. If we are restricted, as the extreme non-resistants insist, to moral influence alone, or, as the advocates for the inviolability of human life contend, to such a degree only of force as shall spare in any event the effusion of blood, how is it possible to make sure of executing the laws, and supporting government, in cases of violent, desperate resistance? If an offender were sentenced to imprisonment or mere fine, but would neither submit to the one, nor pay the other, what could you do with him? If you may not use all the force requisite to put the law in execution by inflicting its penalty, you make government a sham, a mere bugbear, a practical nullity. Should a gang of villains fire a city, or commit wholesale robbery and murder, by what means, if life must *never* be taken, can you bring the offenders to condign punishment, or prevent the continuance of their outrages at pleasure and without end? They laugh at all argument, all moral influence; and, if you threaten *only* such force as shall spare their life, they will reckon on perpetual impunity in their crimes. Suppose they defy the government, what can you do with them, if you may neither take nor endanger life? The right to use all the force requisite for upholding its authority, and executing its laws against wrong-doers, would seem to be inseparable from the very idea of civil government; and, without such a right, none ever did, if any ever can, exist in a world like ours.

3. A third class of peace-men, more numerous than both the foregoing, look upon *all war as contrary to the gospel*. This belief they found not upon any necessary unlawfulness of physical force, nor upon the strict inviolability of human life, but upon the general spirit, aims and principles of the gospel. They say there is nothing in any part of it that breathes of war. It is all a system of peace;

and its precepts, so often and earnestly requiring us to love even our enemies, to return good for evil, and overcome evil only with good, they deem utterly incompatible with the moral characteristics inseparable from war. Whatever may be the legitimate powers of government in other respects, whether capital punishment be right or not, whether force may be rightfully used or not in executing the laws against wrong-doers, they believe it clearly, utterly wrong, on the principles of the gospel, for nations to perpetrate upon each other the nameless atrocities and evils of war for the settlement of their disputes.

4. There is still another class of peace-men, more numerous than all the preceding, who think it right to draw the sword in what they vaguely term self-defence, yet view the custom of war with abhorrence, and are sincerely intent upon its entire, perpetual abolition. Their arguments are various, social, moral and religious, political and financial, but all conspiring to brand it as a master-piece of folly, an enormous crime and curse, the great sin, shame and scourge of every age and clime.

Now, through all this diversity and occasional conflict of arguments, there runs a common hostility to the war-system. They condemn the practice of nations relying on brute force for the settlement of their disputes. They unite in opposing war as wrong, foolish and suicidal, hostile to the best interests of mankind, and condemned by religion, reason and common sense. They all aim at the same ultimate object—the entire, perpetual abolition of the custom; and these different modes of viewing the subject must serve to concentrate upon it a greater amount of facts, arguments and influences. All such co-workers, whether we like their logic or not in every respect, we welcome as contributing more or less to insure the grand consummation we seek—the *extinction of war from the world.*

MISCONCEPTIONS OF PEACE.

What can we do at such a crisis as this for the cause of Peace? Nothing? Must we lie down, and let the storm blow over us, without an effort to withstand its fury, or turn it to any good account? It is clear we cannot just now get the people's ear to the full merits of our cause; but we certainly may take this occasion to disabuse the public mind of misconceptions respecting it, and thus prepare the way hereafter for a more effective presentation of its claims.

These misconceptions meet us at every turn, and prove how little attention even good, intelligent men have yet given to the subject.

"The first gun fired at Fort Sumter," says one who *ought* to have known better, "scattered to the winds the theories of the Peace Society." What theories? Certainly none that *we* entertain. We challenge any man to show a single principle, argument, or essential fact of our cause, that has been put to flight or peril by the present conflict. It may, as we trust it will, scatter not a few of the crude, strange caricatures of it, like this one, long current in the community; but, so far from shaking, it serves only to confirm all our main positions. We find not the slightest reason for abandoning this great Christian reform, but only new and stronger motives for prosecuting it with far greater zeal than ever.

But you may ask, 'of what practical avail is Peace at such a time as this? What can it do? How would the Peace Society deal with this gigantic rebellion?' Such questions mistake the province of the Peace Reform. Why not ask what the Temperance Society shall do in the case? 'The Temperance Society!' you exclaim, 'that has nothing to do with such evils; its whole object is to do away Intemperance.' Very true; and so is the cause of Peace equally restricted to the single purpose of doing away war, the practice of nations settling their controversies by the sword. It never proposed to cure or touch any other evil of society. It is not a catholicon, a remedy for all social evils, but an effort to do away a single specific evil, the custom of international war.

Here is no new position. We said all this at the start; and in its stereotyped documents you will find our Society distinctly telling you that it does not inquire how murder, or any offences against society, shall be punished; or in what way any controversy between a government and its own subjects, shall be adjusted. It concerns itself *merely with the intercourse of nations, for the single purpose of abolishing their practice of war*. Such is the sole province of the Peace Society; nor is it any part of its mission to say what shall be done with men charged with the monstrous crime of rebellion against such a government as ours.

Have the friends of peace, then, nothing to do with so grave a question? Certainly they have much to do; but it is as citizens, rather than as members of a Peace Society. We do not profess to be agreed on any subject but that of doing away the custom of war; but we cannot conceive it possible for a true peace man ever to be a rebel. With his principles and habits, he cannot be otherwise than loyal to government; and however much opposed to war as unchristian, and however

much averse to shedding blood in any case, he must nevertheless lend his whole influence to the support of its authority, and the due enforcement of its laws. However strong for peace, we hold no views that we deem inconsistent with bringing offenders, whether few or many, one murderer or a thousand, to condign punishment. On such questions, however, the Peace Society claims no control over its members, but leaves them all to think and act each for himself, and insists merely that they co-operate in abolishing the custom of war. Those who regard all use of physical force as wrong, or believe in the strict inviolability of human life, are of course unable to come into these views in the way of giving any *active* support to the execution of laws that take or endanger life; but a believer in the doctrine of all war contrary to the gospel, may still deem it right for government to punish the assassin or rebel with death, or with any other penalty it may think best. Such questions, however akin, are all outside of the Peace Society; and its members are left to decide them each for himself. They are all loyal, but may differ about the proper mode of dealing with offenders.

WAR AN INSTITUTION.

When the friends of peace plead for the abolition of war, they are often interrupted in their efforts by the introduction of extraneous themes. Let it then be distinctly understood, that the appropriate sphere of the Peace Society's operations is not with the wars of the Hebrews, in the way of either censure or applause. Though God saw fit, through the instrumentality of Israel, to triumph over the heathen, and to bring into contempt their patron gods by means of war, and subsequently to display His justice on Israel's rebellion in their signal defeat, we find no example in this to sustain the present war-system. Nor are we particularly concerned with ancient heathen wars, though from the days of Cain downward, essentially the same spirit has lain at the foundation of all war. Neither is it the business of the Peace Society to prescribe rules or means for defence against violent assault; nor yet to guide, restrain, or aid legitimate authority in the enforcement of law. However interesting or important these themes, they are not the appropriate field of the Society's labor. What it proposes is, to deal with the present existing system of war; and that not to modify, correct or improve it, but to abolish it.

What, then, is the institution of war? Says Vattel, "War is that state in which a nation prosecutes its rights by force;" that is, the act of so doing is war. Says Lord Bacon, "War is one of the highest trials of right; for as princes and states acknowledge no sovereign upon earth, they put themselves upon the judgment of God by an appeal to arms." As friends of

peace, we deny that war is a trial of right, or that men, by declaring war, put themselves upon the judgment of God any more than they were before. Again Vattel says, "The glory of a nation depends entirely upon its powers. . . . Valor is the firmest support of a State." We say, a due regard for justice is the glory of a nation, and the firmest support of a state. Again Vattel says, "It is always necessary, to authorize the having recourse to arms, that all the methods of reconciliation have been expressly rejected. . . . In things doubtful and not essential, if one of the parties will not listen to either conference or accommodation, negotiation or compromise, the arms of the other are just against so unreasonable an adversary." We say these doctrines are the essence of anarchy. Vattel again says, "Two things are necessary to make a war in due form — first, that on both sides it should be by authority of the sovereign, and that it should be accompanied by certain formalities, as demand of just satisfaction, and declaration of war on the part of him who attacks. On a declaration of war, a nation has a right of doing toward the enemy whatever is necessary to bring him to reason, and obtain justice. . . . The lawful end gives right to the means for obtaining such end." Again, "War in form, as to its effects, is to be accounted just on both sides. . . . What is permitted to one by virtue of a state of war, is also permitted to the other." Legalized anarchy indeed! And yet again, "The troops, officers and soldiers, all by whom the sovereign makes war, are only instruments in his hands; they execute his will, not their own. . . . They are not responsible. . . . The arms and apparatus are only instruments of an inferior order." This maxim we would recommend to the notice of those who regard war as the source of civil liberty.

I have quoted thus from authors long and extensively credited, to show that international war is an *accredited institution*, and to show also its character. Quotations equally absurd might be multiplied indefinitely; but I shall add but one more. "If a general of the enemy has, without any just reason, caused some prisoners to be hanged, a like number of his men, and the same race, will be hanged up, signifying to him that this retaliation will be continued for obliging him to observe the *laws of war*."

Such are the maxims of civilized warfare, falsely so called; and, corrupt and absurd as they are, they are no more so than the nature of war requires. No nation, claiming a stand among the civilized, dare, at the hazard of its reputation, engage in war without respect to such a code; and every man who palliates, justifies or approves the institution of war, lends his aid to the support of such sentiment, whether he knows it or not. We may, then, ask of any intelligent Christian, are not these maxims, and consequently, international war, in direct contrast with the precepts of the Prince of Peace? We talk of the refinements of civilized warfare. As well might we speak of refined corruptions or civilized barbarity! While the nations of the earth have made great advance in civilization, in retaining war they have retained that which is in its essence barbarity; and no rules, modifications or appendages can change its real character.

But we are met with the plea, that wars have been made the great instrumentality of improving the world, and so it appears, from analogy at least, if not from prophecy, that it ever will be hereafter. We acknowledge that our world has improved, greatly improved, despite its wars, and that its history is essentially a history of war. But what then? Has war been the grand agent of progress and improvement? Not at all. We might as well commend the plague or the cholera as a source of human health by conducing to the improvement of the medical art. The god of this world has ruled it by war and despotism, and so by physical force, while the kingdom of Christ has, by moral force, been making progress against him; but we may not look to despotism for liberty, or to diabolical influences for the world's reform.

I pity the man, especially the theologian, who expects war is to be the redeemer of our world. Have not fifty years of partial peace, by means of the gospel, done more for the world's improvement than five centuries of war ever did? It has so brought into requisition the elements of nature, by the railroad, the press, and the telegraph, as well nigh to annihilate time and space. It has virtually opened the eyes of the blind, unstopped the ears of the deaf, and extensively set at liberty him that was bound. Yes, the institutions of Christian benevolence, with the missionary enterprise at their head, and with small pecuniary means, have done more, not only for the benighted heathen, but for the promotion and extension of knowledge at home, than centuries of war, with their hundreds of thousands of men slaughtered, and hundreds of millions of sacrificed money.

While we are called upon to sustain the majesty of the law by physical force, let us not forget that civil or moral law, not physical force, is the criterion of right, and that the exercise of legitimate government over insurrectionary subjects is *not war*. If we would not be misled into wicked compliance with the popular war-delusion by passing occurrences, let us be careful to distinguish the precious from the vile, and earnestly pray that "the mountain of the Lord's house may soon be established in the top of the mountains, and all nations may flow into it."

Middlebury.

S. W. B.

QUAKERS ON THE REBELLION.

The Friends of the New York Yearly Meeting, faithful to their principles, lately issued "An Address" to encourage Friends to conduct themselves as followers of the Prince of Peace. Of this timely and well expressed document, we quote nearly the whole:—

"The breaking out of civil war in our beloved country has filled our minds with sorrow; and it needs that we carefully guard against the prevailing excitement, lest we be led to participate in practices which our consciences entirely condemn. Under the most severe trials, we must ever remember that we are brethren by a more sacred bond than that which makes

us citizens; and our relationship as children of one Almighty Father, and alike objects of the same Saviour's love, is much more obligatory upon us, than as inhabitants of one common country. If we would help and bless our country, it must be by seeking to bring down the divine blessing upon it; and we know not how successful our united and persevering prayers, offered in the name of Jesus, would be, to avert those terrible calamities that are now impending over it.

"The foundation of our well known testimony against all war, rests upon the plain and undeniable injunctions and precepts of our Saviour, as well as the entire spirit of the gospel. It was the saying of them of old time, 'thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy:' but the injunction of Christ to his followers is, 'love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven,' presenting the divine example for our imitation, 'for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.' And again, our approach to our heavenly Father for the pardon of our sins, is on the condition that we forgive. Our plea in that simple, yet most sublime prayer, is this, 'forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors;' and this is accepted by Him who is the hearer and answerer of prayer, 'for,' He says, 'if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses;' and the nature of this forgiveness must be such as we desire for ourselves when presented before the eternal Judge. How then can any one, thus reading Scripture, meditate the destruction of his fellow man?

"Our Religious Society has always maintained, on the principles of the Gospel, a faithful testimony against all war, either by being concerned in any warlike preparations, in any manner openly or privately aiding its promotion, or seeking or receiving any profit or advantage under it; and the faithfulness of our heavenly Father in protecting those who put their trust in Him, may be instructively seen in the history of Friends during the rebellion in Ireland, in our own country during the revolutionary war, and in that of William Penn's government of Pennsylvania, as well as in many other instances in which we are taught by example as well as precept, that it is 'better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man.' Therefore we exhort you all, dear friends, as you love your country, as you love your children, and desire their present and future happiness, as you value the pure and holy precepts of the Gospel we profess, guard most watchfully against every temptation in any manner or degree, to foster or encourage the spirit of war and strife. Let us demean ourselves in a Christian and peaceable manner, manifesting that we are the followers of the Prince of Peace."

The New England Yearly Meeting, has, also, issued so fine an argument on the subject, that we cannot refrain from copying it: ¶

"The present condition of our beloved country and the temptation and trials to which we are exposed, have weighed heavily upon us. We have ever been a loyal people. We have always acknowledged our allegiance to the authorities placed over us. We have ever been engaged to sustain civil government, not only by yielding to its authority on all points not involving conscientious scruples, but by exerting such moral power as we might possess to bring others into obedience to it; and at this day, when a section of our land has risen up against it, and by violent means seeking to subvert and overthrow it, while our sympathies may properly be enlisted for the rulers of our land, now involved in deep responsibility and

sore trial, and our prayers rightfully raised to the Lord that they may be endowed with that wisdom which is profitable to direct, yet we are not to forget that it is not for us to mingle in the deadly strife, or to promote in others the spirit which tends to unsheath the sword, and to bring them into conflict with their fellow-men.

It may not be necessary for us to enter at large into a specification of the grounds upon which our religious society has always felt bound solemnly to bear its testimony against war in all its forms, and to the peaceable nature of the Christian religion; and yet some of the teachings of our Saviour and his apostles, showing that this testimony has its root in the Gospel, may perhaps be profitably revived, and may tend to strengthen and encourage some who desire to be followers of the Prince of Peace, in continuing steadfast and immovable in their faith and in their works.

"Have peace one with another." "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." "Walk with all lowliness and meekness, with long suffering, forbearing one another in love." "See that none render evil for evil to any man." "God hath called us to peace." "Follow after love, patience, meekness." "Be gentle, showing all meekness unto all men." "Live in peace." "Lay aside all malice." "Put off anger, wrath, malice." "Let all bitterness and wrath, and anger and clamor, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice." "Avenge not yourselves." "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." "Recompense to no man evil for evil." "Overcome evil with good." "Ye have heard that it hath been saith, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you; for if ye love them only which love you, what reward have ye?"

These are the precepts of Christianity, and they breathe the spirit of love and peace. These are the teachings of the Gospel by which we profess to be governed; and they are obligatory upon all Christians in every emergency, and under every circumstance of their lives. While we may not be required, in times of excitement like the present, to press our views upon unwilling ears; while it may rather be our place to let our light shine by example, and, if need be, by suffering; while we may feel that in quietness and in prayer, we may most effectually subserve the cause of our blessed Redeemer; let us be engaged to give full evidence by meekness and gentleness, by humility and purity, that we are actuated and controlled by a measure of that spirit which breathes peace on earth, good will toward men; and while we pray, thy kingdom come, thy will be done, let us manifest, in all our words and deeds, that we are engaged to hasten the coming of that day when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and the declarations of the evangelical prophet be fulfilled: "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up the sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, for the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea." "Violence shall be no more heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders." Let us remember, for our encouragement and comfort, the benediction pronounced by our Saviour. "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

COST OF PREPARATIONS FOR WAR:

STUPENDOUS FOLLY—WHERE WILL IT END?

It appears that the people of England have to pay this year the enormous sum of £76,400,000 for government and defence. We state this on the highest authority in the country, Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. These are his words, uttered in the House of Commons, August 17th: "The total charge voted, in one form or another was £70,000,000, estimated on the 10th of February. £3,300,000 was the additional amount that had been voted in supply for China. £2,000,000 was the sum voted on account of fortifications, and £1,000,000 was the sum voted to replace the exchequer bonds falling due in November. These items, added together, give a total of £76,400,000. Though there never was a time when our expenditure was so large, except in a time of European war, yet the public feeling seemed rather to be in favor of still further expenditure." In 1835, our total expenditure was £45,669,309, showing an increase of nearly £31,000,000 in twenty-five years! In 1853, the expenditure was £52,183,000, showing an increase of more than £3,000,000 in seven years. These £76,000,000 even exceed the average expenditure of the three years of the Russian war.

What is the source of this extravagance? Ever since the war of 1854, there has been a reckless squandering of the public money in every department of the national service; for with that war, as is generally the case in all times of war, there came in a *habit* of prodigality into which those who have access to the exchequer very easily glide, when the popular vigilance is hoodwinked by some great excitement. After all, however, the main item in the above colossal expenditure is the military. This has more than doubled itself in seven years; and what is more, unless the public voice makes itself heard, we have the prospect before us of having another immense addition to our burdens without delay.

Our readers are aware that one principal cause of the present high rate of our military estimates, is the alleged necessity of what is called "re-constructing the navy." But now that the thing is done, and at a prodigious expense, we are told there is every probability that the whole of this new navy will turn out to be absolutely valueless as a means of defence, and that we must begin to "re-construct" it again at a far more enormous cost than before, by casing all our vessels in iron. "The question at issue," says the *Times*, "is not only 'the re-construction' of the British navy in so very short a date after the last renewal, but its re-construction upon principles of still greater cost than before. Steam proved half ruinous to us; but iron would be worse. The expense of a man-of-war in Nelson's time was about £1000 a-gun; it is now about £2000, and at the rate of outlay actually sanctioned in our four iron-cased frigates, it would be £4000. We have but just superseded our sailing navy; if we are now to supersede our wooden navy, and at twice the recent charge, what will be the aspect of our estimates for some years to come?"

Here is a pretty prospect for the industrious and toiling millions of the country! And remark this, we have not the smallest security but that, when we have substituted iron-cased frigates for all our ships of war, some new invention may be discovered, which shall utterly supersede *their* use, and render it necessary to begin the whole business over again. Where is it all to end? Will the resources of the country, enormous as they are, bear this endless and exhausting drain? Will the patience of John Bull never give way?

It is difficult to maintain anything like moderation of thought or language

in the presence of such insanity as this. Here we have the two foremost nations of all the world employing some of the highest gifts which God has given them—for what purpose? Why, to run a race of ingenuity in devising and constructing infernal machines against each other, which swallow up a large proportion of the costly produce of their skill, industry, and labor in all other directions. We venture to suggest, whether it would not be better for the people of these two countries to inquire if there is not some other totally different principle, on which they may contrive to co-exist on this globe which God has given them as a common inheritance: whether it is not possible for them, by cultivating feelings of good neighborhood, by promoting commercial and social relations with each other, by resolutely turning a deaf ear to those who would persuade them that they are natural enemies, to dispense with the system of rivalry in arms, which can only end in the common ruin of both.—*British Paper*.

Such is the folly of the Old World, against which we have so long and loudly exclaimed; and now, such is the war-mania, we are ourselves outstripping its extravagance at a bound, and throwing all its war prodigality into the shade. It took England more than two centuries to reach half our present scale of appropriations for war-purposes. At one leap we plunge into England's maelstrom of war-expenses; for we are told by the man at the head of our national finances, that we are now spending one million and a quarter a day, and the rebels of course nearly as much more. A nation of little more than thirty millions wasting for war purposes at home well nigh as much for the time as all Europe! We may well ask, where is all this to end? Is now the time to stop working for Peace?

BRITISH COMMERCE:

OR WHAT PEACE DOES IN A SINGLE DEPARTMENT.

The annual statement, says an English journal, of our foreign and colonial trade and of navigation, shows that in the year 1859, the American continent, with Cuba and the West Indies, took £40,000,000 of our produce and manufactures; and India, Singapore, and Ceylon, with Australia and China, took £37,000,000 more. To these great countries we disposed of nearly £30,000,000 of our cotton goods and yarn out of the whole £48,000,000 exported. The United States took £4,600,000 of our cotton goods, £4,476,000 of our woollens, £2,160,000 of linens, and £1,568,000 of apparel and haberdashery. India, including Singapore, took £14,290,000 of cotton goods and yarn; China, only £3,190,000, and £700,000 of woollens; Australia, £1,870,000 of apparel and haberdashery, £790,000 of cottons, and £765,000 of woollens. For our iron we found our principal market in the United States (£3,000,000,) and also for our tin (plates) and our hardwares (above £1,000,000 of each;) for our leather and saddlery in Australia (£1,000,000;) for our agricultural implements in Australia and in Russia; for beer in India (£777,378,) and Australia (£669,359); for butter in Australia (£342,914;) for earthenware in the United States (£600,000). The exports of our produce to Australia, £4,000,000 in 1852, were £11,000,000 in 1859, and those of India have doubled since 1855; to the United States they were not £13,000,000 in 1849, but were above £22,000,000 in 1859; to China, £1,537,000 in 1859. To New Zealand we sent

£622,907 worth of our produce in 1859. not far from double what we sent only three years before.

Our exports to the whole world made no progress in the year 1859. In most European countries the demand for our produce was slack. France took less upon the whole than in the previous year, though her demand for some articles increased. She took no less than 1,391,000 tons of coal, and £493,083 worth of copper. There was a considerable increase, however, in our trade with Sweden, Norway and Denmark; and Russia took more of our produce by nearly £1,000,000, raising her demand for machinery to £1,000,000, and for iron to £1,200,000. Our entire imports for 1859 (£179,182,355) were not far from £15,000,000 above those of the previous year, and our exports (our own produce £130,411,529, foreign and colonial produce £25,281,446—in all £155,692,975,) were £16,000,000 above those of the previous year; and it must be borne in mind that the returns of the value of our imports include freight, the exports do not. In conducting this trade, 26,520 visits were paid to our ports by British vessels, and 22,351 by foreign.

The totals require such figures to express them as were never until now employed to set forth a year's trade of a nation. The world beyond the seas, civilized and uncivilized, sent to our shores, on an average every day, merchandise of the value of nearly £500,000. (£2,000,000) and to bring it to us nearly 1,000 ships came into our ports every week. Our exports of produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom in the short space of eight years, 1852-59, have exceeded in value the capital of the national debt, (nearly \$4,000,000,000) In ten years they have doubled—in 1849, they were £64,000,000; in 1859 they were £130,000,000. The enormous progress of some of our colonies and possessions of late years, has more than restored the proportions sent to foreign countries, and to British possessions, to what they were twenty years ago—two-thirds and one-third. In 1840, foreign countries took £34,000,000, and British possessions, £17,000,000; while in 1859, foreign countries took £84,000,000 and British possessions, £46,000,000, an increase from 41 millions to 130 millions, more than three-fold. The exports of our produce in 1859 amounted to about £4 10s. per individual inhabitant of the kingdom; twenty years ago they were not £2, and ten years ago they were not £3.

Such are some of the acknowledged fruits of Peace. What is war likely to do for us and the world? We find politicians, moralists, and even Christian ministers, trying hard to show its benefits and blessings. In contrast with these of Peace, what are they, and where seen in our case? Nearly a million of able-bodied men called from the pursuits of a beneficent industry to the work of mutual slaughter and devastation, and twice as many more thrown out of lucrative employments; some two millions of dollars spent on both sides every day in this death-struggle among those who ought to have been moving on together in the steady and signal prosperity of past years; commerce, manufactures, and every kind of business suspended, destroyed or crippled; vessels rotting at our wharves, merchants failing, and factories stopping. At this rate, what and where shall we be ten or twenty years hence? Yet how many do we find gravely deploring the evils of Peace, and sagely calculating on the benefits to be expected from War! Strange self-stultification; and where is it all to end?

LETTER OF THE LIVERPOOL PEACE SOCIETY, ENG.

To the President and Members of the American Peace Society:—

Friends and Brethren,—As members of a Society in Liverpool advocating, like yourselves, the principles of permanent and universal peace, we desire, in the present momentous crisis of your country's history, to address you with words of sympathy and cheer.

If, during the strife which has so lamentably begun, our cause should temporarily wane, it will be only in the end to gain increasing vigor. The faith in the rightful prevalence of human brotherhood and love, which even in the calmest times makes difficult progress against the selfish indifference, the untamed combative propensities, and the hereditary prejudices of mankind, may be blown away from some impulsive natures among your adherents, by the political storms which now convulse your atmosphere.

Let us, however, acknowledge that this faith is perfectly compatible in the Christian heart with righteous indignation against wrong, and fervent zeal for freedom. The Peace advocate counsels no tame acquiescence in evil, no cowardly submission or indifference to tyrannical oppression. His weapons, though not carnal, may be mighty through God. To speak the truth in love, has moral and intellectual efficacy which armies and destruction not only do not possess, but tend to counteract. Dishonor and fighting never can be the only alternatives of choice. The unhesitating, unresisting acceptance of suffering on behalf of principle by its supporters, preserves their honor not less, and promotes its general recognition far more, than would the infliction of suffering upon its opponents.

If the lives so lavishly devoted by Christian governments, so profusely and lightly offered by the peoples for their armies; if enthusiasm, such as is now roused in your countrymen for war, were disposable for the rational propagandism of moral reforms, what victories over error and sin would be speedily achieved in the world! The day will come, and the change must be accomplished by human efficiency, "when they shall neither hurt nor destroy in all God's holy mountain." And the further we are removed from this goal at present, the greater is the scope for individual effort, and the greater the success which may reward our fidelity.

Be assured that we will add our prayers to yours, that full of dire horror, as seems the prospect of civil war amongst our brethren, the event may yet be overruled in mercy by the inscrutable Providence of Him who can make even the wrath of man praise Him; and that the experience of the impending conflict may at least impress a fresh lesson on the minds of men, which we trust may not be lost or unheeded, as to the folly, madness and wickedness of war.

We are, in the bonds of Christian brotherhood, and of a common Fatherhood, cordially and affectionately yours,

On behalf of the Committee of the Liverpool Peace Society,

JAMES MULLENEUX, *President.*

ISAAC B. COOKE, *Honorary Secretary.*

Liverpool, June 8th, 1861.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LIVERPOOL SOCIETY'S ANNUAL REPORT.

RESULTS OF THE WAR IN CHINA.—In last year's report, comments were made upon the projected expedition of France and England to revenge the attack of the Chinese forts upon the allied squadron, when attempting to force its way up the Peiho river to Peking. The revenge has been consummated. In four pitched battles in the field, and one assault on the Taku forts, it is estimated that 4000 Chinese and 400 to 500 of the allies were killed. Many millions in value of Chinese property have been destroyed, and many millions more expended in the expedition. The gains may be summed up as follows:—An expression of regret from the Emperor for his past misconduct; the admission of the British ambassador to live permanently or temporarily in Peking at the will of her Britannic majesty; an indemnity of 8,000,000 thalers of silver, or £2,900,000 sterling; the opening of Tien-tsin to trade; permission for natives to emigrate to British colonies and elsewhere; and the cession to the British crown of that portion of Kowloon previously held under lease, making it part of the colony of Hong Kong. It is incredible that all the good which has been achieved could not have been better accomplished by the influence of good will invariably manifested through the operations of an enlightened commerce. America and Russia succeeded in obtaining similar advantages by friendly negotiation.

REBELLION IN AMERICA.—The great American Republic of the United States, which has so long maintained an advanced position in the rank of nations, with scarcely any resort to war, and almost even without armaments, is also at the present moment torn by internal convulsion. Some of the Southern States, disposed to understand the late election of a member of the Republican party to be President as an attack upon their institution of slavery, have determined to secede from and break up the Union; while the Unionists, regarding secession as an act of treason to the federation, seem resolved to prevent it by force. Secession, and the consequent formation of a rival republic, having avowedly diverging interests, will probably necessitate a duplication of standing armies, each larger than the one previously maintained by the Union, constantly increasing from mutual jealousy, and bringing in their train the heavy taxation, frequent quarrels, national debts, and commercial stagnations, under which the Old World has so long been groaning. May a wise and timely reconciliation avert these evils.

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

Are we fighting merely to protect Washington and Cairo? To keep Southern troops out of the free States? To retake Sumter and the other forts? When shall we? If we ever do, what shall we do with them?

Are we, then, fighting only to retaliate? How will injuring the Southerners benefit us? Is retaliation Christian? What else shall we do besides retaliating? Can we conquer the South in the fevers and heat of this summer? Are we sure we can do it next winter?

What will be the effects of a long war on our commerce and on our morals? What shall we gain by conquering the South? Can we conquer them into loving obedience? What is any other obedience worth?

Are we fighting to enslave our fellow citizens, or to free their slaves? How shall we do this? Will the masters consent? If they do not consent, when will they ever be enough reconciled with us to yield us any obedience which will not cost us more to get and to keep than it is worth?

Do we want in our Union any States which can only be kept in by other States' bayonets?

Will this war conciliate the Southerners? Will anything ever conciliate them but compromise? What will be the result of new compromise to slavery? Can we make the seceded States willing members of our Union? Do we want *unwilling* members? Are we sure we can keep them in the Union, if they do not wish to be friends with us? Will conquering them keep them so? If they do not wish to be friends with us, what should we lose by letting them stay out till they can see their true interests, and come back? May we not be obliged to let them go any way, sooner or later? If so, would it not be best to shed as little blood as possible about it?

Cannot the next Congress so amend the Constitution as to let them go? Cannot the States that shall remain, provide by mutual guarantees against any further secession without general consent? F. M. H.

The above queries, sent us some months ago, we insert at the first opportunity we have, as presenting some strong points for reflection, though few, can be expected to agree with the writer in all his conclusions. We should ourselves object especially to the idea, that the gospel forbids the enforcement of law against wrong-doers, and requires rulers to let them have their own way without restraint or punishment. It is indeed a point on which the Peace Society is not allowed to speak for its members, and certainly must not commit them to a logic that might be deemed by some as involving the no-government principle. Is it retaliation, a violation of the gospel, to punish thieves, murderers, rebels?

ON WHOM THE EVILS OF WAR FALL.

"If the stroke of war
Fell certain on the guilty head, none else,
If they that make the cause, might taste th' effect,
And drink themselves the bitter cup they mix,
Then might the bard, (though child of peace) delight
To twine fresh wreaths around the conqueror's brow;
Or haply strike his high-toned harp to swell
The trumpet's martial sound, and bid them on
Whom justice arms for vengeance. But alas!
That undistinguishing and dreadful storm
Beats heaviest on th' exposed innocent,
And they that stir its fury, while it raves,
Stand at safe distance, send their mandates forth
Unto the mortal ministers that wait
To do their bidding. Oh! who then regards
The widow's tears, the friendless orphan's cry,
And Famine, and the ghastly train of woes
That follow at the dogged heels of WAR?
They, in the pomp and pride of victory
Rejoicing, o'er the desolated earth,
As at an altar wet with human blood,
And flaming with the fires of cities burnt,
Sing their mad hymns of triumph—hymns to God,—
O'er the destruction of his precious works!
Hymns to the Father, o'er his slaughtered sons!" — CROWE.

THE POWER OF WAR TO ABOLISH SLAVERY.

We have little hope of any real, permanent good resulting legitimately from war; but we shall certainly rejoice if it can ever achieve "a consummation so devoutly to be wished" as the abolition of Slavery. John Quincy Adams, perhaps the highest authority our country has ever furnished on any question like this, says it has such power as one of its admitted rights or laws. The substance of his argument on the subject we quote from his speech in Congress, April, 1842:—

"I would leave that institution (Slavery) to the exclusive consideration and management of the States more particularly interested in it, just as long as they can keep it within their own bounds, and do not put the question to the people of the United States, whose peace, welfare and happiness are all at stake. If they call upon others of the Union to aid them on the subject, and they come to the Free States, and say to them, you must help us to keep down our slaves, you must aid us in an insurrection and a civil war, then I say that with that call comes a full and plenary power to this House and to the Senate over the whole subject. I say it is a War Power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion, or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and must carry it on according to the laws of war; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and martial law takes the place of them. When the laws of war are in force, what, I ask, is one of those laws? It is this: that, when a country is invaded, and two hostile armies are set in martial array, *the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory.*

Nor is this a mere theoretic statement. The history of South America shows that the doctrine has been carried into practical execution within the last thirty years. Slavery was abolished in Columbia, first, by the Spanish General Morillo, and, secondly, by the American General Bolivar. It was abolished by virtue of a military command, given at the head of the army; and its abolition continues to be law to this day. It was abolished by the laws of war, and not by municipal enactments.

I might furnish a thousand proofs to show, that under a state of actual war, whether servile, civil or foreign, the laws of war do, in all such cases, take the precedence. I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, *slavery among the rest*; and that, under that state of things, *not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves.*"

Nor was this a new or hasty position of Mr. Adams. In May, 1836, eight years before, he took the same ground, and fortified it by similar arguments:—

"There are, in the authority of Congress and of the Executive, two classes of powers, altogether different in their nature, and often incompatible with each other—the war power and the peace power. The peace power is limited by regulations, and restricted by provisions, prescribed within the Constitution itself. The war power is limited only by the laws and usages of nations. This power is tremendous, and it is strictly constitutional; but it breaks down every barrier so anxiously erected for the protection of liberty, of property, and of life. There are, indeed, powers

of peace conferred upon Congress which also come within the scope and jurisdiction of the laws of nations ; but the powers of the war are *all* regulated by the laws of nations, and are subject to no other limitation. *I do not admit that there is, even among the peace powers of Congress, no authority to touch the slave question ; but in war there are many ways by which Congress not only have the authority, but are bound to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States.* Suppose Congress were called upon to raise armies, and supply money from the whole Union to suppress a servile insurrection, would they have no authority to interfere with the institution of slavery ? The issue of a servile war *may* be disastrous ; it may become necessary for the master of the slave to recognize his emancipation by a treaty of peace ; can it for an instant be pretended that Congress, in such a contingency, would have no authority to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States ? Why, it would be equivalent to saying that Congress have no constitutional authority to make peace. I suppose a more portentous case, certainly within the bounds of possibility—I would to God I could say not within the bounds of probability,—where perhaps an Indian, a civil and a servile war combined, shall make the South the battle-field upon which shall be fought the last great conflict between Slavery and emancipation, do you imagine that Congress will have no Constitutional authority to interfere with the institution of slavery ? Sir, they *must* and *will* interfere with it—perhaps to sustain it by war ; *perhaps to abolish it by treaties of peace ; and they will not only possess the constitutional power so to interfere, but they will be bound in duty to do it by the express provisions of the Constitution itself.* From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, *civil, servile, or foreign*, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery *in every way by which it can be interfered with*, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the *cession of a State burdened with slavery to a foreign power.*”

Now, we do not believe it *ever* right to do evil that good may come, and could not, with *our* views of the Gospel, draw the sword to liberate the slave or even ourselves ; but, if war be justifiable for any object, it certainly must be for the suppression of a rebellion that aims to overthrow our government just because it will not help spread slavery over half a continent through all coming time.

SOME HINTS TO THE FRIENDS OF PEACE.

None of us need to be reminded that our cause is now passing through its severest trial ; and we should make it our special care to see that it comes out of this fiery furnace without a singe or smell of fire upon its robes.

1. Let us, then, take this occasion to examine anew our principles, and make doubly sure we are right. Nothing else will suffice to meet the crisis now upon us. Assailed on every side by arguments, objections, and manifold difficulties, we must frankly, fairly meet them all, and convince good

men, the true friends of God and humanity, that our cause deserves their hearty, earnest, effective support.

2. If we fail, however, to do this at once, let us not be discouraged, nor "abate a jot of heart or hope" in the steady, unflinching prosecution of our great work. If it be, as we all believe it is, the cause of God, it will outride this terrible storm, and come forth at last with surer and better prospects than ever. "We shall reap in due time, if we faint not." Let us calmly wait, and zealously work on through all obstructions, nor ever resign ourselves to fear or despondency.

3. Let us, meanwhile, calculate on discouragements, and prepare ourselves to meet them. They are found in every cause, especially in every reform, and in ours most of all. In ordinary times, every man deems himself, of course, a friend of peace; but, at a crisis like the present, how soon are more than nine or ten swept down the stream of war excitement, with no habits or principles to withstand the current. Thus the reliable friends of our cause, like Gideon's army, become reduced to a mere handful, its forlorn hope; and these few must at such a time make up their minds, with God alone for their help, to bear its burdens, and meet its passing exigencies.

4. Such a test of our zeal, then, let us cheerfully accept as a privilege. Such, if we are faithful, we shall find it; and our final judge, the Prince of Peace, will abundantly reward the fidelity shown in an hour so sorely trying.

5. Let us, also, bear in mind how little success we have had any right as yet to expect in this cause. It has undertaken an herculean task, without either the time or the means necessary for its accomplishment. It must take a long time, with a vast amount of effort, to recast the immemorial opinions and usages of society. It is less than fifty years since Peace began its work; and in all this time there has been expended throughout Christendom not half as much as our own country is now spending every day to put down the present rebellion.

6. Nor ought we to undervalue what has already been gained. It is much more than is generally supposed, and far more than ought to have been expected from such slender means. Despite the war-clouds now darkening our sky, there has been and still is a marked change in public opinion for the better. What, indeed, is the present excitement among us? Less a war-spirit, than the outburst of a righteous, impassible indignation against a vile conspiracy to overthrow our government, and raise a Slave-oligarchy on its ruins. It is the same spirit of justice that demands the enforcement of law for the safety and well-being of society; and, this end gained, we might expect to see all the present storm of war-excitement hushed ere long into the peaceful repose of other days.

SOME SOCIAL RESULTS OF THE REBELLION.

Of these we can quote only a few specimens, but enough to show what a stream of domestic and social evils it is continually pouring over half the land. How little did the authors of this great crime know what they were doing when they unsheathed the sword of rebellion.

REIGN OF TERROR AT THE SOUTH.—Accounts exhibit a state of things scarcely paralleled in the history of any country, civilized or savage, save only in the French Revolution of 1798. It was early estimated that more than twenty thousand persons were compelled to flee from their Southern homes to find a refuge in the North, for no other crime than that of loyalty to their country and its government. Thousands of others, unable to escape, and unwilling to subject their helpless families to persecution and insult worst than death, have temporarily succumbed to the wild frenzy of the hour, anxiously awaiting the day of deliverance. Some have been unmercifully scourged, others imprisoned in jails and dungeons, and others hung. These are statements which are brought hither by penniless and friendless refugees from various parts of the South, who have left their homes and property, and fled for their lives.

A LADY'S EXPERIENCE.—She came in the car from S. Carolina. Although young, she has grown grey during the last six months, in consequence of the constant terror in which she had lived. She says that all the men have been obliged to leave their homes and plantations for the military service, and the women and children have been left defenceless. She had herself learned to shoot with gun and pistols for the sake of self-defence, although formerly dreading the mere sight of fire-arms. The negroes show a most discontented disposition, and when ordered to do work, do it with sullen, reluctant manner, and with scowling looks that alarm those around them. There had been seven attempted insurrections of negroes in her vicinity, and there were constant apprehensions of a more formidable one that could not be suppressed without terrible scenes. Although her interests and property are at the South, she considers herself fortunate in getting to Washington, and having over her the protection of the Stars and Stripes.

FAMILIES RENT.—Union men, says one writing from Fort Scott, Kansas, are fleeing from their houses in Missouri and Kansas by hundreds. Many families, and multitudes of men, have left their families behind, and fled for their lives. The state of thing in Missouri is as bad as can be imagined. The one question is, is he a Union man or a Secessionist? Fathers are divided against their sons, and children against their parents; mothers are turning their daughters out of doors for being Unionists, and husbands are leaving their wives; the most bitter feuds and animosities exist in many instances between members of the same family. A gentleman told me of one family in Jackson Co. where there were four sons—two of them joined the Secession army, and two the Union forces, to fight against each other. Another, that a young lady had fled to his house for shelter, driven from home by her mother for being in favor of the Government. Also, that he knew of many husbands and wives separated for the same cause. He spoke of the utter impossibility of any man living with a Secession woman, so bitter is the feeling.

TALE OF A REFUGEE.—In the Fulton street Prayer Meeting, the other day, there rose up a tall, fine-looking man, having the type and air of Southern gentleman. He said he had been seven years a resident of the South, living undisturbed until the breaking out of the present rebellion.

Then there was a change. He had been doing an extensive and very prosperous business, was largely and, as he supposed, favorably known to great numbers in the South. Yet twice he had been seized in order to be hung. Once he had been tried by a Vigilance Committee, and he now had with him a full discharge from all ground of suspicion. For three weeks he had been guarded night and day by armed friends, who defended him at the risk of their own lives, and at last he had escaped by almost herculean efforts. He had left all behind him, and accounted it a great mercy to be in the free North with nothing. Often had he been in want of the barest necessities of life, though leaving \$25,000 behind him.

"If you think," said he, "that you can conceive of the state of things at the South, you are simply mistaken. A wide-spread system of the worst form of despotism which the world ever saw, prevails. Over all the South terrorism, such as you cannot conceive, reigns. No man feels safe, or feels as if he knew what the end was to be. No man knows what sentiments he may express to-day that will not be perverted to his destruction to-morrow. It is only necessary to raise a cry against a man, and no power on earth can save him after that. I have seen hundreds suffer under all sorts of indignity and outrage. I have even seen women, born and reared at the South, owners of slaves, with half of their hair shaved off. All this was because they had dared to express some sentiments in favor of the Union! This terrorism is growing worse every day. It is a despotism of the most fearful kind. If there is any class of people on the wide earth who need your prayers, it is the people of the South, white and black."—*N. Y. Observer*.

FINANCIAL FACTS AND VIEWS.

GLIMPSE OF OUR NATIONAL DEBT IN ITS RISE.—In 1790 it was \$75,463,476. The highest figure which it reached between that time and the war of 1812, was \$36,427,121, which sum we owed in the year 1804. The amount of principal and interest, paid in that year, was \$8,171,787. By the time the war of 1812 came upon us, our indebtedness had been reduced to \$55,209,737; but, in consequence of this struggle, it was rapidly run up, to \$102,466,633, the sum which we owed in 1818. This whole amount was entirely cleared off in 1836, and a surplus of revenue, remaining in the treasury, was divided among the different States. Such a condition of affairs as this, however, could not last long, and before we became involved in the Mexican war, our public debt had again grown to over \$26,000,000. That contest increased it to \$67,560,995 in 1852; and, although it has been reduced below this figure at times since, the extravagance of successive Administrations has continued augmenting it until now we are responsible for over \$90,000,000.

WAR EXPENSES OF EUROPE.—If we rush fully into the war-system, we must do it in view of the enormous, well-nigh intolerable burdens which it has imposed upon the Old World. It appears from the highest authority, (*Almanach de Gotha* for 1860,) that the war-debts of Europe, amounting to more than two thousand millions sterling, (\$10,000,000,000,) entail, by interest and cost of management, upon the people an annual charge of *eighty millions sterling*. If we add to this the sum invested in military establishments, and the loss of labor, we shall have a total of *two hundred and forty millions sterling* (\$1,200,000,000) spent every year by the nations of Europe for sustaining their armies in time of peace. How long, at our present rate, will it take us to reach a like result? You may say the stake is worth it all; but, if so, this would not alter the fact or the figures. Twelve hundred millions a year, more than three millions a day, spent for this Juggernaut of War!

WHAT THIS REBELLION IS LIKELY TO COST.—It is quite impossible to foresee ; but here are some indices of the result :—

The appropriations by the late special Congress were—

For the Army.....	\$196,036,305
For the Navy.....	63,384,230
Contingent for the War Department.....	255,455

Total..... \$259,675,990

Solely for war purposes nearly \$260,000,000, and only \$535,400 for other objects ; or one dollar for civil purposes, to more than five hundred for war operations ! There were voted at a dash \$500,000,000, and authority to raise one million troops, with the assurance of men best informed on the subject, that the support of only half this number would cost not less than a million dollars a day. The Secretary of the Treasury admitted, that such were likely to be our expenses ; and the man chiefly charged in Congress with providing funds for the government, frankly said we were then expending one million and a quarter a day.

Now, let us calculate the result to the whole country. The rebels must spend about as much as ourselves ; and, if so, this would make the amount of direct expenses nearly a thousand millions a year. Add to this one million of able-bodied men withdrawn from productive labor, at only half a dollar a day, (\$175,000,000,) and not less than thrice as much more lost by the suspension or derangement of business, (\$525,000,000,) and we have a grand total of some \$1,700,000,000 a year. Reduce this one half, and how vast an amount to waste on rebellion ! How long before such a drain would exhaust us, ere such a war-policy would ruin us !

IN HOW MANY WAYS REBELLION TAXES US.—There is the tax on tea, coffee and sugar, the common, if not necessary articles of life, to the tune of many millions a year, with a direct tax of \$20,000,000 more. There is scarce a farmer, mechanic or common day-laborer in all the land that does not now feel, and will not long feel, the effect on his income. Some articles have fallen one half in value, and the sum total of loss in this way through the land must be immense. The tax of three per cent on all incomes above \$800 per annum, will be felt by men living on small salaries, or by interest on moderate investments. In a thousand ways will this rebellion come home to us all. Well does one of our editors say, "if we will have wars, we must pay for them ; and this war, when ended, will give us all something to chew upon for a life-time."

LOSS FROM SOUTHERN DEBTS.—The war is made an excuse for not paying these ; and the total amount due from the Seceded States to Northern merchants and capitalists, is supposed to be more than *two hundred millions*. They gave generous credits, trusting almost everybody that came from the Land of Cotton ; and their reward is to be stript of large fortunes, and perhaps sent adrift in the decline of life, bankrupts, with hardly a chance of recuperation.

HOW MUCH THE WHOLE LOSS.—None can yet tell, but probably more in the end than the market value of every slave in the land ; and better for us, if we could, to have purchased escape from the evils now upon us by paying fully for all the four millions now in the South.

DETAILS OF THE REBELLION.—Of these we have on hand enough to fill all our pages, and thrice as many more ; but we withhold them at present in the belief that the public mind now needs, in place of such stimulants, milder and more soothing influences. How long has it been simmering with prejudice, or boiling with indignation and hate. For how many months has it supped on tales of cruelty and blood, of vengeance and horror. How much more congenial such strains of tenderness and love as we quote in these pages from the Quakers of New York and New England. The daily press has given a minute and terrible account of this Great Rebellion. Would to God its facts could be blotted from the memory of the world!

THE WAR OF SECESSION, 12 mo., pp. 23.—This pamphlet represents the rebels as right in principle, and our government as wrong in its efforts to put them down by enforcing the laws, denouncing such enforcement as "a war on the South—a war of aggression—an unjust and cruel war—a ferocious war—a tyranny—a military tyranny—the Free States substantially in the wrong—the wrong greatest on our side." The author, understood to be a very honest and earnest friend of peace, surely could not have supposed he was writing what might be regarded by most readers as a virtual plea or apology for rebellion.

PREMIUM ON PEACE.—In pursuance of the Peace Society's plan, adopted some time ago, but only just now being put in operation, to keep the subject of Peace before all our higher institutions of learning, there has lately been awarded in Middlebury College, Vt., a *Premium of Twenty Dollars* to S. B. SMITH, a member of the recent Senior Class, for the best essay on Peace. The funds for this purpose were contributed by Dea. SAMUEL W. BOARDMAN.

NOTE TO THE FRIENDS OF PEACE.—Clearly the cause of Peace was never more needed than now ; and, however difficult its prosecution at present, its friends can neither abandon it, nor suspend its operations, without an inexcusable neglect of duty. We trust that none of them, certainly none that really deserve the name, will flinch or falter at such a time as this. Our Society, though obstructed in some of the ways once open to it, is still doing all it has the means to do, and especially is continuing its regular, ordinary publications. In doing this, we need not tell our intelligent, reliable friends how much we need their aid in particular ; for at present we can depend on no others. Our Society allows its committee—a wise rule—to incur no expenses without seeing them promptly paid. We are thus compelled to *pay as we go*, and can undertake only what its friends shall furnish the means of doing. Though our scale of operations is small, we are trying to do much more than we now have the means of accomplishing ; and we hope such of our friends as can, will come to our aid.

T H E

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

NOVEMBR AND DECEMBER, 1861.

THE CAUSE OF PEACE NOT TO BE GIVEN UP.

Give up our cause ! Why ? Is it wrong in its spirit, its principles or its aims ? In every one of those respects it is admitted, alike by friends and foes, to be truly, if not eminently, Christian. Is it, then, no longer needed ? Alas ! let the condition, present and prospective, of our land, and of all Christendom, give the mournful response. To say nothing of the thousand million dollars spent every year by Europe, and more than four million men employed, in support of her war-system, we ourselves, from the lack of a right training of our people in habits of peace, are at this hour wasting more money, life and moral power, five times over, than would suffice under God for the world's conversion to Christianity. Better, as a mere question of dollars and cents, for the Christians of America alone, without the slightest aid from any other quarter, to bear the entire expense of evangelizing the whole earth, than continue the present state of things among us. Our views, if seasonably wrought into the habits of our whole people, would doubtless have averted all this. Had Christians as a body responded, as they might and should forty years ago, to the appeals of peace men, these terrible evils would never have come upon our land ; but, as they would not then give one dollar for peace, they are now compelled to spend and lose fifty or a hundred thousand dollars for war, with the

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moral certainty of its being necessary to continue no small part of this enormous waste just as long as we maintain our war-system, and the war-habits of our people.

‘But what *can* we do just *now*?’ Very little, we fear; and yet there are some things that we can and should do, even at this crisis. We can continue our testimony, and prove ourselves faithful to our principles and our object. We can at least keep our cause alive, if not so active or efficient as heretofore; and certainly we must not fail to do this at all events. We can and must hold up to public view its grand idea, as a beacon-light, of having all disputes adjusted by rational, peaceful, Christian expedients, in place of lead and steel, of the cannon and the sword. True, we cannot, as we would not, divert the country from the great issue now pending between Slavery and Freedom; but, in settling this controversy aright, there are needed the very principles and habits we inculcate, and have all along been laboring to diffuse. Without these, adopted alike by the North and the South, we can never hope, whether united or separated, for permanent peace and prosperity. We cannot just now keep them, as we once could, before the whole country; but, by our publications still sent to all our higher seminaries of learning, and to the editors of periodicals taken by a majority of our reading people, we may reasonably hope to do something, even under all our present disadvantages, towards setting the public mind right on this great, vital question. As much as this we certainly can and should attempt; and in doing so, we shall need, as we hope to receive, the cordial and effective aid of our friends.

Passing events are furnishing a superabundance of facts, arguments and motives for the future prosecution of our cause. Some of these, especially the most startling, we cannot use now, as the people are in no mood to receive them; but when the heat and smoke of the contest are over, they will be sure to hear, read and ponder. For that hour of returning sobriety we must wait; and when it comes, whether sooner or later, we shall need the evidence of well-attested history to make a future age believe, that such an outburst as we have lately been witnessing of the war spirit, of war-principles and war-vengeance, could ever have been tolerated, much less applauded, by men calling themselves ambassadors and followers of the Prince of Peace. What a spectacle! A religion of peace and good will abetting, in this noon of the nineteenth century, the most gigantic and atrocious rebellion the world ever saw, for the avowed purpose of spreading over the land of Washington an empire of slavery, and curse forever a continent! Had

Christians learned the merest alphabet of peace taught by Christ and his apostles, or had those at the South done this only half as well as we have at the North, this mighty avalanche of crime and misery could never have come upon us. Alas! for the dark page of history we are now stereotyping in blood! What a record for Christians to carry with them down to the millenium!

THE PEACE SOCIETY AND THE REBELLION.

The Peace Society has for a considerable period been doing its quiet work by the diffusion of intelligence on a great question of morals. That no small influence has been produced, is certain. Powerful minds and pens have been enlisted, and proselytes to the beautiful creed, "*Peace on earth, and glory to God in the highest,*" have steadily multiplied. It has procured to be inserted in several treaties between nations, an article binding the high contracting parties to refer to arbitration disputes which may arise between them. It has influenced the literature, poetry and painting of the age. And leaning, as it does, on the eternal rock of truth, it has survived unhurt both ridicule and opposition. True, it has failed to draw towards it any large number of supporters, or any general prevalence of attention. It has worked on, in its noiseless sphere, obliged to be contented with being favored by a few, and regarded as a harmless lucubration by the many.

But now that THE WAR is a word in every man's conversation, and its modes, causes and effects in every one's thoughts, the Peace Society becomes a thing of note. Its intents are scanned, its advocates cross-examined, and its toleration made a question of expediency. A class of our citizens, who are anxious to try to restore the old status of North and South by further concessions to the South, and who regard with disfavor the present efforts of the nation to retain its Capital and its stability, have been designated *the Peace Party!* With this party many confound the Peace Society, or at least regard its purposes as similar. Hence, in place of good-humored indifference towards it, as a harmless *ism*, it is tartly accused of weakening the government, by denying the rightfulness of armies and battles in defence of our national life.

We are not sorry to see this change of feeling towards our Society. Anything is better, for the diffusion of truth, than inattention. We seek no private ends. Our programme presents no plan for making money, or acquiring fame. We have no friends to reward, or foes to

punish. We want a certain feature of Christianity brought out conspicuously. That is all. Let but any question of right come before the bar of public scrutiny, and have a fair trial, and truth is sure to triumph. But we are not free to stand aside, and entirely hold our peace. As men, and especially as Christian men, we are bound to take our part in the discussion, and cannot keep silent and be held guiltless. The more attention is drawn to our doings, the more are we called to place them before the public in their true character. Hence recent numbers of the *Advocate* have set forth not only our general objects, but our position and sentiments touching the present rebellion, which has assumed a magnitude and energy entitling it to be called a war. Of course we have not made the matter clear to all minds; nor are we either discouraged or surprised that some have found our expositions no more satisfactory than our creed.

We insist, then, that the nature and objects of our Society be not placed in the single light which blazes from the fires of the present contest. We have a right to demand a fairer, surer test. We consent that its lurid glare shall bring us into sight, and show the relation in which we stand towards it; but we claim to be judged by the high and eternal standard of immutable truth, and not by existing, changeable exigencies. We insist on making the Bible our arbiter of right and wrong, and on having our cause determined by all the light which can be concentrated upon it from the history of man, and from the best aids of Biblical interpretation.

We see distinctly the peculiar difficulties that environ our position. Were this an ordinary insurrection, rebellion, or conspiracy, it might be managed by the ordinary powers of the civil magistrate, backed, if need be, by an armed force. So did Gen. Jackson treat the Charleston nullification. So was the whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania treated. There was no place in either case for negotiation or arbitration. There was no loss, or hazard of loss, by an armed coercion; no ground of hesitation, no room for doubt, and the nation asserted and enforced its rights given by God. But the present contest is of vaster proportions than belong to civil turmoils, or revolutionary mobs. It embraces a vast territory, and almost half our population. It is the work not of a few but of millions—not a hasty outbreak, but the result of a purpose, cherished for a quarter of a century, and pursued with undeviating and unscrupulous determination. It is not a frenzied rush of an excited class, but the united undertaking of all classes, expressed in every sort of way, tumultuous and deliberate.

The plan of the Peace Society contemplates, it is true, only international controversies; and clearly the present one is not strictly such. We do not speak for all the members of our Society, many of whom are as earnest, active and self-sacrificing as any in upholding our government in its present doings. But we submit that this is a conflict which cannot be settled by victories. We hold aloft the power of argument, and the wisdom of appealing to reason. We see no disastrous necessities hanging unavoidably on the commitment of this huge difficulty to the calm and conscientious arbitrament of wise civilians. We believe that *in the end* it *will* be so committed; and that it might be *now*, to the saving of incalculable loss and suffering on both sides. While it behooves us to maintain an attitude which shall preclude our enemies from dictating their own terms, we may be ready to hearken to the imaginary grievances of our brethren, to bear a little with their infirmities, and to convince them, if possible, of the error of their ways. We see nothing in our present convulsions demanding that the Peace Society should hide itself till the storm is over, or that it should utter only non-committal common-places, lest it should incur odium. The glory of man is reason; and surely this is not a time when mere force should supersede its use, or when any need be debarred from publishing calm and virtuous opinions.

PEACE COMPATIBLE WITH GOVERNMENT.

The Bible, as a revelation from God, must of course be consistent throughout with itself. It cannot in one part contradict what it asserts in another; and, if it *seems* in any case to do so, the contradiction is only apparent, and must vanish on due examination.

Now, what does the Bible teach on the subjects of Peace and Government? The latter it uniformly treats as indispensable to the welfare, if not to the very existence, of society, recognizes its authority, and enforces its obligations. These ideas run through the whole Bible, and are found alike in the Old Testament and the New. Civil government, as an institution of divine appointment for the benefit of mankind, is everywhere enjoined as a social duty and necessity, its demands to be cheerfully met when they do not conflict with the express will of God, and, when they do, its penalties for disobedience to be suffered without resistance. Such are the teachings of the Bible on the Government question.

How far, then, is all this compatible with what Christ and his apostles taught on Peace? "Blessed," said our Saviour, "are the Peacemakers. Resist not evil;—not an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that hate you, and despitefully use you." Thus taught the Prince of Peace; and such also were the teachings of all his apostles. Take a specimen from Paul: "Bless them which persecute you; bless, but curse not. Recompense to *no* man evil *for* evil; but *overcome* evil with *good*. Avenge not yourselves, but rather give place to wrath," (punishment; that is, step aside, and let God punish;) "for vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head." Rom. xii. 14–21. Here is the doctrine of Christian Peace, taught alike by Christ and his apostles, and requiring us, in our treatment of enemies, to requite their hatred with love, and strive to overcome their evil with good.

Let us now see how far civil government does or can act on this principle. Paul, after bidding us "overcome evil with good," says in the very next sentence, (Rom. xiii. 1–4,) "let every soul be subject to the higher powers, (to government); for the powers that be (civil government) are ordained of God, and they that resist (such ordinance of God) shall receive to themselves damnation (punishment.) Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. If thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he (the magistrate) beareth not the sword in vain, but is *the minister of God*, a *REVENGER* to execute wrath (punishment) upon him that doeth evil." Such are the legitimate, indispensable powers of civil government. It *must* do these things, or it ceases to be government in any proper sense.

But can we regard such acts of government as applications of the peace principle? Does a government, when punishing offenders with either death, imprisonment or simple fine, turn the other cheek to the smiter, overcome evil with good, or even pardon the offender? No; such is not its province; but its mission is to restrain and punish wrongdoers by force. It is "the minister of God, (his vicegerent,) an *avenger* to execute wrath (punishment) upon him that doeth evil." It does not profess to overcome evil with good, but openly threatens the wrong-doer with condign punishment for his crimes. This is retribution. The offender has done an evil, and the government makes him suffer for it. The retribution may be well deserved; but still it is re-

tribution, one evil returned in punishment for another. It is absurd to speak of *forgiving* any one that is *punished*; and all penal acts are palpable contradictions of those precepts which require us to forgive, or to overcome evil with good. Government does not, and cannot treat offenders in this way, without ceasing to be a government except in mere name. It *must* command, and threaten, and punish. Such is God's idea of civil government, as His own vicegerent among men. Not only Paul, but Peter also, speaks of Governors as sent by *God* for the *punishment* of evil-doers; and the New Testament, as well as the Old, distinctly recognizes everywhere the right of government to coerce and punish all violators of its laws.

In what light, then, are we to regard such acts of government? As *exceptions* to those general precepts of the gospel which require us to forgive offenders, to return good for evil, and overcome evil only with good. Government does not and cannot do this to the violators of its laws. Such precepts were not meant for its guidance in dealing with law-breakers; for it *must* punish them, or it cannot be a real government. Can we conceive an idea so absurd as a government with no power or right to punish offenders?

Nor is there anything really new in this *theory of exceptions*. In the Decalogue God said, *Thou shalt not kill*; yet he expressly bade Joshua to destroy the Canaanites, and required Jewish rulers to inflict the penalty of death for a variety of crimes. Here is a case in point. The rule, strictly construed, forbids *ALL taking of human life*; but God himself makes certain exceptions to it, and these, when thus made, are just as imperative as the rule itself. He certainly has a right thus to restrict his own precepts; and it is only by this law of exceptions that we can reconcile penalties inflicted by government, with the principles of peace so fully taught in the Gospel as the chief peculiarity and glory of Christian ethics.

The reader will see that the associated friends of peace cannot be held responsible for the foregoing argument. It chimes with our own mode of reasoning on the subject, and may perhaps satisfy some other minds. We are believers in Peace as compatible with Government, and take such methods as these to illustrate their consistency.

QUAKER SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT.—We think the Friends in the position they take, quite consistent and commendable. They cannot fight, but show their loyalty by supporting the government in

all ways not forbidden by their principles. Nothing more or different can properly be asked of any peace man entertaining their views:—

“In the present condition of civil society,” they say in a recent address to their brethren in Maryland, “government is indispensable for the security of life, and the preservation of property; and, therefore, all who enjoy the benefits of government should contribute to defray the expenses of its administration, conducted in such way as those selected for that responsible duty shall think it right and proper to administer it. If every one were to contribute to the expense of those acts only which he approves, the government could not be maintained, and anarchy and confusion, with all their hurtful consequences, must necessarily ensue. There would be a great difficulty, too, if not an impossibility, in consistently making the refusal, inasmuch as duties on many articles in use are laid for precisely the same object. The true position of Friends in the civil community is, to be quiet, peaceable citizens, under whatever government is established over them, cheerfully obeying all laws with which they can conscientiously comply; and as they are found to do this, greater respect will be paid to their scruples for non-compliance with those laws which they cannot obey, and against which the grounds of their testimony can be made more obviously manifest.”

RIGHT OF REVOLUTION.

Our present experience, says Brownson, in his Quarterly, “will teach us that Republics cannot, any more than Monarchies, safely preach the *divine right of revolution*, but that loyalty is as necessary a virtue under a republican as under a monarchical form of government.”

“We have had much need of this lesson. In asserting popular sovereignty, we have overlooked the necessity and authority of government, and have forgotten that the first necessity of every people is authority, and the first duty of every citizen is obedience to law. Here has been our first and greatest mistake, into which we have been led by the wild democratic doctrines of European liberals warring against the authority of absolute princes. We have approved the rebellion of the Tuscans against their legitimate government, the secession of the Æmilian Provinces from the Pontifical States, the rebellion of Sicily and Naples against their king, the hostile attitude of Hungary against her lawful sovereign. But, if in this we have been right, by what right do we complain of the secession of South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Virginia or Tennessee? Secession and rebellion were all well enough when they took place only in Europe; but we see at once that they cannot be tolerated for a moment when they are attempted among ourselves. We shall learn from the present contest that we have very unjustly and imprudently asserted the **SACRED RIGHT OF REVOLUTION**, and

henceforth be prepared, while we fearlessly maintain the rights of the people, to respect and vindicate the right and authority of governments."

We are glad to see some proof of a return to sense and sound logic on this vaunted right of revolution; this claim of *any* people at pleasure, right or wrong, whether in pursuance of laws and constitutions, or in the very teeth of them all, to overthrow by violence the government over them. We are now suffering from the suicidal recoil of this principle. It was, indeed, the principle on which our fathers acted in the Revolution; but the moment they had a government of their own to support, they were obliged to discard this right, and put down by force the Shay Rebellion in Massachusetts, and the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania. The South claim to be acting only on this principle; and, while justifying the rebellion of our forefathers against England, we cannot consistently deny this claim of our Southern rebels. We may say, in truth, that they have not as good reasons for resistance; but they insist that they have, and the very hinge of the principle is, that the disaffected have the right to decide for themselves. If they *have* this right, and they choose to exercise it, that ends the argument. We contend that the principle itself is wrong; and, if once admitted, no government on earth can be really safe for a day.

A D I A L O G U E

ON THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY,

Between a Southern Bishop, a Northern Clergyman, and a Stranger, in a rail-car.

Bishop.—O, when will this war cease? As I travel, I meet, at every turn, the stars and stripes on cottage and mansion, on stage coach and cars, even on envelopes and cards. Everything bespeaks a determination to prosecute this cruel, oppressive war. Where will it end?

Clergyman. End? Of course, it can end only in the return of our Southern States to due loyalty.

B. If by due loyalty you mean submission to Lincoln, and the old Union, then it can never cease. Do you think the free and sovereign citizens of the seceded States will give up their sovereignty and independence, and the privilege of choosing their own associated confederates, and of controlling their own domestic associations in their own way? Will they give up their religious faith, and abandon "the powers that be, ordained of God, and to be obeyed for conscience sake," all from fear of Northern threats? No, never.

C. But, sir, is not your zeal, founded on political error, bearing you on to your own destruction ?

B. Zeal in fulfilling religious obligations can never bear a people to their destruction. Do you doubt that the seceding States, many of which have been regarded and treated as independent for eighty-five years, and are now solemnly leagued in a national confederacy before the world, are to be regarded as "ordained of God," and their authority "to be obeyed for conscience sake" ? This necessarily results from the true idea of a State as a religious institution ordained of God, and binding men's consciences.*

C. God ordained government, not rebellion ; nor have I any faith in the claim of rebels to bind men's consciences for the overthrow of legitimate authority. It is sheer and glaring assumption.

B. Let us, however, examine the case. As to the origin of a State, "it may have been the production of a wicked revolution, from which, although the authors could claim no political authority, yet God and time may have built up a State demanding obedience on a higher principle than that in which it originated. Or it may have sprung from one of those extreme cases of justifiable resistance which are undertaken for the maintenance, rather than the subversion of law ; but when time, be it longer or shorter, has clothed it with muscles, and bound it together with sinews, has given oneness and wholeness to what before consisted only of parts, bearing only the relation of contiguity, and thus made it the only foundation of political, in distinction from individual rights,—when thus the nation has been born, then we say it partakes of the radical idea of a state as a divine power. In all such cases, in submitting to a government once established, we submit to an *ordinance of God*, that claims to exercise the spiritual prerogatives of moral law which assert powers over man, and must therefore derive its true authority from a superhuman source. All power, exercised by man over man, must be acknowledged as divine, and divinely sanctioned ; or it must be a tyrannical usurpation. *This is the idea underlying and pervading all government.* Submit yourselves to the powers that be. The powers that be are ordained of God ; and he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. When we say, therefore, that government is a divine institution, we intend no mere personification of nature, but a power which God has positively defined in his Holy Word, as a delegation of his own government, having the sanction of positive moral obligation, and to be obeyed, not from mere expediency, but *for conscience sake.*" Here we have our duty clearly shown ; and will Southern Christians sacrifice conscience to the caprice of the North ?

C. But what, meanwhile, has become of the divine authority of the United States Government ?

B. The greater amount of governmental divine authority obviously

*The views that follow are pressed into the service of rebellion from Prof. Taylor Lewis' Address before the Porter Rhetorical Society, Andover Seminary, 1843.

rests in the State governments, having more immediate and more abundant control over the affairs which concern the common people; and what little the United States government ever had over the adhering States, I suppose it still retains, but all, if it ever possessed any over the seceded States, returned to them at secession, and is now revived in the confederation.

C. Well, you have given a fine-spun abstraction; but, after all, I do not believe Jeff. Davis has any more divine authority than the devil.

B. He has, at any rate, as much as Abraham Lincoln has. But you will not call in question the doctrine of a divine life and power in civil government. It is as old as the origin of civilization, and has been inculcated by prophet, priest and king from time immemorial. This political system recognizes in civil government an inherent divine life, above, beyond, and distinct from, the life of those who compose the State; a life and power capable of giving character to actions, and of binding men's consciences, or to use Bible language, to be obeyed "for conscience sake."

C. Well, if you are thus bound to your present course, what is the duty of the citizens of the adhering States? Lincoln was legally elected, as all admit, President of the United States. All parties and all sections took part in the election, they recognizing the Constitution as their law of national organization. By taking part as they did in the election, all equally bound themselves to abide the issue of the canvass. Thus elected, Lincoln took the oath of office to sustain the Constitution, and execute the laws of the Union, and organized his cabinet accordingly. Now, what shall they do? Shall they faithfully fulfil the trust reposed in them, or shall they prove recreant to that trust? Shall the people sustain them, or shall they prove treacherous to him and his cabinet?

B. The magistrate is the appointed delegate of the Most High, bearing the sword, not merely of utilitarian, but of vindictive justice. Here is the true majesty of law, the only proper ground of obedience. You Northerners boast of your *free States*; we, by means of our slaves, are elevated above a servile condition to that of the true freeman who can recognize fairly and fully this delegated divine authority in our own chosen government, and can sustain it, too.

C. But, sir, you have not answered my main question: what shall Lincoln and his cabinet do? On your own theory, "they are the appointed delegates of the Most High, bearing the sword, not simply of utilitarian, but of vindictive justice."

B. Well, if I must meet the question, I suppose they are bound to do ultimately as they are doing.

C. And so are the people of the North, are they not?

B. You know war is God's method of settling national controversies. This was abundantly exemplified in the history of Israel. War is the instrumentality God has ever made use of to organize, reform and refine the nations of the earth, and is probably destined so to be, at least for a pe-

riod ; and I trust the salutary effects of this war will be seen and acknowledged by coming generations. But it does not belong to me or you to prescribe to rulers, acting under divine sanction, and from the impulse of that divine life of a state which God has established. Yet I think it is the present duty alike of the North and the South to stand firm, at least on the defensive, and leave future events to the God of battles, hoping that in his own good time, and in a way unforeseen by us, He will yet bring to a just and happy close this unhappy conflict.

Stranger. I have listened, gentlemen, with special and painful interest to your conversation, and am astonished that you find no remedy in Christianity for the custom of war. Nay, worse ; you feel yourselves, and your fellow Christians, bound by your Christian faith to prosecute the wars of your country with a blind zeal, right or wrong, and, of course, so instruct those under your care ; and, if such Christianity predominate, we may as well exclaim, when will wars ever end ? When shall the Prince of Peace reign over the world, or even over his own church ?

C. We must allow all Scripture its place, and its due weight. But are we not taught in the Bible that patriotism is a Christian virtue ?

S. No, I think not. True, our proper sphere of action is usually and mainly about home ; but the Saviour's parable of the good Samaritan should set forever at rest the Pharisaical question, who is my neighbor ? and bring to nought that patriotism which would absorb and swallow up the individual man in "a living communion with a living state." Christianity teaches that "every one shall give account of *himself* to God;" and he that has no more of moral and religious principle than to go for his country, right or wrong, has no more principle than to go for *himself* right or wrong.

B. But how, then, could nations hold together, if every man may scan the course of his government, and sit in judgment on its moral character before he will give it his support ? Such doctrines would destroy all sovereignty in governments, and render them quite inefficient.

S. Let a community establish its organic law on principles of justice and equity, binding all its officers of government to fidelity to such principle, in both its internal affairs and foreign relations ; and such bonds, duly regarded by the people, would prove more effective security than any preparation for war.

B. 'Duly regarded !' That is well put in. The business of government is to secure due regard ; and the government that relies on the sense of propriety exercised by the people, is no government at all. Do you not see the absurdity of the Jeffersonian doctrine of a self-governing community ? Government must of necessity imply something out of, and above the governed. Jefferson was an infidel, and his right-hand man, Tom Paine, a notorious one ; both despising dignities, and setting at nought all veneration for antiquity. Their moral and political system has proved of mushroom growth, not only discarding Scriptural authority, but alluring to

betray it. When brought to a practical test, such it has proved. This we might expect, where we find the divine prerogatives of government ignored, and popular will made to take the place of law and justice, and governmental sanctions set aside to make room for the self-assumed sovereignty of the populace, as if "man, when free, wanted no other divinity than himself." We can but brand such doctrine as dangerous infidelity, dangerous alike to religion, justice, good order, and civil government.

S. It is easy to set up a caricature of Jefferson, or anybody else, to shoot at; but, by such shots, you do not hit Jefferson, nor me either. True, we have to acknowledge that Jefferson was infidel, as pertaining to Christianity. Living as he did at a period when great, and violent, and successful attacks were made on long-standing alliances between civil and ecclesiastical despotism, and being somewhat ultra, he, in his zeal to strike down such alliances, rashly struck Christianity from his creed. Yet it is to be remembered that Jefferson was brought up in the heart of Christian society, and consequently under the influence of Christian morality. And Christian morality is the main feature of the Declaration of Independence, as it came from his pen. But what of Aristotle, whose political philosophy is so much recommended to all the learned young men of our land, as a preparation for a public career? Brought up in a pagan age, and in pagan society, where different nations, tribes and classes sought favor, especially in their wars, of their tutelary deities, whose attributes were ostentation, revenge and lust, his political morality must be regarded as no better than the polytheism of his times. Indeed, what else than polytheism is this inherent divine life and power you find in a state, "above, beyond and distinct from the life and power of the men and women who compose the state"? It is but a mythological demi-god, having no more real existence than the deities which ancient pagans saw in ever-flowing rivers, or in such animals as cats, and even reptiles. In the true Jeffersonian or republican system, it is not the popular caprice, but *justice* uttered, either more or less distinctly, by the voice of the majority, that is made to rule.

B. You can glance at some points of a popular government which may flatter the populace; but you would soon find yourself swamped in attempting to systematize. As yet, however, you have not met my statements that government implies something out of, and above the governed. I would like to hear you try it, and sketch your system.

S. Well, then, I will try. Man I regard as a composite being, possessing faculties above that part of his nature which needs human governing by human law; faculties which recognize moral law, and can administer it; faculties which should bring and keep his lower faculties and propensities in subordination. "He that ruleth his spirit, is better than he that taketh a city." Civil government is a combination of a sufficient share of the governmental power of the great body of good citizens of a State, contributed by them, and organized into State authority, for the purpose of regulating public affairs, and governing such as may be found too

weak or too vile to govern themselves. Thus I view the ballot-box as the contribution box of governmental power, into which no man has a right to deposit any spurious coin; nothing inconsistent with justice and equal rights. No man, voting for the establishment or modification of a constitution, or organic law of the State, has a right to patronize any principle or rule which he is not willing to be governed by, or vote at the election for a man other than such as he would feel safe to trust with his own business. Thus justice becomes the prime law of a self-governing nation through the whole process of its formation and administration. I can find no other "life and power in the state" than what is inherent in those who compose the state. No justice, except what proceeds from the voice of the people. So we may say of national wealth, of national honor, of national prosperity, or refinement, or morality; all may be resolved into individuality. So we may say of national guilt and suffering, of national obligations or indebtedness. It is all but a combination of individual guilt or merit.

C. Do you believe, then, that all the homicide of war is really individual homicide, and its guilt individual guilt?

S. Certainly; I can view it in no other light.

C. O! the horrors of such a thought are insufferable. But where is your security for a good government, when the responsibility is so scattered? There must be danger from every quarter, where there is no higher sanction than the popular sense of obligation. Were all men perfect, there might be safety; but we must take men and things as they are.

S. True, we must; but it does not follow that we must *leave* them as they are. I believe the world is still in a course of reform. There is danger just in proportion as there is lack of a sense of responsibility, and of moral principle. But where is our safety when men can shift all sense of shame and guilt upon this ignis fatuus, and at the same time reap a harvest of glory and self-gratulation, from public violence and outrage? Alexander the Great acknowledged himself under the strongest possible obligations to Aristotle for making him what he was. But would it be safe to have all our learned young men taught as he was, and follow in his steps? In such case we should have Jefferson Davises enough. We desire safety from governments; for such purpose they are established. But what safety have the people enjoyed from governments established on the Aristotelian plan? Governments, with such claims of superhuman authority, have shed more innocent blood in war, destroyed more property, and entailed more vice and ignorance on society by war, than all other means combined have done. The history of governments has been in general a history of wars. The great majority of property they could wrest from the people, and the great majority of dupes they could press into their service, have been sacrificed in wars, under this claim of divine right. Shall we now ask in what other way we can seek safety? Our security must be found in the moral character of the people, that is, in the respect they entertain for the moral law. Now, with the man who, as a subject of

God's government, has regard for this law, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*, the consideration of the great aggregate of neighbors in the state must impose obligations to loyalty strong as both human and divine authority can afford.

B. But how do you dispose of those passages of Scripture which enjoin on us obedience to magistrates for conscience sake? These words are in our Bibles.

S. True, they are in our Bibles, they are also in our dictionaries; but not in the order in which they are too often quoted. I would read them literally as they are given us, and in their just connection, seeking their true import in the circumstances under which they were written. Paul, in writing to Titus at Crete, says: "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work." If we look at the character given of the Cretians in the first chapter, we shall see a strong reason for such injunction. But I do not here find myself commanded to be subject to principalities. The phrase, "for conscience sake," in Rom. xiii., where the apostle, having reminded the church that rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil — ministers of good to them that do well, and avengers to execute wrath on those who do evil,—he infers, "Wherefore, ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake." The whole passage seems designed to relieve the church at Rome from certain superstitious scruples about allegiance to the pagan government under which they lived. That a removal of those scruples, and a consequent ready obedience to the ordinary requisitions of the Roman power, were important, the history of those times will abundantly show. Hence the apostle, as if to remove forever all such scruples about allegiance to a prince who claimed his authority from Jupiter, or any other pagan god, absolutely settles the question thus: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God," (none of Jupiter.) "The powers that be," (the present existing powers,) "are ordained of God. Whoso, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God;" (His providential arrangement;) "and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation," (condemnation by the rulers). Such an understanding of the passage seems required by the circumstances which called it out. I am aware, that many commentators, called Orthodox, have explained this passage to give superhuman sanction to civil government. Such exposition, in its extreme form, I have no doubt had its origin at a period when the church was little else than a subordinate police for the state, and the state was in return a burner of heretics for the church. But it is a matter of great surprise that so much of this doctrine should continue to this day. The late Prof. Stuart, who had as good an opportunity to understand its true meaning perhaps as any man ever had, has given it essentially the same interpretation I have suggested. So, also, in Titus, and in Peter 2: 17.

C. I wish to inquire your views of sovereignty in civil authority. You

see clearly that the Bible requires subordination and respect of the common people; but does not subordination imply sovereignty? And how will you dispose of that part of God's arrangement?

S. I thought I had given my ideas pretty distinctly on the subject of self-government and self-governing communities. If you refer to the sovereignty implied in the Scriptures quoted, I think that belongs to your side of the subject; and I should like to hear, as I do not wish to do all the talking. But first let me connect with the passages under consideration one other, enforcing the same spirit of meekness, where an inspired apostle, to illustrate the rashness and unchristian conduct of certain who had crept into the society of saints, yet did not forbear to despise dignities, and speak evil of the things they did not understand, says: "Yet Michael, the archangel, when contending with the devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, 'The Lord rebuke thee.'" Now, will you decipher from this passage the amount of veneration Michael holds for the devil, and, by just inference the allegiance we owe also to this god of the world?

B. It is a base and cowardly imposition thus to thrust the devil in our face. Our views are supported by evidence overwhelming. We have the opinion of every generation of men in every age and every land, to support the doctrine of a sacred sanction to civil government, which amounts to the full testimony of the combined reason of the human race. It is madness to dispute this point. What our country needs, and has needed for at least one fourth of a century, is some great men, like the immortals of antiquity, at the helm of state, to assert and sustain the prerogatives of their station. Our imbecility began long ago, in the doctrines of inalienable rights, and social compact; and it has gone on with its socialism in making government only another name for persuasion, and in temperance societies, peace societies, and no-government lectures, and non-resistance, and no hanging for crime, and no hereditary claims, and no distinction from origin, or from color, until our morality has become weak and sickly, and our religion a mere rose-water religion. But God in his wisdom has seen fit at length to break in upon this sluggish torpor by internal war. We of the South had gone far enough, too far, in this direction; but we had a Davis, and a Beauregard, and some others I might name, who have come forward to redeem us from this decline. And leading men at the North, I find, are waking up on this subject. Have you read Dr. Bushnell's sermon, preached after the Bull's Run disaster? He says: "The specious fiction we have contrived to account for government, without reference to God, or moral ideas." And again he says of the defeat: "As the dyer uses mordants to set in his colors, so adversity is the mordant for all sentiments of morality. . . . Without shedding of blood there is no such grace prepared. There must be tears in the house, as well as blood in the field. . . . Religion must send up her cries out of houses, temples, closets, where

faith groans heavily before God. In these and all such terrible throes, the true loyalty is born. Then the nation emerges at last a true nation, consecrated, and made great in our eyes, by the sacrifice it has cost. There is no way ever but just this to make a nation great and holy in the feeling of its people. And it has never raised in this manner, till it has fought up some *great man or hero*, in whom its struggles and victories are fitly personated. These Washingtons are expensive; they cost how many sacrifices, how many thousands of lives, what rivers of tears, and blood, and money. And yet they are cheap. Our old Washington—what would we take for him? Give us grace, O thou God of the land, only to deserve and patiently wait, and *sturdily fight* for another; so for the establishment of our glorious nationality, and the *everlasting expulsion* of those baseless, godless theories, which our *fathers let in* to corrupt and filch away the principles of right and law-girt liberty for which in fact they bled.”

C. There, S.; what do you think of such sentiments and such prayers, uttered from a New England pulpit?

S. Think? I think they will arrive at the same corollary that Balak and Balaam did in seeking enchantment against ancient Israel. They could build their seven altars, time after time, and from place to place, and offer a bullock and a ram on every altar, and yet were forced to this conclusion: “God is not a man that He should lie, or the son of man, that He should repent. Hath He said, and shall He not do it? Hath He spoken, and hath He not hitherto made it good?” The Prince of Peace has said, “they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.” He hath spoken, and hath He not hitherto made it good? And will He not always make it good? Bushnell calls him the great man in whom struggles and victories are fitly personated. The Bible says, “he that ruleth his spirit, is better than he that taketh a city.”

B. God is styled the God of battles. War has ever been God’s instrumentality for reforming the world, and settling national controversies, and is undoubtedly destined so to be until the millenium.

S. God is no more the God of national than of private battles. The God of Duels! What should we think of such a title given to God? God of battles! Such an appellation would seem blasphemous, had it not been perversely made common. War a reformer! It has been the great incubus that has depressed reform. True, the world has made advance in *spite* of its wars; but more advance has been made in useful arts and civilization in fifty years of peace, than in centuries of war.

C. But, sir, you will not deny that through almost the whole period of the Old Testament history, wars are recorded, wars that were commanded of God; and, as all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and profitable for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be furnished to all good works, how can you discard war as essentially wrong? Have we no example for our imitation in all these? Are we not to learn something from so much of Scripture as pertains to war?

S. Undoubtedly, if we look to the Scriptures with a child-like, teachable spirit. The ways of God are indeed mysterious; and doubtless much is to be learned from those Scripture records which have been overlooked by approaching them with an ungodly and pugnacious spirit. God cut off the nations of Canaan for their iniquity. In this we have a lesson. God commissioned Israel by war to triumph over the heathen nations, more and mightier than they, that He, as the Great Jehovah, might thereby be seen triumphant over all their false gods on which they relied for success. As He had chosen Israel to be the light of all beholding nations, as He has the Church for latter days, so by attacking and defeating their mythology in its stronghold, He made demonstration to all that He was the only living and true God. God, by giving Israel success in war, taught them again and again the great lesson of faith in himself, for their success was by miracle. Here, also, he notoriously taught the heathen, and Israel who were made his instrumentality, the great and much needed lesson of faith in God.

But you ask, were not their wars an example for us? I answer, no; no more than they were an example for the imitation of the heathen tribes whom they cut off; and no Christian nation receives them as an example, however many excuses they may fabricate out of them. Israel waged war by the special command of God in most, perhaps all cases, where God granted them success. Here warriors do not follow their example. Israel were forbidden to multiply munitions of war, as horses and chariots, and in their most successful days were obedient to this prohibition. The modern Law of War says, "The glory of a nation consists entirely in its powers." So we might pursue these contrasts. Gideon's war may be taken as a fair example. How was his army mustered? By miracle-test it was reduced to a mere handful. How equipped? With empty pitchers, and lamps within the pitchers. How was the onset conducted? In a manner which would be regarded as a burlesque on modern warfare. Now, until the wars of Israel are imitated in some, or all, these particulars, we cannot justify modern wars by the example of Israel.

The Christian system forbids war. Such is the plain import of ancient prophecy. It was the direct teaching of Christ, "Love your enemies. Do good to them that hate you." So the primitive saints understood it, and so persisted generally, for near three centuries. Indeed, the war sentiment was never admitted into the Christian church, until it was crowded in with a bundle of other pagan maxims and rites. As to war occupying nearly the whole period of Old Testament history, if we except the war of the patriarch Abram to recover his kinsman, Lot, which it is not improbable was by divine injunction through priest Melchizedek, we shall find that those authorized wars occupied less than one fourth of that period.

B. But, after all you urge in favor of your views, you must see and feel now that the crisis has come, the weakness of your self-government system, where law and government have no higher majesty or dignity than what

is inherent in the people. This doctrine has well-nigh ruined us of the South; but with you of the North, where it has had its full sway, you see you cannot find a man among you, with all your superiority of numbers, that is fit to meet such an exigency. Governments are, and must be conceded to be, based on superhuman power, or they are good for nothing.

S. Good for nothing! Where will you find a nation in history whose quietude, prosperity and advance will compare with ours?

B. But where are your great men, produced by such a state of things?

S. According to my doctrine, the government is the property of the people, not the people the property of the government; consequently the true object of government is to secure the *rights of the people*, and thus promote *their* prosperity and happiness. This being done, its object is accomplished. But the crisis has arrived; and is our government adequate to it? When the whole becomes a matter of history, we may better judge than now. We of the North are not as old in this affair as you of the South. While we were doing our part in administering the government in a quiet and confiding manner, the leading men of your section, when entrusted with public affairs—such as the treasury, and munitions of defense—were clandestinely and perfidiously confederating with the chief magistrates of the Southern States, without the consent or knowledge of the people of those States, to overthrow our common Union, taking advantage of the trust reposed in them, to secure for such a purpose the property of the nation. Such is the transaction that has brought out the *great men* of whom you boast! Taken by surprise, the first object of the government was to ascertain how extensive the insurrection, and how general the rebellion, that it might give no occasion to complain of severity, or alienate such as might be loyal at heart, but were decoyed into rebellion by their State governments. Forbearance and lenity, practiced in such a case and for such a purpose, is not peculiar to a republican government, but is obviously a matter of discretion with all, and does not betray a want of energy. This discretion has been liberally exercised by our government; but whether too far, time must determine. I am not pleading for *great men*, nor for the functionaries of government, personally considered. I plead for the government itself, as an appendage of the people.

Now, in ascertaining which is the most reliable form of government, let me ask, in all earnestness, in which section did this outbreak begin,—in the more democratic, or in the more despotic? Certainly the latter; and the leaders there are the greatest opponents of free government in that section; so that this rebellion may be justly styled a war waged by despotic against self-governing power. But let us see how it is on the other side. Is there a want of readiness or efficiency on the part of the people? No; at the first call of the Executive, men came forward and voluntarily offered their services and their lives,—men more than could be received. No pressing, no draughting, was needed. Why? Because the people felt that the interest at stake was their own interest, and the business in hand their

their own business. So with money. While the credit of the government was, and is, ample for the exigency, the States vie with each other in offering pecuniary aid. Where did any government ever find in such an emergency more ready and efficient means brought to its hand? Talk of its weakness! Its invincible strength is proved by this test; and I trust in God that, though it may discard war as an ordeal, it will ever prove adequate to defend itself against internal and external foes, and that is enough. We do not desire to be a warlike nation; for such a character would be in direct contrast to the true doctrine of a self-governing community.

C. There it comes out again. I almost began to think, in your encomiums on our volunteer spirit, you would lose sight of your peculiarities; but, if the common theory of a divine sanction to government is wrong, and the sentiments of the church and clergy, of statesmen and nations, are wrong on the subject, where shall the reform begin?

S. Begin right here—begin with the clergy. The hereditary and despotic governments of the earth cannot be expected to begin it. The people as a mass will not begin it. They form their views on abstract subjects mainly from the pulpit and the press. The reform must begin with preachers of the gospel. Christ is the Prince of Peace, and must be presented from the pulpit as He is prophetically, historically and theoretically in the Bible, until His gospel shall become in public view, as it is in name, the gospel of peace, and shall secure the character of peace to the communities that profess to embrace its principles.

C. But would you have us desecrate the Sabbath, and the pulpit, and our sacred office, to discussions on politics?

S. Desecrate! How? By echoing among men the song of the angels at the Saviour's birth? Call you this a desecration of your ministry? No; the perversion has come from *such* politics as have long been the popular theme of the day. Do you not see that the points you have been sustaining, give religious support to the war that is now raging? If not made the direct theme of your pulpit discourses, do they not frequently come out in your public prayers, and in incidental allusions as well as in conversation?

C. Would you, then, condemn the war on the part of the South?

S. I do not call it war on our part, but the legitimate action of government in suppressing insurrection. With this view, I cannot condemn it. But the rebel party are using every exertion to dignify the present strife with the character of international war, in order to secure for it the sanction of international law, with rights equal on both sides, and consequently to be prosecuted by the people for conscience sake. Were it not for such doctrine, pressed by the Southern clergy, I have no doubt this war would long ere this have been brought to an end. Yet how do *your* religious views, setting aside the mere political difference, vary from theirs?

C. I shall still hold to the doctrine that governments are ordained of

God, to be obeyed for conscience sake; consequently, when one nation by war commits a controversy to God, appealing to Him for its justice, and relying on him for success, it becomes the moral and religious duty of all good citizens to lend their aid to the war.

S. Such I understand to be the sentiments of the clergy throughout the world, Protestants and Catholics; and by such sentiments the system of war, is continued and could not be continued without it. A system or practice which assumes so much the divine prerogative, and disposes of the lives and destinies of men with so unsparing hand, could never subsist without religious sanction of some sort. In this enlightened age especially it depends on religion for support; and without such support, no power of wicked men and devils could continue it. But the duty of the clergy in the premises does not end with merely withdrawing their influence from the support of war; their commission is from God, and runs thus: Receive the word at my mouth, and warn the people from me. State authority has no right to interpose and draw a line of protection around its favorite public wrongs, such as war, slavery, or any kind of oppression, and forbid the interference of religious rebuke.

C. You seem to lay siege to the doctrine of divine rights in governments, as if that supported the war-system; but that is not the only support of war. It runs through the whole frame-work of international law, and has the sanction of every nation and every age. Think you the weak things of this world, the clergy, are adequate to encounter it?

S. Yes, if they duly realize their own weakness, and thus are faithful to their commission, they shall be made mighty through God to the casting down vain imaginations, and every thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge and prerogatives of God, and bringing all into obedience to Christ, until the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the tops of the mountains, and all nations shall flow unto it; until swords shall be beaten into plough-shares, and men shall learn war no more. I know that provisions for war have had their place in the mythology of politicians from the days of Aristotle down to the present; but that does not prove the system invulnerable nor immortal. So has private war, the duel, had its day as a sacred ordeal in the *Christian church*, solemnized with prayer and fasting; but it has been expunged from the code of morals and religion, as war is destined yet to be.

C. But where do you find a command from the Great Head of the church to discard the Christian doctrine, and adopt the Jeffersonian?

S. I find it, call it by what name you please, in Matthew **xx. 25-27**: "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great execute authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister, and whosoever will be chief, let him be your servant." So Luke **xxii. 25-26**. Thus directly did the Great Head of the church discard the Aristotelian doctrine, then in vogue, and approve, if you will, the Jeffer-

sonian. So under the theocracy in the days of Moses, Deut. i. 13, "Take ye wise men, and understanding, and *known among your tribes*; and I will make them rulers over you."

C. But in these quotations from Matthew and Luke, Christ was laying down rules for His church.

S. Yes; and I have yet to learn that He left rules for any other class of men.

C. What, then, would you have us do?—undertake to revise the laws of nations?

S. I would rather say, it becomes the imperative duty of the Christian clergy, in view of the abominations imposed on the world by their rulers, to denounce those flagrant wrongs, to trace them to the corrupt maxims on which they stand, and, as Ezekiel did in vision, dig in the wall and enter the chambers of profane imagery, and descry the idols of the house of Israel. It becomes them faithfully and boldly to rebuke the flagrant wrongs practised by governments, scan the maxim by which they are sustained, and test them by the law of God and the gospel of Christ. However supported by names the most venerable in history, still such support should afford those maxims no shield from the strictness of God's word. Let the clergy take such a stand, and stick to it; and they would eventually strike from the code of national law the foul and bloody code of war. Would not the abolition of war follow in time as a matter of course? There is nothing in the innate conscience of man, nothing in the interests of society, to support the custom. Withdraw from it the support of religion; and ambition, instead of supporting it, would rather seek applause in its overthrow.

Concealment and mysticisms seem essential to the continuance of war. It is recorded of Aristotle, as was the custom of Grecian philosophers in his day to aggrandize themselves, rather than enlighten the world, he held two schools—one for the learned and royal youth, in which he taught his secret and mystical doctrines; the other an open school, for all his pupils in logic, rhetoric and philosophy. Are not our modern Aristotelian doctrines brought and kept in like manner before the public?

The Protestant clergy have long set at defiance the Pope's claim to wield the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Why should they not discard the claim to wield men's consciences, made under the less plausible claim of successorship to the Emperor Nero? Set such claims at defiance, and risk the consequence. Here is a noble field for Christian heroism. Do you regard it as a sublime scene to behold the clergy girt about with the panoply of war? Rather let them be arrayed in the panoply of the gospel, bright and untarnished. Then, but never till then, shall the world be won over to Christ.

The war-habits of Christians are a standing reproach and obstruction to the gospel. Said a Mahometan to one of our missionaries by way of retort, "We are obliged to interfere to prevent you Christians from killing

each other over the sepulcher of your Lord.' Said the Emperor of China, 'I cannot admit Christianity into my empire ; for where Christians go, they whiten the earth with human bones.' Said a Jew to a Christian missionary, 'Do you not know that when the true Messiah cometh, his kingdom shall be a kingdom of peace? Jewish rabbis cannot be made to believe that the Messiah's kingdom can have any complicity with war. They know better even from prophecy. The gospel, it is clear, can make little further advance with the war-system hanging like a mill-stone about its neck. How did Christ pray in the garden? "Father! I will that they all may be one, even as we are one, that the world *may know* that thou hast chosen me, and I have chosen them." Unity and mutual love in the church is the great secret of success to the gospel. The Jews can never come into the church, together with the fulness of the Gentiles, until war shall be banished from its code!

How strange a spectacle does this Christianity of our land present to the world! Here are reputed Christians, North and South, once, if not still, of the same communion, Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, arrayed in fierce and desperate strife against each other, preaching, praying and fighting against their own brethren as a matter of conscience, enjoining and applauding deeds of blood and vengeance against one another, acting more like tigers and hyenas than like followers of their common Lord, the Prince of Peace! What an opprobrium on the Christian name! How many ages must it take to efface the deep and burning shame! Say you, the blame rests not on us, but on the rebels? Be it so; still our common Christianity stands before the world responsible for these shameful, terrible facts. The religion taught and practiced in our land has not sufficed to avert them, but is now used on each side of this fratricidal contest to justify and abet them. Is it not time for all Christians to look into the matter in earnest? Surely there can be no demand more imperative than the present necessity of ferreting out, and expurgating from our Christian creed and conduct such gross absurdities. It is true the whole responsibility does not belong to the clergy; yet to their course may we not apply the burning words of Shakspeare?

" Whose white vestments figure innocence,
The dove and very blessed spirit of peace;
Wherefore do you so ill translate yourself
Out of the speech of peace that bears such grace,
Into the harsh and boisterous tongue of war?
Turning your books to graves, your ink to blood,
Your pens to lances, and your tongues divine
To a loud trumpet, and a point of war."

When shall we learn that wisdom is better than weapons of war? O when shall "the words of the wise be heard in quiet, more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools?"

S. W. B.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that mourn; for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God. Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment; and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire. Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the publicans so? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

NEITHER SEPARATION NOR WAR THE PROPER WAY. — Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of the country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. It is impossible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before. Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws among friends?

Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical question, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you. This country,

with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.—*President Lincoln's Inaugural.*

THE MORE EXCELLENT WAY.

War is always wrong. Sometimes, as now, it is relatively necessary, but never absolutely. It is necessary only because, like the city over which Jesus wept, our nation knows not the things that belong to its peace.

The victories of Peace require so much more courage than those of war that they are rarely won. To proclaim every slave in America free, would disband the Southern armies,—would pin every rebel to his home,—would make any force but a Home Guard, impossible at the South,—*would end the war without another battle.*

Our Government has not the courage to touch that unmitigated crime and curse. Seven thousand young noble-browed men have been some time ago, sacrificed to slavery. Seventy times seven may follow. America stands with her sons upon the altar, and the angel Peace cries, "Stay thy hand!" and points at the BRUTE that God hath prepared for the sacrifice. America prefers that Isaac shall bleed in preference to Slavery over there caught in the thicket.

M. D. C.

EMANCIPATION CHEAPER THAN WAR.—Moral causes almost, if not quite, invariably require much time to work out their legitimate results; and if we would avert war, we must in season throw the anchor of such influences far to the windward. "The advocates of Peace on Christian grounds," says *The Friends' Review*, "are sometimes asked, *after the commencement of a war*, how their principles are *now* to be applied? The answer may properly be, that a *timely* application of those principles would have *prevented* the war; and thus the responsibility rests upon those who, refusing to act upon such principles, entered into hostilities.

Whatever the result of the present conflict shall be, the question may be pertinently asked, whether, during the long years of its threatening, it might not have been a just and wise policy, seeing that the North as well as the South was implicated in the guilt of slavery, for the former to have made an overture for a satisfactory settlement of the whole question. Such an overture, we believe, would have been found in the plan of "National Compensation," as repeatedly advocated in the *Review*, and earnestly urged upon by our friend Elihu Burritt. If Congress had passed the proposed law *a few years ago*, there can be little doubt that Delaware, and probably Maryland and Kentucky, would have accepted its provisions before this time, and been numbered with the Free States. The favorable influence of this course would also have been great upon the South. But the proposition was at once met by the objection, that the *expense* involved would be beyond endurance; "it would cost," exclaimed some, "a thousand millions of dollars." Now, we are told, if the Union can be restored as it existed at the beginning of the rebellion, slavery and all, it will be worth the expenditure by the North, not only of that vast sum, but of *any* amount of blood and treasure. Taking into the estimate the expense incurred by the Slave States, and the losses of the whole country by the prostration of all kinds of business, how overwhelming seems the result! The prime cause of the rebellion remaining untouched, after the contest is over, *what* guarantee can we have that the conflict will not be renewed?

FOREIGN VIEWS OF THE REBELLION.

The world is coming to juster views of the struggle in which our country is embarked. We give a few specimens:—

JOHN BRIGHT, the eloquent Quaker member of Parliament:—"I saw a letter the other day from an Englishman, resident for twenty-five years in Philadelphia, a merchant there, and a very prosperous merchant. He said: 'I prefer the institutions of this country (the United States) very much to yours in England; but,' he says 'if it be once admitted that here we have no country and no government, but that any portion of these United States can break off from the central government whenever it pleases, then it is time for me to pack up what I have and go somewhere where there is a country and a government!' Well, that is the pith of the question. Do you suppose that if Lancashire and Yorkshire thought they would break off from the United Kingdom, that those newspapers which are now preaching every kind of moderation to the government of Washington, would advise the Government of London to allow these two counties to set up a special government for themselves? When the people of Ireland asked that they should secede, was it proposed in London that they should secede peaceably? Nothing of the kind.

I am not going to defend what is taking place in a country that is well able to defend itself; but I advise you, and I advise the people of England, to abstain from applying to the United States doctrines and principles which we never apply to our own case. At this moment, when you are told that they are going to be ruined by their vast expenditure, why, the sum they are going to raise in the great emergency of this grievous war is not greater than we raise every year during a time of peace. It is said they are not going to liberate slaves. No; the object of the Washington Government is to maintain their own Constitution, and to act legally as it permits and requires.

No man is more in favor of peace than I am, no man has denounced war more than I have, probably, in this country; few men in their public life, have suffered more obloquy—I had almost said, more indignity—in consequence of it. But I cannot for the life of me see, upon any of those principles upon which States are governed now—I say nothing of the literal word of the New Testament—I cannot see how the state of affairs in America, with regard to the United States government, could have been different from what it is at this moment. If the thirty-three or thirty-four States of the Union can break off whenever they like, I can see nothing but disaster and confusion throughout the whole of that continent. I say that the war, be it successful or not, be it Christian or not, be it wise or not, is a war to sustain the government, and to sustain the authority of a great nation; and that the people of England, if they are true to their own sympathies, will have no sympathy for those who wish to build up a great empire on the perpetual bondage of millions of their fellow men."

London Patriot.—"No more causeless and utterly wicked rebellion was ever known in history. The slave power, which, at the adoption of the Constitution, spoke with 'bated breath and whispering humbleness' of the institution of slavery, and professed to regard it as fated to a gradual decay, has long since changed its tone, and swollen with pride, lust and greed of gain, has from time to time advanced claims on its behalf, which the compromising spirit of the Free States has granted, till at last it utters its blasphemies against the spirit of the Gospel of Christ, declares its system

is the heaven-appointed means of evangelizing the African race, and putting bitter for sweet, light for darkness, it madly seeks to found an Empire on the souls and bodies of four millions of men, unblushingly declaring by the mouth of one of its arch-traitors, that 'the corner-stone' of that Empire 'which the builders' of the Constitution 'rejected,' is Slavery. Surely a rebellious power, which can only exist by the denial of free opinion or free speech, which tar-and-feathers, when it does not scourge or hang, those who will not bow down to its black Dragon, which passes ordinances without even the show of a popular election, or where, as in Virginia it grants the barefaced mockery of one, forewarns those who might think of voting for the Union, that their so doing would be 'considered treason,' and they themselves dealt with as traitors,—a rebellious power, whose leaders and chief officers are robbers and perjurers—men who plundered by wholesale the Government whose pay they were receiving, and whom they had sworn to uphold, and who, to the meanness of living on the unpaid labor of others, now decree that their adherents are bound to repudiate the debts they owe to the North,—surely every honest, liberty-loving Briton is bound to express his sympathy with the Free States in their struggle with such a despotism. Surely a power which declares slavery to be its corner-stone, and daringly boasts of its cause as the cause of God, must meet with the sternest reprobation of every Christian British heart. The very gorge of one's soul rises to think that men like these are counting on the sympathy and help of Britain; and that they insultingly believe our boasted championship of the slave will yield to our desire for cotton, our love of human freedom to our love of gold. Let them see that for their treason and slavery, 'the worst crime known in government, and the worst cause known in history, we have nothing but the utmost abhorrence.'

London News. — "The crime is as flagrant as any treason ever was since society was organized. The more the case is examined, the more clearly it will be seen that the secessionists are wholly and absolutely in the wrong; that they are guilty of treason, carried on by conspiracy of the basest sort, and aims which are incompatible with the peace of the world. They have made no attempt to retire on fair terms of separation, and with a legal award of their share of property. They have absconded from the Union, with all the cash they could bribe the servants to help them to; and they have since assaulted the Government which they had pillaged. This is the plain state of the case; and it is not to the credit of our knowledge that there should be any among us who attempt to defend or excuse the course of action, more or less. It can be only through ignorance that any Englishman can do so.

British Standard, London.—After characterizing Dr. Russell's account of Southern society as absolutely horrible—"acts not to be tolerated in the worst days of Corsican *vendette*, and which must be put down, or the countries in which they are unpunished, will become as barbarous as jungles of wild beasts"; says, "for our own part, we do think the less the civilized world has to do with the Secession States the better. We can scarcely conceive of any class of human kind, no matter by what means collected, in whom we should place less confidence. It puts us strongly in mind of the fraternity of robbers and their leader, Signor Rolando, who villainously boasted, in rehearsing his terrible career, that God had given him grace to grow old in his profession, in spite of the dangers to which it was exposed. The God of these ruffians is the Devil! It makes the blood run cold to think of a new kingdom founded in Slavery, and ruled by such sons of perdition!"

OUR SOCIETY'S POSITION.

We endeavored, in our last number, to state as exactly as we could, the grounds uniformly taken by our Society from its origin; and we subjoin a few extracts from correspondents to show how far those expositions meet the views of our most intelligent and most reliable friends:—

"As to the sentiments contained in the last *Advocate*, they have long been my own. I think there is nothing in it but what I can heartily subscribe. The present war, with all its peculiarities, has done nothing to shake my faith in the peace principles, but has rather served to confirm it. * * * The sentiments of this September Number are what I think we should labor to keep before the public mind at this crisis; a crisis which exhibits the great majority of the clergy, both South and North, diligently at work to stimulate their churches, and those within their influence, to engage in mutual homicide, as a course of Christian duty, a course approved by God, * * * regarding war as God's method of settling national controversies!"

S. W. B.

"I have read with great interest," says another "your articles in the last *Advocate*. In my view they are not only very able, but are candid and just, and place the position of the Peace Society just where I always understood it to be. There are undoubtedly some friends and supporters of the Society who go further in their views;—some who hold to the inviolability of human life, except as the extinction of life may sometimes be undesignedly incidental to the use of milder measures. But, however this may be, there can be no doubt in my mind that you have stated correctly the basis on which the Peace Society, considered as a permanent and effective organization, contemplates the modification and extinction of war among nations; but there can be no nations without government, and no government without the ability to meet and subdue rebellion."

T. C. U.

"I have," says another, "perused repeatedly the last two numbers of the *Advocate*, and with earnest attention, to see how far the doctrines and tone of the articles are safe and just in the present state of the country. Only in one respect do I discover any likelihood of misunderstanding or condemning the attitude of the *Advocate*. It is that several of the pieces were written before the South had proceeded to open violence, and announced its intention to overturn the government of the United States, seize the Capital, and lay waste our Northern cities. Some of the sentiments now look as if the writers inculcated absolute non-resistance to assassins, bridge-burners, and infuriated invaders; but, read in the light of the time of writing, they require no such interpretation. * * The present struggle can be called war only in view of its large proportions. The rebels clutch at the nation's throat, and avow a purpose to take the nation's life—to make slavery, in every sense, national, and to substitute a "strong government" instead of a Republic. They avow personal, intense and immortal hatred of Yankees, as they call all free State people.

I see no sufficient reason for the Peace Society to strike its flag, or mask its batteries. Our sole aim is to supersede national duels, by fixed, plain, comprehensive, authoritative international law. We have in our ranks every variety of political economists, and moralists. So have Temperance Societies, and all other benevolent societies. But I believe we have no

constituent who denies the right of self-defence against the prowling burglar or the frenzied crowd." H. M.

• • "I have read the last Advocate, and I cannot see why the statements of the course which the Am. Peace Society has hitherto pursued, is not correct. Nor can I see why the logic by which its present course is sustained is not sound. We cannot, it seems to me, be loyal citizens of our government, or of any government, except on the principles there laid down. It has for many years been my deep conviction, that the great practical end to which the efforts of all Peace Societies should be directed, is the prevention of war by creating a public sentiment in favor of a grand system of arbitration, and of the general disarmament of the nations of the earth by voluntary and mutual disarmament. • • •

The Peace men of this country are called to endure such trials as have never been experienced by the friends of the cause in any other country. I hope they may be found faithful to their principles." • • A. W.

The above utterances are from some of our ablest supporters, friends of our cause for more than thirty years, earnest advocates of it so long ago as the days of Worcester and Ladd, believers in the contrariety of war in every form to the gospel, all known to the public by the productions of their pen, and two of them authors of wide and high distinction. We have received nothing *different* from such endorsements as these except two *anonymous* notes which we could not trace to any reliable source, neither of them containing aught worthy of the public eye.

THE MAGNITUDE OF OUR CONTEST.—Few have an adequate conception of the vast dimensions already reached by the great struggle now going on in our land. History records no rebellion on a scale so vast, or involving results so important or so far-reaching. We see it stated on good authority, that our Government already has not less than 650,000 men enlisted in its service; and the rebels claim to have in the field a number nearly, if not quite as large; so that we may safely presume the troops on both sides to be full a million. The expenses of our Government are estimated at one million and a quarter a day; and those of the rebels cannot be much less, making the sum total more than two millions a day.

CHANGES TO BE EXPECTED.—It is impossible to foresee all the changes likely to follow such a struggle; but it requires no prophet's ken to anticipate not a few that must entail upon ourselves and the world most disastrous results. It will in time cost far more money, life and moral power than would suffice under God to evangelize every nation on the globe. Of such consequences we will not now speak; sufficient to the day will be the evil thereof.

FUTURE MATERIALS FOR PEACE.—The passing hour teems with such materials. We cannot just now use many of them; but we are accumulating a vast amount of them for future use. Their value will hereafter be

appreciated ; for the day is coming when peace will be as much above par as it is now below.

PEACE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.—In times like the present there is always great danger of such collisions or misunderstandings between us as may lead to war. Nobody on either side wishes or expects it ; and yet it may be rendered inevitable ere we are aware. Already have we had warnings that ought to waken salutary, timely fears. We have indeed been wont of late years to flatter ourselves, that there is to be no more war between us ; but, with the war-system and the war-spirit still cherished in each country, we can have no real security. Now, if ever, should the true and trustworthy friends of peace do their utmost to insure continued peace between nations bound together by so many and so strong bonds alike of duty and of interest. War between England and America is among the terrible possibilities against which every friend of God and man should most anxiously guard.

ANNUAL EFFORTS FOR PEACE.—We have long been wont, on the return of each December, to bring the claims of our cause before its friends, and request a general Concert of Prayer, Preaching and Contribution in its behalf. Every body must see that there is now more need than ever of such efforts ; but in the present condition of our country, we can hope for little success by such appeals, except from a select few whose faith and zeal, like our own, are only intensified by the bitter experiences of the passing hour. Amid all the lurid clouds that overhang us, we “ abate not a jot of heart or hope ” respecting our cause ; and when the storm is over, and people have time for calm, sober reflection, we shall confidently expect our cause to be appreciated as it never yet has been. Till then we must rely upon a select few to keep it alive by their prayers and efforts. To a few friends, who have increased their usual donations, we owe our special thanks.

CONTRIBUTIONS.—Our friends know that December is the month in which they are expected to send their annual aid. We trust that they will not forget our wants. In such times as these, we can expect very little from the people at large, but must rely almost solely upon the few who have come to feel an intelligent, habitual interest in our cause. We do not just now attempt as much as in some years past ; but we are clear that it ought by all means to be kept alive. This, with God’s blessing, we shall hope to do ; but in doing it, we shall need special sympathy and support from our more reliable friends, and trust they will not fail to forward their usual contributions.

N. B. Subscribers to the *Permanent Fund* may expect early in 1862, the time at which it was to be completed, a report on the subject. Despite the times, we anticipate its substantial success.

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THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

FOR
JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.

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WHAT MAKES WAR NECESSARY.

There is an almost universal belief in the necessity of war; and all history, Christian as well as pagan, attests beyond doubt, the sincerity and strength of such a belief. How else can we account for the fact, that nations have from time immemorial made war and preparation for war their chief business, and that Christendom, with the creed of peace on her lips, is at this hour employing four or five million men, and spending every year more than a thousand million dollars in support of her war-system? Surely nations must, in all honesty and earnestness, believe it necessary, or they would never submit to a burden so enormous and crushing.

Is there, then, no real necessity for war or the war-system? None whatever, except what comes from the wrong habits, the guilty choice of nations; no more necessity for it than there is for intemperance, duelling or the slave-trade. It is because men in their folly and guilt choose it. It is a moral necessity alone, the result of wrong principles and habits. Bring these into full accordance with the gospel, or even with the dictates of a civilized common sense, and war would soon give place to some rational, equitable system for the peaceful adjustment of all national disputes.

Let us analyze a little this stale, stereotyped plea of necessity for war. What in truth does it mean? That nations could not, even if they would, settle their difficulties without butchering each other? Just so does the duellist plead the necessity of duelling; but what does he mean by such a plea? That he must, whether he will or not, imbrue

his hands in his brother's blood? No; he *must* solely because he *will*, a matter of guilty choice; and he *will*, mainly because public opinion, rotten to the very core on the subject, is supposed to demand it of him under peril of her ban. There is no other necessity than this. Why does excited passion in our Southern States vent itself in duels? Custom there has hewn out this channel of blood into which excited passion flows. But why in New England does the same degree of passion never lead to duels? Public opinion here frowns upon the duellist as a calculating, cold-blooded murderer, and puts upon him the brand and penalty of murder. Yet is not human nature in each case essentially the same? Yes, certainly; and the whole difference results from the different education of the two communities.

Now, if all Christendom were trained to look upon war as the people of New England now do upon the kindred practice of duelling, nations would of course cease from all thought of an appeal to the sword as an unchristian, brutal, suicidal method of settling their disputes. Train them in Christian habits of thought and feeling on the subject; and they would soon find peaceful ways of adjusting all their difficulties. There is, in truth, no impossibility in the case. They could, if they would, discard at once the whole war-system as an arbiter of their disputes, and would do so, if they were educated as a body into the views of the gospel on the subject. Substitutes, incomparably better than the sword for all purposes of protection or redress, might be made to supersede entirely and forever the alleged necessity of war between nations. Once individuals had no other means than brute force for the redress of their wrongs, or the adjustment of their difficulties; but if that old practice of private wars gave place ages ago to codes and courts of law between individuals, is it not equally possible for nations, if they choose, to provide similar methods for the settlement of their disputes without the effusion of blood?

Such a consummation is most devoutly to be wished by all good men; and to this result, despite some strange, temporary outbursts of the war-spirit, is public opinion gradually bringing the governments of Christendom. "With the advancement of society," said Daniel Webster, "a new and elevated tribunal has come into being, to which the disputes of nations must, in all cases, be referred. I mean the Tribunal of Public Opinion. Nations cannot now go to war, unless for grounds and reasons which will justify them in the general judgment of mankind." Let this process of improvement go on; and the time must surely come when a thoroughly christianized public sentiment shall ef-

fectually forbid an appeal to arms in any case for the settlement of national disputes, and ultimately introduce, in place of the sword, a system of peaceful substitutes as the uniform and permanent policy of the civilized world.

Had such a policy been adopted ages ago, how surely and easily would it have obviated the wild, angry and fearful excitement arising from the late seizure of the rebel commissioners on board the English steamer Trent. Whether right or wrong, there was not the slightest occasion for war in any event of that affair. The fair presumption was, that the parties, on fully examining the case, would settle it between themselves to mutual satisfaction, but, if not, would unite in referring the question to an umpire whose decision should be final. In no view of the case ought there to have been the remotest thought of war; and yet for a time, did it convulse a vast empire from centre to circumference, and keep the civilized world in anxious suspense and fear. All the legitimate results of those war principles and habits to which Christendom has always been trained. Everybody now sees that there was no occasion or excuse for war in any event of this affair; and had there been in existence and effective operation a recognized system of international justice to decide such cases, and had the people and rulers of the two countries been accustomed to acquiesce in its verdict, the matter would have passed away with little or no excitement, and left the parties as friendly to each other as ever.

OUR DIFFICULTY WITH ENGLAND.

THE RIGHT APPLICATION OF THE GOSPEL TO ALL SUCH CASES.

When a son of Count Oxenstiern, the great diplomatist and the most honest of his age, was appointed to an important political mission, he ingeniously objected, on account of his lack of ability for the task. But his father overruled the objection, saying, "Go and see how little sense governs the world." Most true is the remark in all ages. Passion, blinding self-interest, obstinate bigotry, erroneous theories, current events, and the power of custom, have controlled the policy of governments, national, municipal and domestic. Bitter traditional hates have involved districts in the desolations of war, where there was neither diversity of interests, nor ground of apprehension. Bloody persecutions have been set on foot, to make the regenerate conform to ecclesiastical laws made by vile and blasphemous rulers, in whose drunken bouts "the church and king" was always the chief toast.

To account for such deplorable obliquity is not difficult. Man is a fallen creature. Satan is the "god of this world," "the prince of the power of the air." He hates man only less than he hates GOD. His baneful influence, on hearts already corrupt, educes conduct which assimilates to his own; and men damage and destroy each other, under the double potency of predisposition and temptation.

The gospel of Christ, which is given to control, purify and save men, has yet swayed no commanding influence in the world. Pagans, Mahometans and Jews know it not. The so called Christian church, from the time of Constantine, has ceased to be "a peculiar people," "a garden enclosed." As Popery developed itself into a full anti-christ, it frowned, more and more, on the reading of God's word, until it prohibited it altogether. It denied to prince and ruler, no less than to peasants and rude men, that Divine teaching which was meant for all, and in which the duties of all are made so clear, that "a wayfaring man, though a fool need not err."

At this day, in the larger portion of the so called Christian world, the Bible is interdicted to all but priests, and its perusal not enjoined even on them. Abuses, unquestioned, have grown enormous. The lower orders grow up ignorant, and the higher classes licentious. Governments learn no lessons, and submit to no laws, which issued from the lips of the Son of God. The populace are left to derive their ideas of right from state laws, or prescriptive usages, and each generation grows up alien to truth, to peace, and to blessedness.

What is the cure for earth's disorders? The word of God. How promptly were the national derelictions of Israel redressed and righted, when Josiah discovered a copy of the divine law, and earnestly set himself to conform to it in his administration of the government, 2 Chron. 34: 14—33. How beautifully, in myriad instances, has the influence of Christianity turned lions into lambs, and made brothers of very enemies. How has it restrained the uplifted arm, and the envenomed insinuation, spreading a holy calm through discordant households, and distracted communities.

To diffuse and augment the influence of the New Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ, is, then, the sublime work of all who profess themselves his followers. But they have not been so taught. Priests have monopolized the business of propogating religion, and the private person could only do so under the ban and the peril of sectarianism and strife.

In two nations only, at this time, is the word of God freely circulat-

ed in the vernacular, and religious opinions not subjected to civil supervision — England and America. In these, of all the earth, there is encouragement to disseminate the teachings of Christ. A strife between these would be disgraceful and disastrous to the world, far beyond what would result from any other national contest. These are nations eminently “of one blood.” These are the chief supporters of Missions, of Bible Societies, of Sunday Schools, and kindred enterprises; and to weaken each other, would be to set back the dial of human progress, and exhibit a spectacle the saddest earth has seen since the crucifixion of Christ.

In the broad range of Christian effort, no one man, or set of men, can engage vigorously in every department. It is a beautiful fact, that this diversity of good objects gives occupation to diverse talents and preferences; and, while all Christians feel a deep interest in all good enterprises, each finds, in some one department, scope for his peculiar talents and training. Therefore some, *aiding* all good objects, *aim* principally at one. One man stands out a devotee and leader in the cause of temperance, another of missions, another of Sunday schools, another of anti-slavery, and we for the abolition of war. And amazing it is, that though all such enterprises will require the success of ours, ere they can accomplish their work, ours is at once the most important, and the least regarded!

We of the Peace Society feel that we have a mission to the world in behalf of *the abrogation of war as a mode of settling international disputes*. Regarding war as the stupendous antagonist of all good, the parent of the wildest waste and wickedness, the insuperable barrier to the Millenium, we deem our project a prime desideratum, and are prepared to advocate it under all contingencies. We utter no protest against the armed efforts of the government of the United States to maintain its existence against a traitorous minority, which aims at the destruction of safety and good order. It is not such a strife as falls within the purview of this Society to oppose and prevent. But, when one nation grows defiance at another, and bestirs itself in preparations, and our people seem ready to welcome the struggle, we can never keep quiet, silent. Especially must we denounce any attempt to fasten a quarrel upon our country for an assumed point of honor, and all the more as our government in the spirit of great magnanimity have accepted what the violent will regard as a humiliation, by removing promptly the alleged grievance. We will not forbear to remind the citizens of our fatherland that England, has already claimed and exercised the right which

they now deny to us, and at one time not only took from our merchant ships every Britton they found upon them, but had on the decks of their fleet three thousand (we said) native Americans, seized on the ocean, and forced to fight their battles.

We call upon all who love Christ, in that country to which we have been attached by a respect and affection literally filial, to speak out, and resist with vigor the vile attempt to weaken American power, under pretence of protecting Manchester interests. If England remains bent on a war with us, she will have it; for nations are not scrupulous. But the civilized world would cry shame; and the process of checking our prosperity, will prove no less disastrous to herself.

Never has America sought to obstruct or cramp the prosperity of another nation. Never has she interfered in foreign questions of dynasty, or boundary, or conquest, or commerce. But never shall we submit to foreign dictation at the cost of our national life! A war against us, by any nation on earth, could only be the result of a pretext put forth by unholy impulse. England has idle fleets and armies, and may think it cheap to obtain by war raw material in the South, though she at the same time abandons her markets at the North, and her supply of food from the West. She may, after having been for half a century more clamorous against slavery than any other nation, now assume to be its defender and ally. But will her people — her Christian people, countenance such a war? Will they expect and pray for God's blessing on a bloody crusade against a people who never meant to offend them, and who, on finding they had done so waived the authority of her own example, and retracted the offence?

We observe, with cordial approbation and pleasure, the appeal of the London Peace Society to their government and people on behalf of continued peace. Most heartily do we bid our sister Society God-speed in endeavoring to prevent their countrymen from uniting with a gigantic conspiracy against our national life. May England never experience such a crisis as is now ours!

COST OF KILLING MEN IN WAR.—Some of the mathematics of war are as curious as they are savage. There are figures and facts to show the average expense of killing men in battle! At Solferino, it is said, the Austrians fired 8,400,000 times, killing only 2,000, and wounding 10,000. This makes 700 charges to every one slain. Thus it took 274 pounds of lead to kill a man. How much less destructive does this make modern than ancient warfare.

THE PRUSSIAN ARMY:

OR A SPECIMEN OF THE WAR SYSTEM IN EUROPE.

We have heretofore looked upon the war-system of Europe more as a matter of curiosity than as a thing with which we had any practical concern, except as a warning to some distant future; but the sudden, startling strides we have made during a few short months in the same direction, are bringing the long, bitter experience of that continent home to ourselves, and compelling us to look full in the face the countless evils of a system which is there crushing to the earth its toiling millions. We are fast outstripping them all in the mustering of armies, in the accumulation of debt, and in not a few other evils inseparable from the war-system. We seldom do anything by halves; and, if we go on as we have recently begun, we shall in time leave all Europe far behind us in the race of military extravagance and prodigality.

"In the military organization of Prussia there is a remarkable simplicity and comprehensiveness. Every able bodied man is bound to military service from the age of twenty until he reaches his fiftieth year. There is no exemption except for special reasons, which must be presented and examined when the new recruits come up, each May, before the military commission. A young man, whose aged parents depend on him for support, is exempt for a few years, until his brothers and sisters grow up to take his place; if he is an only son, he is usually permanently exempt, as is also always the only son of a widow.

The soldiers are divided into four classes:—I. *The Standing Army*, comprising the recruits, who serve in this class for the space of three years. They are, in fact, only troops in training. They are subjected to severe drilling, from six to eight hours daily, and are thoroughly instructed in field service. They have also regular lectures from experienced officers on the duties of a soldier on guard, in the field, and in bivouac. They learn, also, the fundamental principles of field fortifications. They all learn that important part of a soldier's training—how to prepare their food. The total expense of these soldiers of the standing army is not more than \$40 per year. After the appointed term of service in the standing army, the soldier is dismissed, and goes back to his home to follow his trade or profession. He costs, from this time, but little in time of peace, yet is still a trained soldier, ready to be mustered, at a few hours' notice, into his regiment, ready for active service.

II. *The Land-wehr*, or militia of the first ban or summons. This includes all under the age of thirty-two years who have been discharged from the standing army. They are the reserve force, to be called out in time of war for any service in connection with the former class. In time of peace their military duties are very light. They meet at certain times in the year for muster and target firing. They also meet twice a year for instruction in field-service, or to manœuvre with the regular army by brigades and divisions. Their uniforms, arms, harness of their horses, guns and field equipage, are kept in large store houses provided for them at convenient distances apart. They are guarded by a few officers and men, who are retained permanently in the service for that purpose. Their cavalry is mounted by pressing into the service, for a fixed compensation, such horses belonging to private persons as are fit for the field.

III. *The Land-wehr* of the second band or summons. These comprise the men from 32 to 40. They are not called out in time of peace, but form the garrisons of fortresses in time of war, and may in an emergency be called into the field to co-operate with the other forces.

IV. *The Land-sturm*, embracing all the men from 17 to 50 years of age who are not included in the other three classes. They are not regularly organized, and would of course be summoned only to render such aid as they might be able in case of an invasion.

The total force of the peace establishment, exclusive of the *Land-sturm*, is 75,712 infantry, 23,452 cavalry, 16,500 artillery, 2500 pioneers, making an aggregate of 118,164. The war establishment, including only the first three classes, is composed of 383,370 infantry, 65,024 cavalry, 60,000 artillery, 7743 pioneers, giving a total of 516,145. To these must be added soldiers of the artillery, bridge, provision and hospital trains, numbering 30,000, and the regimental officers, about 10,000, and other special corps, which will make the grand total 500,000.

Experiments have been made to determine how rapidly this great army can be mustered under arms, ready for active service. The whole body can be assembled at their appointed stations in less than a week after the order has been issued from Berlin. In three days time, a force of about 100,000 men could be assembled at any given place within the kingdom.

This is the military force of a kingdom with a population of 14,000,000. It embraces all between the ages of 20 and 40, who are capable of bearing arms, with the exception of a few special cases noted above. It is probably the cheapest military organization possessed by any kingdom in the world. It may safely be regarded as also the most efficient. A century since, when Frederick the Great took the field to confront the Austrian league, it was thought wonderful that he could bring into the field a force of 120,000 infantry and 30,000 cavalry, out of a population of over 6,000,000. But now, with a population but little more than double, Prussia has a force nearly four times as large, ready for prompt and efficient service."

Here are some points worthy of special notice. This system makes war, or preparations for it, the great paramount duty, and subordinates everything to this end. No man in Prussia can marry until he has served so many years in the army. It is, however, to be observed, that this system includes within itself that of the civil police. Every soldier in Prussia, as all over Europe, is an agent of the magistrate in enforcing the laws, and may thus be made a ready and effective tool of tyranny. The economy of the war-system in Prussia is truly marvellous—only \$40 a year for each soldier! Scarce a tithe of what it costs ourselves. If the war-system continues, the great question, absorbing every other in the public mind, will be how to sustain the largest or most effective armies at the smallest expense. What a thought, that the all-engrossing point of anxiety among the myriads calling themselves followers of the Prince of Peace, should be to see how they can most cheaply and surely kill or harm each other!

PURCHASES OF FIRE ARMS.—The total amount expended by the Government in the purchase of fire arms since the beginning of the rebellion is twenty-two million dollars.

WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

MEASURES FOR ITS PREVENTION TAKEN BY THE LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.

In this country scarce one person in a hundred dreamed at first of war as likely or possible to arise out of the *Trent and San Jacinto* affair, while in England it seems at once to have convulsed the whole community with a warlike excitement, well-nigh uncontrollable for a time. It is a matter of devout thanksgiving to the God of Peace, that these war-clouds so soon passed away; but the efforts made with so much promptitude, energy and wisdom by our friends in our common Father-land to beat back the hurricane there, deserve to be preserved in grateful remembrance. They resolved at once on three measures—first, to memorialize their own Government in favor of referring the question to arbitration, if it could not be satisfactorily settled by diplomatic negotiations; next, to solicit the co-operation of religious bodies throughout Great Britain, with a view, by a kind interchange of Christian views and feelings on both sides, to allay the public animosity that threatened to hurry the two nations into war; and finally to call on all ministers of the Gospel to enlist the pulpit everywhere in favor of conciliation and peace. The documents they issued on the occasion are so able and pertinent, that we cannot refrain from copying most of them.

MEMORIAL TO THE GOVERNMENT.

To the Right Hon. Lord Palmerston, First Lord of the Treasury.

MY LORD :—We ask permission, as the Committee of the Peace Society, but representing also, in this instance, we are happy to believe, the sentiments of a large number of persons not formally connected with that body, to express the deep concern with which we have learnt of recent events that are likely to create serious misunderstandings between this country and the United States of America.

We rejoice in the assurance, that, notwithstanding the irritating nature of the matter in dispute, and the excited state of the public mind, your Lordship's Government are prepared to conduct the negotiations with the Cabinet of Washington with the utmost moderation and forbearance. Nor can we doubt that the generous people of this country, when the first natural irritation has subsided, will amply sustain your Lordship in such a policy of conciliation, as that which under the circumstances would be most worthy of our character as a powerful Christian nation. England can, without any derogation of her dignity, afford to be magnanimous in her dealing with a sister State, struggling in the agonies of a domestic revolution.

We earnestly hope that the answer which may be received from the American Government will be such as to open the way for a speedy adjustment of the point in dispute. But, should difficulties interpose in the way of its satisfactory solution by ordinary diplomatic negotiation, we venture respectfully to submit to your Lordship whether the question on which the controversy turns is not of a nature which renders it specially suitable for reference to arbitration.

We beg leave to recall to your Lordship's remembrance, that the principle of arbitration which the British Government, to its great honor, was the first to commend to the attention of the Paris Conference of 1857, through

the mouth of Lord Clarendon, was recognized and ratified by the unanimous consent of that august body, and embodied in a resolution expressed in the following terms:—"The Plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express, in the name of their Governments, the wish that States, between which any serious misunderstanding may arise, should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, so far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly Power."

The principle thus formally consecrated by the sanction of all the great governments of Europe, has since received the spontaneous and cordial homage of eminent statesmen of this country, of various political parties. It was described by Mr. Gladstone, "as a great triumph, a powerful engine on behalf of civilization and humanity." The Earl of Derby referred to it, as "the principle which, to its endless honor, was embodied in the protocols of the Conference of Paris." The Earl of Malmesbury pronounced the act of the Conference in acknowledging and recommending the principle, as in his judgment, and that of the Government of which he was a member, "one of the most important to civilization, and to the security of the peace of Europe," because "it recognized and established the truth, that time, by giving place for reason to operate, is as much a preventive as a healer of hostilities."

We would further remind your Lordship that Great Britain and the United States have already, in their relations with each other, solemnly recognized this principle even in its most rigid form of application. In a Treaty between the two governments, relative to Fisheries, Commerce, and Navigation, ratified at Washington, September 9th, 1854, there is a clause which provides that, in case of differences arising between the contracting parties on any matter connected with the Treaty, the question in dispute shall be referred first to Commissioners, and in the last resort to an Arbitrator or Umpire to be mutually chosen, "the high contracting parties"—such are the terms of the Treaty—"solemnly engaging to consider the decision of the Commissioners conjointly, or of the Arbitrator or Umpire, as the case may be, as absolutely final and conclusive in each case decided upon by them or him respectively."

We respectfully suggest, my Lord, that here are authorities and precedents abundantly sufficient to warrant the British Government in proposing that the question now pending between them and the Government of the United States, if it cannot be otherwise settled, should be referred to the decision of some friendly and impartial arbitrator. If it be productive of no other advantage, it will at least afford time for that exasperation of the public mind to subside, which unhappily prevails on both sides of the Atlantic, and which, far more than any difficulty inherent in the subject itself, threatens to embarrass the two governments in their attempts to give it a pacific solution.

We earnestly pray, my Lord, that your Lordship, and the government of which you are the head, may be endowed with "that wisdom which is profitable to direct, which is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated," so as to avert from these two great civilized and Christian nations a war, which would be a reproach to their civilization, and a bitter satire upon their professed Christianity.

JOSEPH PEASE, *President.*
SAMUEL GURNEY, *Treasurer.*
HENRY RICHARD, *Secretary.*

ADDRESS TO RELIGIOUS BODIES.

DEAR SIR:—The Committee of the Peace Society have had their attention anxiously engaged in reference to the present critical relations existing between England and the United States of America. Not, certainly,

that there is anything in the incident which has recently occurred to require or justify war between two Christian nations ; but the danger is, lest by mutual exasperation of the public mind, they should be hurried into it before reason or religion has had time to assert their authority. It would be impossible to exaggerate the evils of such a conflict, not merely as regards the material and moral suffering it would entail upon both countries, but still more in the scandal and reproach it would bring on our common Christianity.

It appears to this Committee, that the best hope of averting so terrible a calamity lies, in bringing the influence of the distinctively Christian element in both communities to bear, as widely as possible, upon that public opinion, which, more than the communications of diplomats, or the counsels of cabinets, must ultimately decide the question of peace or war. Under these circumstances, the Committee thought they might be permitted, respectfully to suggest to the various religious bodies in this country, the desirableness and duty of specially addressing kindred bodies on the other side of the Atlantic, with reference to the present conjuncture, so as, if possible, to throw the oil of Christian love on the rising waters of strife.

It appears to them perfectly practicable, without at all entering upon the confessedly difficult question pending between the two Governments, for those who represent the Christian churches of our land, upon broad grounds of religion and humanity, to speak to their fellow-Christians in America in such language and spirit, as, by the blessing of God, may be attended with the happiest effects, and elicit a response from them, which may be no less useful in its influence on the public sentiments of our own country.

Surely, this must be considered a testing time, a time to prove whether the Christianity of England and America be a principle of any power in influencing the sentiments and feelings of their people, so as to aid in giving a calm and wise direction to their international policy."

The above was addressed to an officer or influential member of each ecclesiastical body.

ADDRESS TO CHRISTIAN MINISTERS.

The Committee of the Peace Society, in no presuming or dictatorial spirit, but under a profound sense of the duty which devolves upon them at this solemn crisis, venture most respectfully but earnestly, to appeal to Christian ministers of all denominations throughout this land. It needs no argument to show that a war between England and America,—prolonged, desperate and sanguinary, as it is sure to prove, if it once break forth,—would be one of the most tremendous calamities that can befall the civilized world. It is not merely the fearful material injuries which these two great nations have the power of inflicting upon each other, by the destruction of the enormous commerce that exists between them, by plundering each other's property on the sea, by unlimited mutual carnage and desolation. But worse than all to a Christian mind would be the moral aspects of such a conflict. For the two nations are virtually one. Sprung from the same stock, inheriting the same traditions, speaking the same language, nourished by the same literature, professing the same faith, and united together in a thousand ways,—by domestic alliances, by private friendships, by frequent religious communion, by common enterprises of Christian philanthropy,—it is impossible not to feel that such a war would be essentially a civil war. "The evil of such a war," as has been well said, "would be not merely political, financial and commercial, grievous as these would be. It would inflict a wound on men's souls, consciences, principles; it would infuse venom into their blood ; it would pervert their views of truth and

Christianity, and the hatred produced by it would be malignant and durable, in exact proportion to the nearness of their kindred."

That there is a great, a pressing danger of this calamity coming upon us, it is impossible to doubt. But whence arises this danger? Is it from any insuperable difficulty in adjusting by peaceable means the particular question that has lately arisen between the two governments? No one will imagine it for a moment. Far graver disputes have often been settled without war. If there be no other expedient, is it not just for one of those questions, that may with the utmost propriety be referred to the decision of an impartial arbitrator? But the danger is lest the people of the two countries should become so exasperated by incessant appeals to their passions, as to hurry them into strife, against the wiser judgment of their governments, and against all considerations of interest, reason, humanity and religion. Unhappily there is a large class in every community that have an interest in war, and another class who from sheer violence of temper seem to take a pleasure in fomenting quarrels between States. It is impossible to observe the tone taken by a large proportion of the press on both sides, without feeling that this mighty engine of influence is being more and more pressed into the service of passion. Without suspecting the writers of a deliberate desire to embroil the two countries, they allow themselves such a license of invective, they indulge so unsparingly in reciprocal accusations, challenges and defiance, that by a necessary process, mutual exasperation is increased day by day. Bitterness begets bitterness. Violence inflames violence.

Is there any means of counteracting these pernicious and perilous tendencies, and calling down the public mind on both sides to a tone of moderation more becoming two great kindred and Christian nations? Such a means unquestionably exists in the power of the Christian ministry. Shall this mighty power be employed in the interests of peace or of war? Surely, there cannot be a moment's hesitation on any man's mind as to the side on which it *ought* to be employed. The God of the Gospel is emphatically "the *very* God of peace." The character of Him, whose life and doctrine constitute the very essence of Christianity, is the most perfect embodiment that the world has ever witnessed of love—of love patient, forbearing, long-suffering to the utmost, and yet victorious beyond the wildest dreams of military conquest. The spirit which pervades the whole system, is the spirit of "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness." That which constitutes its great and glorious peculiarity in dealing with the evil with which the world is fraught, is its method of "overcoming evil with good."

Can it be doubted, for an instant, that with such an instrument as this in their hands, the hundred thousand ministers of Christ scattered throughout England and America, could, if they only united in the effort, soon produce, on both sides of the Atlantic, a state of public opinion which, with the blessing of Heaven, would banish the very possibility of war between the two nations?

Surely, surely, it may be hoped that the ministers of the Gospel of Peace, will, on such a subject, and at so awful a crisis in the history of the two most civilized and Christian nations of the world, take their tone, not from the angry and excited journalists who live amid the turbulent elements of secular politics, but from that higher law, of which they are the avowed exponents, and to diffuse whose influence through society is the one supreme and solemn business of their life. Is not this a moment when they are called upon to inculcate with renewed and emphatic earnestness upon the people around them, who are swayed by the vague and violent impulses of passion, the duty of cherishing those dispositions which are so

distinctively and emphatically Christian—the forbearance that can restrain its own evil impulses; the patience that can await the subsidence of anger in another: the divine charity, which “suffereth long and is kind, which vaunteth not itself, which is not easily provoked, which thinketh no evil, which beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things?”

There will be no lack of stimulants to the opposite class of feelings. Indeed they need no stimulants. National pride, anger, resentment, revenge, and that spurious and vindictive patriotism which expresses itself rather in hatred and defiance of other countries, than in an enlightened regard for the interests of its own—these are the feelings so congenial to man's evil nature, that they require no incitements. But such incitements are, and will be applied from a thousand sources. Who is to stem the torrent of evil influences that will be thus created, and which may soon threaten to sweep away before it alike our reason and our religion? Who, unless it be the ministers of the Prince of Peace, who have been set apart for the service of the altar and the sanctuary, that coming forth at such a time as this, with their minds calmed by communion with the eternal and immutable forms of God's truth, that they might be better fitted to allay the perturbed spirits of those who dwell amid the feverish excitements of commercial and political life.

Let them boldly fulfil this sublime, this glorious function. Let them proclaim aloud the truce of God. Let them stand up amid the storm, and in the name of their Divine Master, rebuke the raging tempest of human passion. Above all let them call together their people, for united, earnest and importunate prayer to Him, who holds the hearts of all men in his hands, that He would, in his merciful providence, interpose to avert from us so great a calamity, and give peace in our time.

JOSEPH PEASE, *President.*

HENRY RICHARD, *Secretary.*

THE SPIRIT OF WAR.—During the war of our revolution, a detachment of American troops was stationed on Harlaem heights, N. Y., in view of an expected attack from the British. On a certain day, the alarm was given, and a company of volunteers went out to meet the enemy. As they came within sight, the American officer ordered a part of his men to lie flat on the ground, and let those in the rear advance to meet the first fire of the British. As these fell, killed or wounded, the others were to raise and receive the next shower of balls.

Among the latter was a young fifer, who, to win his share of military fame, volunteered in the skirmish; and in the order of retreat, he received a bullet in the back, which was never taken out, though the life of the individual was prolonged to *eighty-four* years. The writer has heard him say, that when the recruits were ordered to fire, the young fifer advanced, his nerves braced to the most desperate act. The groans of his dying countrymen who had just fallen around him, the roar of the cannon, the scent of powder, and the music of the band, goaded him to madness. He fixed his eye on a British soldier before him, and had but *one* desire of his heart—to fire and kill him! He supposed his fire was effectual, as he saw him fall, at the same moment receiving the wound himself which he supposed to be mortal. Reader, in what condition must the soul be that enters eternity from the battle-field?

ENGLISH QUAKERS ON WAR WITH AMERICA.

The Society of Friends in England, true to their principles, promptly addressed to their Government an able memorial, from which we make a few extracts :—

“The hatred of a brother when once offended is a proverb. Nor were the feelings which existed between England and America after the War of Independence, and the War respecting the Rights of Neutrals, by any means an exception to this proverbial truth. By degrees, however, animosity and mutual suspicion subsided. The reciprocal visits of enlightened travellers, the vast increase of commercial relations, and the healthy emulation in Christian philanthropy, in science and in literature were, under the Divine blessing, producing an improved tone of both personal and national feeling, when at length, in 1860, the visit of the Heir-apparent of the British throne to the United States seemed to complete the *entente cordiale* between the two countries. It is little more than twelve months since English subjects and American citizens were alike rejoicing in this healthy condition of the relations between these two great divisions of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Now, however, with sadness of heart we see all this sorrowfully changed, and a question of international law, which, if it could be submitted to a competent tribunal of able jurists, whether European or American, or to the mediation or arbitrament of any independent State, might probably in a few hours be settled to the satisfaction of all parties, appears to be in imminent danger of occasioning a vast destruction of human life, a prodigious waste of treasure, a total interruption of trade and social intercourse, and an incalculable amount of moral evil; whilst it is just as impossible, in the nature of things, for the question of right or wrong to be really cleared up by such an appeal to the sword, as it was for the guilt or innocence of the accused, in mediæval times, to be settled by the wager of battle, or the passage over burning plough-shares.

There are many circumstances in the present position of England, which enable her to maintain a perfectly temperate and conciliatory attitude; and would it not seem ungenerous to drive matters to extremities with the United States at the time when they are engaged in a struggle for their national integrity, if not for their national existence? May we not, then, as Christians, appeal to the enlightened rulers of this highly professing Christian country, imploring them, whilst commendably vigilant for the interests and the character of England, to endeavor to follow out the Gospel rule of doing as they would be done by, a rule not less binding on nations than on individuals?

We would further suggest that, after the vast sacrifices which England has made for the abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery in our own possessions and by other countries, which has been an object so consistently promoted through life by the Statesmen whom we are now addressing, it would be deeply humiliating if, by being involved in this war, our country should ultimately find itself in active co-operation with the South and Slavery, against the North and Freedom; though in saying this we do not intend to express our approval, in all respects, of the course pursued by the North in reference to Slavery.

We may perhaps be permitted to mention, as an additional reason for our strong advocacy of the preservation of Peace with America, that as the principal Founder of two of its States, and many of the original settlers of other States, were our brethren in religious profession, between whom

and ourselves a cordial correspondence has been maintained for nearly two centuries, we have a special religious as well as national interest in the question; and though the Government of those States has long passed into less pacific hands, yet our brethren there still have a considerable influence on their State Legislatures, and their voice has often been heard with effect at Washington. We shall therefore at once apprise our American Friends of the step which we have now taken, and shall urge them also to use their influence in furtherance of the cause of Peace."

CONDITIONS OF PEACE WITH THE SOUTH.

It is true we could have had peace, but on what terms? Allow a few hundred thousand masters to govern the land, suppress free speech, place this Government which our fathers ordained for liberty on the side of slavery, imbue all its officers with the spirit of despotism, give all our forts into their hands, bow the neck submissively, and say with the beast of Baalam, 'Am I not thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this day?' become slaves ourselves; allow what is evidently coming if the South is separate—the African slave trade; and we could have had peace.

Peace? No, not yet; one thing more is demanded. We must change our honest convictions. The great grievance the South complains of is that of our consciences. We have no love for slavery. The world loathes it. It is the curse of the country. It is the great black blot on our country. It is the outlaw of civilization. We instinctively *feel* slavery to be wrong; and no fine-spun logic can overpower that honest conviction. It is a great ulcer, hateful and sickening. We wonder at the infatuation which tries to perpetuate it. Founded in man-stealing, a perpetual robbery, a worse than heathenish denial of natural right, accompanied by brutality, lust, and violence, indefensible for a moment, on natural or Christian principles; who can wonder that they who uphold this system, not as an evil to be borne with, but a good to be made permanent, can but complain of the conscience of the world? *We cannot change.* We cannot believe slavery to be right. Our fathers fought for liberty; and slavery is opposed to all our traditions. Our declaration says that all men have equal rights in the eye of the law; and slavery denies those rights. Our Constitution declares that our Government was instituted to "establish justice," and slavery is a horrible injustice; to "secure liberty," and slavery is thus banned. It is far from wonderful that they wish to get away from the great Declaration and the Constitution. We are with our fathers. They ask us to change. No! never!—*A. H. Quint.*

WAR UNCERTAIN.—The results of war are always uncertain, and the avowed object is seldom attained. Our last war with Great Britain was waged because that power claimed the right of impressing British-born seamen in American vessels, on the principle that a British subject could not renounce his allegiance to his own government by entering into the service of a foreign power, or becoming naturalized under it. After enduring the expense, loss and misery of war for a few years, our Government appointed Commissioners to negotiate peace, and they were instructed to insist upon an article by which the offensive claim of Great Britain should be given up. "If this is not done," said the instructions, "the war will have been waged in vain." It was not done; *the treaty of peace contained no allusion to the alleged cause of the war!*—*Friend's Rev.*

BOY SOLDIERS:

WAR HATCHING ITS YOUNG BROOD.

The war fever has reached the children. The very babies are in arms. Every street has its home-guard of juveniles. We saw, the other day, in Hudson street, a company of six-year-old "Continentalers" in full revolutionary rig, commanded by a gentleman about four feet high, attired in the uniform of a general officer of Washington's army, and wearing under his three-cocked hat a well powdered wig, with a formidable queue. The members of the company were all nearly of the same height and age; and the gravity with which they marched along the sidewalk to the music of a couple of *real* drums, would have done honor to veterans. The Zouave dress is, however, most in vogue with our Lilliputian infantry. Red pants and red caps, with gold tassels, are in universal request among heroic youths of from five to twelve years of age, and mothers and sisters find it difficult to supply the demand. We should say, at a rough guess, that Fourteenth street and Fifth Avenue could turn out to-day nearly two-hundred Zouaves of tender years, fully equipped and eager for mischief. The uniforms of many of these youngsters are rich and costly; and they may be seen parading the up-town streets and squares every fine day after school hours, very much in the style of military children of a larger growth.

It must not be supposed, however, that these little cadets of our "first families" are a whit more ardent and enthusiastic in their soldiery than the rough and ragged urchins that run wild about the streets. This is no silk stocking movement. The little *gamins* of our *Rue St. Antoine* have gone into it with all their childish hearts and souls. One sees them every day in the by-streets, mustering by scores, with sticks for muskets, paper caps for shakos, and cracked tin pots for drums, looking just as happy in their "looped and windowed raggedness," as if they had been born with silver spoons in their mouths, and formed a portion of the world's gilt gingerbread. *N. Y. Ledger.*

THE UNION AS IT IS, OR PERPETUAL WAR.—What better compromise than the Constitution is possible? Suppose we separate, and form a treaty; then we become aliens, and directly we become enemies. We cannot divide these rivers that go coursing through our land. A treaty would only be a source of unending wars. Not a day would pass without causes of difficulty, and contests that would drench the border in blood. If we cannot live under the Constitution, we certainly cannot be safe by a treaty, nor rest upon compromise.—*Senator Johnson.*

FOOD FOR AN ARMY.—An army officer estimates that 50,000 men consume daily 311 tons of provisions. Assuming that the men could carry three days' food, 300 horses would be required to carry the food needed for each day after. Their baggage and ammunition would require at least as much more carrying material; so that an army of 50,000, properly supplied, and having a small proportion of horse soldiers, would need over 1,000 horses, carrying a ton each, for a single days' necessities. The following is a careful estimate of the farm products required for a year by the great army of 500,000 authorized by Congress: 684,000 barrels of pork, 1,140,625 of beef, 5,239,563 bushels of wheat, and 456,250 of beans. For 75,000 horses, 101,825 tons of hay and 10,265,525 bushels of oats will be required. If this amount was placed in wagon-loads of fifty bushels of grain each

and a ton each of the other articles, and the wagons placed in a continuous line, allowing thirty feet to each, they would reach about 3,000 miles; so that while the head rested in Washington, the rear might be watering their horses in the bay of San Francisco. This calculation makes no allowance for waste or loss by capture, nor for the consumption of those not belonging to the legitimate army, nor for the navy; nor does it include the rice, coffee, sugar, vinegar, candles, soap, and salt required by regular rations.

THE MANASSAS BATTLE FIELD.—Early yesterday morning I took a rapid ride over this famous battle field. The effect was terrible. The field stretched desolate, but not blank before the eye. Most of the Yankee dead had been merely covered up in shallow trenches; and from these broken mounds, black and putrified limbs stretched out to the sight. Here was a head partially uncovered, with the hair dropping off at the touch of the finger; there a bunch of ghastly and putrified fingers clenched over the shallow earth of its grave. The stench was almost intolerable, even in the morning air. An army surgeon, who accompanied us in our visit to the field, says that on visiting it but a day after the battle, he found the corpses with which it was strewn, black as negroes. The field itself shows no signs of the scars of war. The grass has grown again; but the torn and mangled timber in every direction, shows the terrible effects of the fire. Even in little trees, scarcely the thickness of the arm, five or six shots can be pointed out.

A HARVEST OF DEATH.—Dr. Lyon, Brigade Surgeon under Gen. Lyon at the battle of Wilson's Creek, was witness to the following extraordinary incident:—‘A rebel soldier waved a large and costly secession flag defiantly, when a cannon ball struck him to the earth dead. A second soldier instantly picked up the prostrate flag, and waived it again; a second cannon ball instantly shattered his body. A third soldier raised and waved the flag; and a third cannon ball crushed into his breast, and he fell dead. Yet a fourth time was the flag raised; the soldier waved it, and turned to climb over the fence with it into the woods. As he stood astride the fence a moment, balancing to keep the heavy flag upright, a fourth cannon ball struck him in the side, cutting him completely in two, so that one half of his body fell on one side of the fence, and the other half on the other side, while the flag itself lodged on the fence, and was captured a few minutes afterwards by our troops.’

AFTER-SCENES OF BATTLE AT WILSON'S CREEK.—Six of our wounded men lived nine days on the battle field at Wilson's Creek, Mo., before they were accidentally discovered by a Union man travelling over the field, who took them home and had them cared for. One of the men thus found, named Gronert, a German, was wounded at first in the leg; and, after lying about an hour, the wound becoming painful, he changed the position of the wounded leg by placing it on the well one, when he was again shot in the foot of the same leg that was injured. These poor men obtained nourishment to prolong existence amid this scene of horrors by crawling about, and getting at the contents of the haversacks strewn about the field amid the carcasses of men and horses.

ATROCITIES OF THE REBELLION.

' We are not at all disappointed in the moral character of the rebellion or civil war now raging in our country. War in any form, and for any object, is bad enough; but we early foresaw that a war by professedly Christian Slaveholders for the permanent support and extension of slavery—the only true designation of this contest—in such a land and age as ours, would probably be attended with outrages and horrors very like those of the first French Revolution. We deem it our duty to chronicle a few specimens too well attested to doubt their substantial truth.

HIRING INDIANS TO FIGHT US.—Rebel emissaries were early sent to enlist the Indians; and most of the tribes have caught the bait, and promised active aid. A body of 1300 Indian warriors, armed with rifle, bowie-knife and tomahawk, and with their faces painted one half red, and the other black, joined at one time the rebel camp at Arkansas. In our Revolutionary war there were in the British Parliament men brave and humane enough to denounce their own government for employing Indians in their savage warfare; but the South is eager to get such allies, and to bring them, with their barbarous weapons, into the field.

THE REBEL MODE OF WARFARE.—"If, turning from this revolting spectacle, we fix our gaze," says the *Washington Intelligencer*, "upon the kind of war which the secessionists themselves wage in Missouri, and in a greater or less degree wherever they have the power, we shall be brought to the conclusion, that the presence of Indian savages cannot greatly intensify the horrors of the internecine strife into which they willingly plunge every State or community that they cannot entirely control or possess. The condition into which they have brought Missouri is thus described by the *St. Louis Republican*: 'The Secessionists of Missouri have undertaken to make this State too hot for those who love the Union and the Constitution of our fathers. Pretending to build the edifice of disunion on the doctrine of State rights, they wage war upon the State as well as upon individuals. And their way of waging war! Shooting into passenger trains; lying in wait in ambush and behind stumps, to fire upon some defenceless traveller; placing kegs of powder upon railroad tracks; calling citizens out of their beds at night to tar and feather or hang them; robbing fields of their crops, orchards of their fruits, farms of their stock; burning bridges and depots; setting fire to barns and dwellings, and establishing such a reign of terror as is making women and children frantic, and driving peace-loving inhabitants from their homes by scores and hundreds.'

"The condition of affairs in Southwest Missouri is deplorable. Numberless atrocities and excesses are daily committed by the rebel forces and those in league and sympathy with them. It is estimated that four-fifths of the horses in possession of the rebel troops, who are generally mounted, were stolen. Foraging parties levy their contributions on friends and foes alike. Frequent robberies of stores have been committed. Large quantities of grain have been taken, and all the flouring mills have been pressed to perform a share in the exactions. This system of plunder is but a small part of the aggravations which afflict the inhabitants in the region indicated. Their fears are excited by roving bands of Indians accompanying the rebel horde. It is averred that a Cherokee named Fry has a commission in his deer skin pouch ensuring him a reward of \$50 for the scalp usually worn by Dr. Stemmer, of Jasper county."

TREATMENT OF THE WOUNDED AND PRISONERS.—A writer who "gives only accounts taken from *officers* of what they themselves saw" at Bull Run, avows that "the proofs are overwhelming and incontrovertible, that our wounded men were *systematically murdered*, that our surgeons were *systematically shot down*, that our ambulances were *systematically blown up by shells*, and that at the last, our hospital, a church building, was charged on by cavalry, who rode up and fired their revolvers through the windows at the wounded men as they lay on the floors, and at the surgeons who were attending to their wants, and that the enemy eventually set fire to the building, and burned it, and in it scores of wounded and dying men."

During the battle "they carried American flags to deceive our men, and when small squads that had got separated from their regiments, approached these flags, they were fired upon and slaughtered. *The Rebels, also, fired upon the wounded, standing them up for targets, and then firing at them. One of the Connecticut men saw this done.* A number of the 2d New York saw the Rebels' sharpshooters fire upon and kill two *vivandieres* who were giving wine and water to the wounded. They also shot at ambulances bringing off the wounded, attacked flags of truce sent out to succor the suffering, fired point-blank at the buildings used as hospitals, and it is said by some, that they fired the buildings. Capt. Haggerty was killed in a charge. When his body was found, his throat was cut from ear to ear, and his ears and nose were cut off. Many of the wounded were found thus disfigured. The faces of our dead were found horribly mauled with the butt-ends of muskets, and their bodies filled with wounds, evidently inflicted after they had fallen on the field. Poor Capt. Downey, being overpowered by numbers, threw down his arms and surrendered. 'We take no prisoners, d—n ye,' was the reply; and he was literally blown to pieces, no less than sixteen balls entering his body."

"We have had," says the *N. Y. Observer*, "a conversation with a young gentleman who was an active participant in the fight at Bull Run. We have known him well for many years, and have entire confidence in his veracity. He confirms the statements that have been denied respecting the atrocities perpetrated by the rebels on our wounded. His own observation enabled him to testify that our wounded *were* butchered while they were lying helpless, and pleading for mercy. It is painful to repeat such statements; but, when they come to us in a way to compel us to believe them, it is a duty to make them known to the shame of the men who do such deeds, even in the excitement of war."

FEMALE BRUTALITY.—It would seem as if the rebellion made in some cases monsters even of women. "A benevolent (!) lady offers in one case a liberal premium for human scalps sufficient to make a bed-quilt!" The *N. Y. Commercial Advertiser* says on reliable authority, that "an officer took possession of the valuable trunks of a rebel officer, with his beautiful uniform, linen, watch, bowie-knife, Bible (!) and letters; and one of the letters, (opened to find a direction) written by a lady, closed with this sentence, 'If you succeed in killing a Yankee, I wish you would *skin him and tan the hide*; I have something in mind that I want to make of it.'"

REWARDS FOR BRUTALITY.—The Southern Congress some time ago offered 'a bounty of twenty dollars for each person on board any armed ship or vessel belonging to the United States, at the commencement of any engagement, which shall be burned, sunk or destroyed by any vessel commissioned as aforesaid, for each and every prisoner by them captured and brought into port.' We believe that such a piece of barbarism as this never before disgraced the statute-book of a professedly civilized people.

SKINNING ENEMIES.—The rumor, long discredited as incredible, has come at length to be proved beyond reasonable doubt, that a son of John Brown, so well known as the leader in the affair at Harper's Ferry, was actually flayed, his skin tanned, and sent in little bits over the South as mementoes of the vengeance inflicted. A specimen, found by one of our Generals in Virginia, and forwarded to Prof. Martin in the city of New York, was seen by the editor of the *N. Y. Tribune*. We do not marvel in the least at such an exhibition of barbarism, for there is literally nothing that slavery will not do for the attainment of its ends. The world is only beginning now to see how bad it is.

SENATOR SUMNER ON THE TRENT AFFAIR.

This admirable speech, delivered in the United States Senate, January 9, 1862, breathing a spirit so excellent, and embodying in a small compass so much learning and logic, deserves to be circulated through the whole civilized world. If brought before the sixty millions of England and America, it would do more than a hundred battles towards setting aright the points in dispute. We can give only a few extracts.

THE MAIN FACTS IN THE CASE.

Two old men and two younger associates, recently taken from the British mail packet *Trent*, on the high seas, by order of Captain Wilkes, of the United States Navy, and afterwards detained in custody at Fort Warren, have been liberated, and placed at the disposition of the British Government. This has been done at the instance of that Government, courteously conveyed, and founded on the assumption that the original capture of these men was an act of violence which was an affront to the British flag, and a violation of international law. This is a simple outline of the facts.

These two old men were citizens of the United States, and for many years Senators. One, (Mason) was the author of the fugitive slave bill, and the other (Slidell) was the chief author of the filibustering system which has disgraced our national name, and disturbed our national peace. Occupying places of trust and power in the service of their country, they conspired against it, and at last the secret traitors and conspirators became open rebels. The present rebellion, now surpassing in proportions and also in wickedness any rebellion in history, was from the beginning quickened and promoted by their untiring energies. That country to which they owed love, honor and obedience, they betrayed, and gave over to violence and outrage. Treason, conspiracy and rebellion, each in succession, have acted through them. The incalculable expenditures which now task our national resources, the untold derangement of affairs not only at home but also abroad, the levy of armies almost without an example, the devastation of extended regions of territory, the plunder of peaceful ships on the ocean, and the slaughter of fellow-citizens on the murderous battle field; such are some of the consequences proceeding directly from them.

To carry forward still further the gigantic crime of which they were so large a part, these two old men, with their two younger associates, stole from Charleston on board a rebel steamer, and, under cover of darkness and storm, running the blockade and avoiding the cruisers in that neighborhood, succeeded in reaching the neutral island of Cuba, where with open display, and the knowledge of the British consul, they embarked on board the British mail packet the *Trent*, bound for St. Thomas, whence they were

to embark for England, in which kingdom one of them was to play the part of ambassador of the rebellion, while the other was to play the same part in France. The original treason, conspiracy and rebellion of which they were so heinously guilty, were all continued on this voyage, which became a prolongation of the original crime, destined to still further excess through their ambassadorial pretensions, which, it was hoped, would array two great nations against the United States, and enlist them openly in behalf of an accursed slaveholding rebellion. While on their way, the ambassadors were arrested by Captain Wilkes, of the United States steamship *San Jacinto*, an accomplished officer, already well known by his scientific explorations, who, on this occasion, acted without instructions from his government.

BRITISH PRECEDENTS.

If this transaction be regarded exclusively in the light of British precedents; if we follow the seeming authority of the British admiralty, speaking by its greatest voice; and especially if we accept the oft-repeated examples of British cruisers, upheld by the British Government against the oft-repeated protests of the United States, we shall not find it difficult to vindicate it. The act becomes questionable only when brought to the touchstone of those liberal principles, which from earliest times the American Government has openly avowed and sought to advance, and which other European nations have accepted with regard to the sea. Indeed, Great Britain cannot complain except by now adopting those identical principles; and should we undertake to vindicate the act, it can be done only by repudiating those identical principles. Our two cases will be reversed. Great Britain is armed with American principles, while to us are left only those British principles which, throughout our history, have been constantly, deliberately and solemnly rejected.

Of course it is not an affront; for an accident can never be an affront to an individual or to a nation. Public report forbids us to continue ignorant of the precise ground on which this act is presented as a violation of international law. It is admitted that a United States man-of-war, meeting a British mail steamer beyond the territorial limits of Great Britain, might subject her to visitation and search; also the United States ship-of-war might put a prize crew on board the British steamer, and carry her off to a point of the United States for adjudication by a prize court there; but that she would have no right to remove the emissaries, who were not apparently officers in the military or naval service, and carry them off as prisoners leaving the ship to pursue her voyage. Under the circumstances, in the exercise of a belligerent right, the British steamer, with all on board, might have been captured and carried off; but according to the British law officers, on whose professional opinion the British cabinet has acted, the whole proceeding was vitiated by the failure to take the packet into port for condemnation.

Thus it appears that the present complaint of the British Government is not founded on the assumption by the American war-steamer of the belligerent right of search; nor on the ground that this right was exercised on board a neutral vessel between two neutral ports; nor that it was exercised on board a mail steamer, sustained by a subvention from the Crown, and officered in part from the royal navy; nor that it was exercised in a case where the penalties of contraband could not attach; but it is founded simply and precisely on the idea that persons, other than apparent officers in the military or naval service, cannot be taken out of a suspected ship at the mere will of the officer who exercises the right of search, and without any form of trial.

NO CAUSE FOR WAR IN ANY EVENT.

Do not forget that the question involved in this controversy is *strictly a question of law*, precisely like a question of trespass between two neighbors. The British cabinet began proceedings by taking the opinion of their law advisers, precisely as an individual begins proceedings in a suit at law by taking the opinion of his attorney. To make such a question *a case of war*, or to suggest that war is a proper mode of deciding it, is simply to revive, in colossal proportions, the exploded ordeal by battle, and to imitate those dark ages when such proceeding was openly declared to be the best and most honorable mode of deciding even an abstract point of law. "It was a matter of doubt and dispute," says an early historian, "whether the sons of a son ought to be reckoned among the children of the family, and succeed equally with their uncles, if their father happened to die while their grandfather was alive. An assembly was called to deliberate on this point, and it was the general opinion that it ought to be remitted to the examination and decision of judges. But the emperor, following a better course, and desirous of dealing honorably with his people and nobles, appointed the matter to be decided by battle between two champions." In similar spirit has it been latterly proposed, amidst the amazement of the civilized world, to withdraw the point of law, now raised by Great Britain, from peaceful adjudication, and submit it to trial by combat. But the irrational anachronism of such a proposition becomes more flagrant from the inconsistency of the party which makes it; for it cannot be forgotten that in times past, *on this identical point of law*, Great Britain persistently held an opposite ground from that which she now takes.

A question of international law should not be presented on any mere *argumentum ad hominem*. It would be of little value to show that Captain Wilkes was sustained by British authority and practice, if he were condemned by international law as interpreted by his own country. It belongs to us now, nay, let it be our pride, at any cost of individual prepossessions or transitory prejudices, to uphold that law in all its force, as it was often declared by the best men in our history, and illustrated by national acts; and let us seize the present occasion to consecrate its positive and unequivocal recognition. In exchange for the prisoners set free, we receive from Great Britain a practical assent, too long deferred, to a principle early propounded by our country, and standing forth on every page of our history. The same voice which asks for their liberation, renounces in the same breath an odious pretension, for whole generations the scourge of peaceful commerce.

AMERICAN AND BRITISH PRACTICE IN CONTRAST.

Great Britain, throughout her municipal history, has practically contributed to the establishment of freedom beyond all other nations. There are at least seven institutions or principles which she has given to civilization: first, the trial by jury; secondly, the writ of habeas corpus; thirdly, the freedom of the press; fourthly, bills of rights; fifthly, the representative system; sixthly, the rules and orders of debate, constituting parliamentary law; and seventhly, the principle that the air is too pure for a slave to breathe, long ago declared and first made a reality by British law. No other nation can show such peaceful triumphs. But, while thus entitled to our gratitude for glorious contributions to municipal law, we turn with dissent and sorrow from much which she has sought to fasten upon international law. In municipal questions Great Britain drew inspiration from her own native common law, which was instinct with freedom; but especially in maritime questions, arising under the law of nations, this power

seems to have acted on that obnoxious principle of the Roman law, positively discarded in municipal questions, *Quod principi placuit, legis vigorem habet*, and too often, under this inspiration, to have imposed upon weaker nations her own arbitrary will. The time has been when she pretended to sovereignty over the seas surrounding the British isles, as far as Cape Finisterre to the south, and Vanstaten, in Norway, to the north. But driven from this pretension, other pretensions, less local, but hardly less offensive, were avowed. The boast of "Rule, Britannia, rule the waves," was practically adopted by British courts of admiralty, and universal maritime rights were subjected to the special exigencies of British interests. In the consciousness of strength, and with a navy that could not be opposed, this power has put chains upon the sea.

The commerce of the United States, as it began to whiten the ocean, was cruelly decimated by these arbitrary pretensions. American ships and cargoes, while, in the language of Lord Russell, "pursuing a lawful and innocent voyage," suffered from the British admiralty courts more than from rock or tempest. Shipwreck was less frequent than confiscation; and when it came, it was easier to bear. But the loss of property stung less than the outrage of impressment, by which foreigners, under the protection of the American flag, and also American citizens, without any form of trial, and at the mere mandate of a navy officer, who for the moment acted as a judicial tribunal, were dragged away from the deck which should have been to them a sacred altar. This outrage, which was feebly vindicated by the municipal claim of Great Britain to the services of her own subjects, was enforced arrogantly and perpetually on the high seas, where municipal law is silent, and international law alone prevails. The belligerent right of search, derived from international law, was employed for this purpose, and the quarter-deck of every British cruiser was made a floating judgment seat. The practice began early, and was continued constantly; nor did it discriminate among its victims.

It is mentioned by Mr Jefferson, and repeated by a British writer on international law, that two nephews of Washington, on their way home from Europe, were ravished from the protection of the American flag, without any judicial proceedings, and placed as common seamen under the ordinary discipline of British ships-of-war. The victims were counted by thousands. Lord Castlereagh himself admitted, on the floor of the House of Commons, that an inquiry, instituted by the British Government, had discovered in the British fleet three thousand five hundred men claiming to be impressed Americans. At our Department of State six thousand cases were recorded; and it was estimated that at least as many more might have occurred of which no information had been received. Thus, according to this official admission of the British minister, there was reason to believe that the quarter-deck of a British man-of-war had been made a floating judgment seat three thousand five hundred times, while, according to the records of our own State Department, it had been made a floating judgment seat six thousand times and upwards; and each time an American citizen had been taken from the protection of his flag without any form of trial known to the law. If a pretension so intrinsically lawless could be sanctioned by precedent, Great Britain would have succeeded in interpolating it into the law of nations.

Protest, argument, negotiation, correspondence, and war itself—unhappily the last reason of republics as of kings—were all employed in vain by the United States to procure a renunciation of this intolerable pretension. The ablest papers in our diplomatic history are devoted to this purpose; and the only serious war in which we have been engaged, until summoned to encounter this rebellion, was to overcome by arms this very pretension

which would not yield to reason. Beginning in the last century, the correspondence is at last closed by the recent reply of Mr. Seward to Lord Lyons. The long-continued occasion of conflict is now happily removed, and the pretension disappears forever, to take its place among the curiosities of the past.

On this question British policy may change with circumstances, and British precedents may be uncertain; but the original American policy is unchangeable, and the American precedents which illustrate it are solemn treaties. The words of Vattel, and the judgments of Sir William Scott, were all known to the statesmen of the United States; and yet, in the face of these authorities, which have entered so largely into this debate, the American Government at an early day deliberately adopted a contrary policy, to which, for half a century, it has steadily adhered. It was plainly declared that *only soldiers or officers could be stopped*, thus positively excluding the idea of stopping ambassadors, or emissaries of any kind, not in the military or naval service.

Clearly, and beyond all question, according to American principles and practice, the ship was not liable to capture on account of the presence of emissaries, "not soldiers or officers;" nor could such emissaries be legally taken from the ship. But the completeness of this authority is increased by the concurring testimony of the continent of Europe. Since the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, the policy of the continental States has refused to sanction the removal of enemies from a neutral ship, unless military men in actual service. And now, since this debate has commenced, we have the positive testimony of the French Government to the same principle, given with special reference to the present case. M. Thouvenal, the Minister of the Emperor for Foreign Affairs, in a recent letter to Mr. Seward, published with the papers now before the Senate, earnestly insists that the rebel emissaries, not being military persons actually in the service of the enemy, were not subject to seizure on board a neutral ship. I leave this part of the subject with the remark, that it is Great Britain alone whose position on this question can be brought into doubt.

If I am correct in this review, then, the conclusion is inevitable. The seizure of the rebel emissaries on board a neutral ship cannot be justified according to our best American precedents and practice. There seems to be no single point where the seizure is not questionable, unless we choose to invoke British precedents and practice, which beyond doubt led Captain Wilkes into the mistake which he committed.

RISE OF THE BRITISH NATIONAL DEBT.—It began under Charles II, in 1660; but with all his extravagance and profligacy, it reached, in 1681, only a little more than £600,000. How small a beginning for the gigantic proportions it has since attained! In 1763, it had risen to £139,000,000. At the close of the French Revolution in 1802, it was £571,000,000. In the twelve years of the wars of Napoleon it increased to £865,000,000, which was its maximum. From this point it rapidly decreased for thirty years, having been reduced in 1845 to £768,789,241. At the close of the Russian war in 1856, it had increased to £800,000,000; and in consequence of the Indian mutiny, the Chinese war, and the distrust of France, can hardly have diminished since. The interest on the present debt, at the rate of 3 1-2 per cent. is \$134,400,000 per year, or \$368,000 a day, \$15,333 an hour, \$255 a minute.

THE TAXATION AHEAD.—The present fiscal year will leave us with a public debt of nearly or quite \$600,000,000. The coming year will see this amount doubled. Supposing the necessity for our present establishment to have ceased at that time, we shall still be obliged to maintain a large army and navy at an additional expense over past years of at least \$100,000,000 per annum. It is safe to say that from and after the coming year, supposing the war to be closed at that time, we shall have a yearly expenditure of \$200,000,000, with a debt of \$1,200,000,000, at a yearly cost of \$70,000,000, making a total of at least \$270,000,000, a minimum of \$250,000,000 per annum. Supposing our revenue from imports to be increased to its amount previous to the war, there will remain nearly \$200,000,000 to be raised by methods of taxation heretofore unknown in this country, and we shall be launched at once into the system of debt and of taxation in which European countries have made such unhappy advances in the last three quarters of a century.—*N. Y. Trib.*

FREEDOM FROM DEBT—ITS EFFECT ON POPULAR COMFORT AND PROGRESS.—The freedom from taxation, together with the absence of a landed aristocracy monopolizing the soil, has facilitated, more than all other causes, the quickening and strengthening of the popular intelligence. The universal dissemination of newspapers and books; the multiplication of the comforts of life, and their enjoyment by all classes; the general support of public education, and the participation in its benefits by the poorest as well as the richest; these privileges, which constitute at once the chief glory and the safety of our country, must all be seriously abridged by a system of taxation sufficiently comprehensive to meet the expenditure contemplated. But the national revenue is a diversion, to its full amount, of so much of the earnings of the people; and no jugglery will enable them to pay it to the Government, and at the same time to enjoy its expenditure themselves. Hitherto the amount thus diverted has not been sufficient to interfere seriously, or even perceptibly, with the comforts of the people. But a duty of 50 per cent on all articles of luxury, taxes upon notes and other evidences of debt, excise duties, and taxation in other forms, will enhance the cost of living at least 50 per cent., and this must be met, by all but the wealthy, by a corresponding curtailment in the consumption of articles of luxury and comfort. The daily newspaper and the cheap literature, which have quickened the intellects of the poorer classes; the numberless articles of convenience or of taste, which have relieved and adorned their homes; the participation in the benefits of education which they have enjoyed, must all give way to the necessities of public credit.—*N. Y. Trib.*

COMPARATIVE HEALTH OF TROOPS.—It would seem that the loss of life from disease was in the Mexican war about twice as great among Southern as among Northern soldiers. On April 8th, 1848, the Secretary of War made a report to the United States Senate of the losses of the volunteer forces employed in Mexico. From this it appears that seven Northern States—Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois—furnished, in the course of that war, 22,573 men. Of this force the total loss from disease was 2931 men; less than one-eighth of the whole. Nine slave States—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee and Kentucky—furnished 22,899 men. The loss from this force, by disease and death caused by disease, was 4315, or more than one fifth—a very considerable difference in favor of Northern troops. When we go into

particulars, we find that Massachusetts lost of 1047 men but 61 by disease, while South Carolina, which furnished 1054 men, or seven more than Massachusetts, lost not less than 338 by disease. Mississippi lost 769 men by disease, out of 2319, while Indiana, furnishing nearly double the number, namely 4470, lost only 768. Georgia lost 362 men by disease, out of 2047; while New York lost but 188, of a total of 2665. North Carolina sent 936, and lost 233; while New Jersey sent 424, and lost but 12. Pennsylvania sent 2464, and lost 411; but Mississippi lost 769 out of 2319.

WAR UNDERMINING OUR LIBERTIES.

I will not speak of the cost of this war, though you know we shall never get out of it without a debt of at least \$2,000,000,000. I will not remind you that debt is the fatal disease of Republics, the first thing, and the mightiest to undermine Government, and corrupt the people. The great debt of England has kept her back in all progress at least a hundred years. Neither will I remind you that, when we go out of this war, we go out with an immense disbanded army, an immense military spirit embodied in two-thirds of a million of soldiers, the fruitful, the inevitable source of fresh debts and new wars. I pass by all these, and lying within those causes are things enough to make the most sanguine friends of free institutions tremble for our future.

But let me remind you of another tendency of the time. You know, for instance, that the writ of habeas corpus, by which Government is bound to render a reason to the Judiciary before it lays its hands upon a citizen, has been called the high-water mark of English liberty. The present Napoleon, in his treatise on the English Constitution, calls it the germ of English institutions. Lieber says that that, with free meetings like this, and a free press, are the three elements which distinguish liberty from despotism, and all that Saxon blood has gained in the battles and toils of 200 years, are these three things. Now, to-day every one of these—habeas corpus, the right of free meeting, and free press—is annihilated in every square mile of the Republic. We live to-day, every one of us, under martial law or mob law. The Secretary of State puts into his Bastille, with a warrant as irresponsible as that of Louis, any man whom he pleases, and you know that neither press nor lips may venture to arraign the Government without being silenced. Mark me, I am not complaining; I do not say it is not necessary. It is necessary to do anything to save the ship. It is necessary to throw everything overboard, that we may float. It is a mere question whether you prefer the despotism of Washington, or that of Richmond; and I prefer that of Washington. But nevertheless, I point out to you this tendency, because it is momentous in its significance. We are tending with rapid strides—you say inevitable; I don't deny it, necessarily; I don't question it—we are tending to that strong Government which frightened Jefferson; toward that unlimited debt, that endless army; we have already those alien and sedition laws which, in 1798, wrecked the Federal party, and summoned the Democratic into existence. For the first time on this continent we have passports, which even Louis Bonaparte pronounces useless and odious. For the first time in our history, Government spies frequent our great cities. This model of a strong Government, if you reconstruct it on the old basis, is to be handed into the keeping, of whom? If you compromise it by reconstruction, to whom are you to give these delicate and grave powers? To compromisers? Reconstruct this Govern-

ment, and it must be in the hands of men that have no principle, or are willing to shift as it pleases. I am not exaggerating this. It is the same position that England held when Holcroft and Horne Tooke and Hardy went into dungeons under laws that Pitt executed, and Burke phrased; when Fox said that he despaired of English liberty, and when it was said that no man was entitled to an opinion who hadn't \$15,000 a year. Why, there is no single right that Government finds itself able to protect, except the right of a man to his slave. Every other bulwark has fallen before the necessities of the hour.—*Wendell Phillips.*

GLANCE AT OUR NATIONAL FINANCES.

1. **RESOURCES**, chiefly loans. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report, July 1861, submitted a detailed statement, in part estimated, showing the receipts for the last fiscal year, ending on the 30th of June, 1861, including the balance in the treasury at its commencement, to have been \$86,972,893,81; the expenditures to have been \$84,577,258,60; and the balance to have been \$2,355,645,11. Actual returns show that the receipts, including balance, were \$86,835,900,27; the expenditures, \$84,578,834 57; and the balance, \$2,257,065 80.

For the first quarter of the current fiscal year, commencing 1st July, 1861, the receipts and expenditures are ascertained, and for the remaining three quarters, ending 30th June, 1862, are estimated as follows:

For the first quarter, the actual receipts from customs, lands, and miscellaneous sources, including the balance of \$2,257, 065 80, were.	\$9,809,731 24
For the second, third and fourth quarters, the estimated receipts are.....	27,000,000 00
To these sums must be added the amount realized from loans in all forms prior to Dec. 1, 1861, as already stated	197,242,588 14
And there must be added also the amount to be realized from additional loans already authorized.....	75,449,675 00
And there must added, also, the amount anticipated from the direct tax.....	20,000,000 00
Making the total receipts.	329,501,994 38

2. EXPENSES .—For the first quarter were	\$98,239,733 09
For the second, third and fourth, the estimated expenditures, including civil list, Interior, War, and Navy Departments, public debt and interest, are.....	302,035,761 21
Estimated expenditures under the additional appropriations now asked for, are:	
For civil service, and increased interest... ..	\$5,166,438 99
The War and Navy Departments.....	137,964,488 77
	143,130,927 76

Making a total of.....	543,406,422 06
From which deduct actual and estimated receipts, as above stated.....	329,501,994 38

Making an apparent amount, for which recourse must be had to loans, of.....	213,904,427 68
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For the fiscal year 1863, commencing on the 1st July, 1862, and ending on the 30th June, 1863, no reliable estimates can be made. It is earnestly to be hoped, and, in the judgment of the Secretary, not without sufficient grounds, that the present war may be brought to an auspicious termination before midsummer. In that event, the provision of revenue by taxation, which he has recommended, will amply suffice for all financial exigencies, without resort to additional loans, and not only so, but will enable the government to begin at once the reduction of the existing debt. It is the part of wisdom, however, to be prepared for all eventualities; and the Secretary, therefore, submits the estimates of the several departments for the fiscal year 1863, based on the supposed continuance of the war, as follows:

For the civil list, including foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous expenses other than on account of the public debt	\$23,086,761	23
For the Interior Department, Indians and Pensions....	4,102,962	96
For the War Department.....	360,159,986	61
For the Navy Department.....	45,164,994	18
For the public debt:		
Redemption.....	\$2,883,364	11
Interest on debt contracted before 1st		
July, 1862.....	29,932,696	42
Interest on debt to be contracted after		
1st July, 1862.....	10,000,000	00
	<hr/>	42,816,330 53

Making an aggregate of estimated expenditures of..... 475,331,245 51

On the other hand, the estimated receipts are:

From customs, lands, and ordinary sources	\$45,800,002	00
From direct taxes.	20,000,000	00
From internal duties, including income		
tax.....	30,000,000	00

Making an aggregate of estimated receipts of 95,800,000 00

Laving a balance to be provided for of..... 379,531,245 51

The whole amount required from loans may, therefore, be thus stated:

For the fiscal year 1862, under existing laws.....	\$75,449,675	00
For the fiscal year 1862, under laws to be enacted.....	200,000,000	00
For the fiscal year 1863, also under laws to be enacted...	379,531,245	51

Making an aggregate of..... 654,980,920 51

It only remains, in order to complete the view of the financial situation, to submit a statement of the public debt as it was on the 1st day of July, 1860, and 1861, and will be, according to the estimates now presented, at the same date in each of the years 1862 and 1863.

On the first day of July, 1860, the public debt was.....	\$64,769,703	08
On the first day of July, 1861, the public debt was.....	90,867,828	68
On the first day of July, 1862, the public debt will be.....	547,372,802	93
On the first day of July, 1863, the public debt will be.....	897,372,802	93

It seems, then, that we are, by the admission of our rulers, drifting into a debt of some \$900,000,00. What an accumulation for so short a period! There is nothing to match it in all history. Let us persist in this prodigality only a few years; and how soon will it prove an incubus on our prosperity and happiness, from which long ages will hardly suffice to recover us.

CORRUPTION INCIDENT TO WAR.

We have been amazed at the lack of knowledge or reflection betrayed by most of our people respecting the moral results inseparable from the conflict in which we are engaged. How many have spoken of it as a providential opportunity for purifying the national character from the bad habits engendered by a long and eminently prosperous peace! It was going to lift us up from the low, sordid, selfish pursuit of gain to the high elevation of a generous, self sacrificing patriotism, and inaugurate a new and glorious era of moral as well as martial heroism. The delusion seemed for a time well-nigh universal. Christians, in public prayer-meetings, devoutly hoped to see our camps become so many scenes of religious revival; and even ministers, in the phrenzy of the hour, were reported to have preached discourses now on "the Evils of Peace," and now on "the Blessings of War." Strange inversion of the public mind! Peacemen were tolerated chiefly when their utterances could be tortured into a practical contradiction of their principles. The Bible was to be read backwards, and the New Testament give place to the Old, the Sermon on the Mount to the Imprecatory Psalms, the Prince of Peace to the God of War. The Millenium of War was coming; and a hundred, if not a thousand sermons were preached in justification of war, for one earnest plea for peace.

This huge delusion is now beginning to vanish, as we foresaw from the first it would, before the actual results of this conflict. We have waited patiently for its moral developments, inseparable from war in all its forms. Let us learn, from facts like the following, how war, even in behalf of Freedom and righteous Government, works moral corruption and ruin.

FRAUDS IN CONTRACTS FOR THE GOVERNMENT.—Congress has appointed committees to investigate these; and from a speech of Mr. Dawes, of Mass., in the House of Representatives, we give a few facts to show how this war, like every other, is demoralizing the community as fast as it can, down to a degree of corruption that must in time prove fatal to our government.

"The very first contract entered into by this Government, after the troops had left their homes to come here in April last to defend the Capital, was a contract for cattle. It was not made with a man whose business it was to supply cattle, and knew the price of beef in the markets of the country, but here with a man well known in this and in the other branch of Congress for the last ten years, as an old stipendiary—one of the class of men who, in times past, made their money by such operations as buying the certificates of members for books at a discount, and then charging the full amount! This contract was so made that the first 2,200 head of cattle furnished, was charged at a rate which enabled their original contractor to sub-let it in 24 hours after to a man in New York who did not know the price of beef, so that he put into his pocket, without stirring from his chair, \$32,000, and the men who actually furnished the cattle put into their pockets \$26,000 more; so that the contract under which these 2,200 head of cattle were furnished, was so made that the profit of \$58,000 was realized over the fair market price! Sir, poorly as the army is shod to-day, a

million of shoes have already been worn out, and a million more are being manufactured, and yet upon every one of these shoes there has been a waste of seventy-five cents. Three-quarters of a million of dollars have been already worn out, and another three-quarters of a million of dollars upon shoes, is now being manufactured. In that department of the Government contracts have been so plenty that officials have gone about the streets with their pockets filled with them, and of which they made presents to the clergymen of their parishes, with which were healed old political sores, and cured political feuds. Even the telegraph has announced that high public functionaries have graced the love-feasts which were got up to celebrate these political reconciliations, thus brought about while the hatchet of political animosity was buried in the grave of political confidence, and the national credit was crucified among malefactors.

"We have reported to us the first fruits of these contracts. A regiment of cavalry lately reached Louisville, 1,000 strong; and the Board of Army Officers there appointed for the purpose, have condemned 485 out of the 1,000 horses as utterly worthless. The man who examined those horses declared upon his oath, that there was not one of them that was worth \$20. They were blind, spavined, ringboned, afflicted with the heaves, with the glanders, and with every disease that horse-flesh is heir to. The 485 horses cost the Government, before they were mustered into the service, \$58,200, beside more than an additional \$1,000 to transport them from Pennsylvania to Louisville, where they were condemned and cast off. There are 83 regiments of cavalry to-day, 1,000 strong. It takes \$250,000 to put one of these regiments on foot before it moves. Twenty millions of dollars had thus been expended on these cavalry regiments before they left the encampments where they were mustered into service, and hundreds of these horses have been condemned and sent back to Elmira, to Annapolis, and to this city, to spend the winter. Any day hundreds of them can be seen round this city, chained to trees, where they were left to starve to death. Gangs of two hundred horses, in various places, have been thus left to die and rot, till the Committee on the District of Columbia have called for a measure of legislation to protect the city from the danger to be apprehended from these horse Golgothas. An ex-governor of one State offered to an ex-judge of another State \$5,000 to get him permission to raise one of these regiments of cavalry; and, when the ex-judge brought back the commission the ex-governor takes it to his room at the hotel, while another plunderer sits at the keyhole watching like a mastiff while he inside counts up \$40,000 profit on the horses, and calculates \$20,000 more upon the accoutrements, and on the other details of furnishing these regiments.

In addition to arms in the hands of the 600,000 soldiers in the field, there are numerous outstanding contracts, made with private individuals—not made upon advertisement, not made with the knowledge of the public, but by ex-members of Congress, who knew no more of the difference between one class of arms and another than does a Methodist minister. There are outstanding contracts for the manufacture of Springfield muskets, the first one of which cannot be delivered in six months from this day. There is a contract for the supply of 1,090,000 muskets at \$28 apiece, when the same quality of muskets are manufactured at Springfield at \$13.50 apiece; and an ex-member of Congress is now in Massachusetts trying to get machinery made by which he will be able to manufacture, in some six months hence, at \$21 apiece, those rifled muskets manufactured to-day in that armory for \$13.50. Providence, before six months will dispose of this

war, or He will dispose of us. Not one of those muskets will be of the slightest service in this emergency, or before the Providence of God, whether for good or for evil, will dispose of it. There are 1,090,000 muskets at such an enormous price. in addition to other outstanding contracts for the manufacture, some time hence, of 27,000 Enfield rifles. Besides, there are 75,543 sets of harnesses, to be delivered by and by, at the cost of \$1,978,446.

I have not time to enumerate all these contracts. When we appropriated at the last session for this purpose \$20,000,000, not less than thirty seven millions and some thousand dollars had been already pledged to contractors, not to purchase arms for the men in the field fighting their country's battles in this great emergency and peril, but for some future use, for some future occasion, or to meet some need of the contractors, I don't know which at this moment. Not only the appropriation of last session has been exhausted, but \$17,000,000 put upon it. The riot of the 19th of April in Baltimore, opened this ball; and on the 21st of April, in the city of New York there was organized a corps of plunderers of the Treasury. Two millions of dollars were intrusted to a poor, unfortunate, honest, but incompetent editor of a paper in New York, to dispense it in the best manner he could. Straightway this gentleman began to purchase linen pantaloons, straw hats, London porter, dried herrings, and such like provisions for the army, till he expended in this way \$390,000 of the money, and then he got scared and quit.

There is an appropriation, also, for the supply of wood to the army. This contractor is pledged the payment of \$7 a cord for all the wood delivered to the different commands—wood collected after the labor of the soldiers themselves had cut down the trees to clear the ground for their batteries; and then this contractor employs the army wagons to draw it to the several camps, and he has no further trouble than to draw his \$7 for a cord, leaving the Government to draw the wood.

PAY TO U. S. TROOPS.—The following were the rates, but have increased some ten per cent since the rebellion :—

	Per month.		Per month.
Colonel	\$218 00	Brevet Second Lieutenant...	103 50
Lieutenant Colonel.....	194 00	First, or Orderly Sergeant..	29 00
Major	175 00	Other Sergeants.....	27 06
Captain	118 00	Corporals.....	22 00
First Lieutenant.....	108 50	Privates.....	20 00
Second Lieutenant.....	103 50	Musicians.....	21 00

Officers are required to provide their own uniforms and equipments; but the men are clothed and armed by the Government.

FUNDS.—It is an unusual length of time since we acknowledged in the Advocate the contributions of our friends. It will be seen that a few of them have shown a liberality that deserves our special thanks; but our receipts thus far are much less than our current expenses. We hope our friends who have not yet sent us their usual aid, will bear this in mind.

RECEIPTS.

<i>Holliston, Dr. Fiske</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Stoneham, Elisha Greene</i> ,.....	2 00
<i>Kerrshill, Pa., W. H. Root</i> ,....	2 00	<i>Fitchburg, Thomas Eaton</i> ,.....	1 00
<i>Nashua, N. H.</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Ray, Mich., C. Redway</i> ,.....	3 00
<i>Boston, John Field</i> ,.....	25 00	<i>Tamaqua, Pa., Charles Miles</i> ,...	1 00
<i>Oberlin, O., Estate of the late Rev. Justin Parsons</i> ,.....	100 00	<i>Exeter, N. H., B. Shute</i> ,...	2 00
<i>Galena, Ill., A. Kent</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>C. G. Odiorne</i> ,.....	5 00
<i>Danvers, ...</i>	5 00	<i>Friend</i> ,.....	1 00 8 00
<i>Salem</i> ,.....	18 00	<i>Dover, N. H., A. A. Trufts</i> ,...	10 00
<i>Beverly</i> ,.....	9 00	<i>P. Cushing</i> ,.....	2 00
<i>Ipswich</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>W. Woodman</i> ,.....	2 00
<i>Leoni, Mich., by W. W. Crane</i> ,..	3 00	<i>A. Pierce</i> ,.....	1 00 15 00
<i>No. Lansing, N. Y., Z. Barnes</i> ,...	1 00	<i>Great Falls, N. H.</i> ,.....	3 00
<i>Peterboro' N. Y., Gerrit Smith</i> ,...	20 00	<i>South Berwick, Me., Jno. Plummer</i> ,...	5 00
<i>Union Springs, N. Y., Mary H. Thomas</i> ,.....	1 00	<i>Durham, N. H., G. Frost</i> ,...	2 00
<i>Taunton</i> ,.....	2 50	<i>Benj. Thompson</i> ,.....	5 00 7 00
<i>Fairhaven</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>Georgetown</i> ,.....	5 00
<i>New Bedford, D. R. Greene</i> , 5 00		<i>Bradford, Benj. Greenleaf</i> ,...	10 00
<i>Saml. Rodman</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Friend</i> ,.....	1 00 11 00
<i>Thos. Mandell</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Haverhill, A. W. Hammond</i> ,...	1 00
<i>W. P. Howland</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>J. H. Duncan</i> ,.....	2 00 3 00
<i>W. G. Pope</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>Andover, John Smith</i> ,.....	3 00
<i>Others</i> ,.....	5 00 27 00	<i>Samuel Farrar</i> ,.....	3 00
<i>Fall River</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>Others</i> ,.....	2 00 8 00
<i>Danielsonville, Ct.</i> ,.....		<i>Dracut</i> ,.....	3 00
<i>L. T. Hutchins</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>Methuen, John Davis</i> ,.....	3 00
<i>W. B. Sprague</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>Others</i> ,.....	4 25 7 25
<i>H. L. Danielson</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>Lawrence, L. Morrison</i> ,..	2 00
<i>Geo. Danielson</i> ,.....	1 00 7 00	<i>T. B. Coolidge</i> ,.....	3 00 5 00
<i>Norwich, Ct.</i> ,.....		<i>Sandwich, W. Fessenden</i> ,...	2 00
<i>G. V. Buckingham</i> ,.....	10 00	<i>Others, 1 00 each</i> ,.....	5 00 7 00
<i>J. M. Buckingham</i> , ...	5 00	<i>Providence, R. I.</i> ,.....	
<i>John Dunham</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>R. I. Peace Society</i> ,....	50 00
<i>O. Gager</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>O. Brown Fund by Samuel</i>	
<i>Others</i> ,.....	3 00 22 00	<i>Boyd Tobey</i> ,.....	50 00
<i>N. London, Ct., E. Chappell</i> ...	3 00	<i>Benj. White</i> ,.....	2 00
<i>L. Wilson</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>W. S. Greene</i> ,.....	2 00
<i>T. S. Williams</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>John Kingsbury</i> ,.....	2 00
<i>Others</i> ,.....	2 00—9 00	<i>S. S. Wardwell</i> ,.....	2 00
<i>N. Y. City, W. B. Crosby</i> ,...	20 00	<i>Others</i> ,.....	2 00 110 00
<i>William F. Mott</i> ,.....	30 00	<i>Slatersville, R. I., A. Holman</i> ,...	1 00
<i>L. Murray Fund</i> , ...	50 00	<i>Woonsocket, R. I., Jno. Osborne</i> ,...	1 00
<i>Hugh Aikman</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Uxbridge, C. W. Capron</i> ,...	10 00
<i>Robt. S. Aikman</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Others</i> ,.....	3 00 13 00
<i>S. S. Wood</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Cambridge, Jos. E. Worcester</i> ...	50 00
<i>S. B. Collins</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Plantville, Ct., T. Higgins</i> ,...	15 00
<i>Jos. B. Collins</i> ,.....	3 00	<i>Walpole, N. H., S. N. Perry</i> ,...	100 00
<i>Thomas Cook</i> ,.....	2 00	<i>Middlebury, Vt., S. W. Boardman</i> ,.....	25 00
<i>Cash</i> ,.....	1 00 126 00	<i>Brunswick, Me.</i> ,.....	
<i>Newark, N. J., S. P. Smith</i> ,...	5 00	<i>Prof. Upham</i> ,.....	3 00
<i>Philadelphia, Alfred Cope</i> ,...	30 00	<i>Others</i> ,.....	3 00 6 00
<i>Israel W. Morris</i> ,.....	10 00	<i>Lewiston, Me., C. C. Burgess</i> ,..	2 00
<i>Howard Malcom</i> ,.....	8 20	<i>Winthrop, Me.</i> ,.....	
<i>Jos. B. Hughes</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Mrs. Wm. Lowell</i> ,.....	2 00
<i>Isaiah Hacker</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Others</i> ,.....	2 50 4 50
<i>Jeremiah Hacker</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Hallowell, Me., Sim. Page</i> ,...	2 00
<i>T. E. Beesley</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Others, 1 00 each</i> ,.....	5 00 7 09
<i>Daniel Neal</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>Bath, Me., John Shaw</i> ,..	2 00
<i>John Wiegand</i> ,.....	5 00	<i>John Patten</i> ,.....	5 00
<i>Sundry</i> ,.....	3 00 81 20	<i>G. W. Duncan</i> ,.....	3 00
<i>Keene, N. H., Daniel Adams</i> ,....	2 00	<i>Wm. Donnell</i> ,.....	2 00
<i>Buskirk's Bridge, N. Y., P. O. V. Morris</i> ,.....	7 00	<i>J. P. Hitchcock</i> ,.....	2 00
<i>Camden, Me., A. Buchanan</i> ,....	3 00	<i>Others, 1 00 each</i> ,.....	4 00 18 00
<i>Reading, Eben. Emerson</i> ,.....	1 00	<i>Portland, Me., R. Horton</i> ,...	2 00
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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR
MARCH AND APRIL.

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THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MARCH AND APRIL, 1862.

WILLIAM LADD ON THE GOVERNMENT QUESTION.

WILLIAM LADD, the Founder of our Society, began his labors in the Cause of Peace, as NOAH WORCESTER had his, without questioning the propriety of defensive war, but came at length, as they both did, to the conclusion, that "*all war is contrary to the gospel.*" On this point, his friend Dr. Allen, took (1837) issue with him in a long correspondence, and urged, as a leading and decisive objection, that such a doctrine would be fatal to civil government, and leave society at the mercy of wicked men without protection or redress. 'The whole argument on this point,' it was said in effect, 'lies in a nutshell. Men must live in society; but society cannot exist without government. For this reason, God ordained "*the powers that be,*" as necessary for the welfare, if not for the very existence, of mankind; but the essential idea of government includes the right to restrain and punish wrong-doers; and this authority of the magistrate to inflict condign punishment on transgressors, is *identical with that of war.* The war principle is thus an essential, indispensable safe-guard of society; and if we deny the lawfulness of strictly defensive war, we sweep away every vestige of real, effective government among men.'

Such was the objection in all its force; and our readers will be interested to see our venerable Founder meeting it then just as we do today. "You gratuitously charge us," he says, "with disaffection to the civil authority. This is a great mistake; for there is nothing in our constitution, or our official documents, which would lead any one to suppose that we object to the use of *the sword of the magistrate in punishing crimes.* We say (Advocate of Peace for June (1837) that

we seek to effect such a change in public opinion as shall secure a right application of the gospel to the intercourse of Christian nations. *This is all we shall ever attempt.* The two following pages are entirely taken up with an article complaining of this mistake, and rectifying it, expressly stating, that ‘this cause contemplates *only* the intercourse of nations, and does *not* involve the right of nations to *punish their own subjects, or to put down mobs and insurrections by the sword.*’ Again, in our last annual report (prepared by Mr. Ladd himself (we say ‘our object is to prevent war; and we do not feel ourselves as a society, required or permitted to agitate the much vexed question, whether civil government has ever the right to take the life of its own subjects.’ The same sentiments, a hundred times repeated, are scattered through all our publications.” He proceeds to represent “the friends of peace as almost unanimously agreed, that the Peace Society should *not* interfere with *the sword of the magistrate.*”

Such was Mr. Ladd’s statement, made nearly twenty-five years ago, of the course adopted by our Society from the start. We suppose it was his own well-considered policy; and as such we have steadily continued it from that day to this. It clearly allows a pretty free scope for different modes of reasoning on a variety of questions incidental to our cause; but our Society now, as when he was its President, leaves its members to decide each for himself, “whether civil government has ever the right to take the life of its own subjects, how it shall put down mobs and insurrections,” or in what way it shall deal with any transgressors of its laws. They may be wrong on such questions; but, right or wrong, our Society, having no jurisdiction in the case, can of course have no responsibility. “With the sword of the magistrate,” as Mr. Ladd says, “we do *not* interfere”; but the sword of war, as an arbiter of disputes between nations, the whole custom of war between them, we unanimously oppose, and shall do all we can to supersede everywhere by a more rational, more equitable and more effective system of international justice and safety.

EFFECT OF WAR ON POPULATION.—By the census of 1851, the proportion of males and females in Great Britain was 100 to 105; but in that of 1861, it was as 97 to 115. Of the former the increase was only 977,627 while that of the latter was 1,156,489. Emigration may account in part for this; but it comes chiefly, almost entirely, from the wars of England during these ten years with Russia, India and China.

A PLEA FOR PEACEFUL SEPARATION. °

Let us compare the probable results of a peaceful separation of the Union, with the existing and probable results of the present civil war.

There is no evidence worth naming, to show that the Seceding States aimed at anything more than a separate independence, (as did the British American Colonies in 1775) ; no aggression on the North seems to have been contemplated. Such a *possibility*, however, justified the latter in due measures for self-defence ; but no true peaceman will allow the right of offensive measures,—the gospel cannot be so overstrained. It cannot be denied that, had the North so willed it, a peaceable separation had easily been effected, *that* being the aim of the discontented States. The Northern press advocated it, and the public seemed to approve of the idea in the early days of the present government. The first result of the separation then had been a Republic of Freedom, the reproach of slavery shaken off, and left with those who, from long custom, were best fitted to deal with it. Surely this alone had been an advantage, well worth an amicable separation.

In the next place, the expense of maintaining the costly and unproductive part of the government at the South being removed, the North could have adopted the principle of Free-trade, and thereby adding to her prosperity, have largely reduced the old Tariff, and lightened the taxes on the people. Again, under the old and long-standing associations, a state of good will and friendship would have continued, and much the same friendly and business intercourse existed as before. But more than all, it is almost certain, that after a brief trial of self-government, the Seceding States, finding that the change did not, as they anticipated, transfer the seat of wealth and trade from the North to the South, would have soon returned to the Union, in a voluntary and amicable manner, and the government become more stable than ever.

Reverse the picture, and we have—what ? A disgrace to the nineteenth century ; the utter failure of all our *free* institutions, the abrogation of the leading principle of the Declaration of Independence ;

* This article was introduced by our friend with statements which we omit, because we deem them untrue and slanderous. It represents us as "recrants to our principles ;" as "advocating civil war ;" and as wrong in saying that "certain Sovereign States are in rebellion," just as if it were a false charge so to represent them. Such accusations we could not properly print without denying them entirely, and on such an issue of fact or veracity, we shall not now enter into controversy.—Ed.

(the consent of the governed,) and instead, adopting the most absolute and tyrannical principles of government, the use of *force* in political cases, coercion of unwilling Sovereign States, for which the Constitution does not provide. We adopt that blot and curse of the dark ages, civil war, with our eyes open to centuries of enlightenment. We see that fourscore years of education, church-building, Sunday schools, and religious associations of all sorts, have failed to improve or humanize the great public mind. On the first trial, it gives way to temptation, and gropes in the gross darkness of antiquity; and this, too, with the soi-disant moral, educated and religious North, thus placing itself on a level with the degraded South!

The horrors of civil war who can paint? The great Wellington proclaimed it as the worst of evils, and to be avoided at any cost. Enlightened Anglo-Saxons, brethren in the nineteenth century, rushing into an utterly needless civil war! One has to *force* the mind to the reality, to convince its unwilling belief.

But let us go on to consider the reverse picture. The next step of the North, is to violate the most approved school of political economy, and pass a nearly prohibitory Tariff, worthy of the dark ages, ruinous to trade even in times of peace. Then come military blunders innumerable, then financial. Let us consider the latter; let us count the cost of this war, as compared with a course of peaceful separation. In the latter case, a revenue of about fifty millions would have sustained the government, and paid off the small existing debt in a short time. Now, where are we? With troops, and others connected with the war, we employ at least a million of men, (to the utter demoralization of many of them.)

Valuing their labor at \$2 (?) a day, we have an annual loss of	600,000,000
The expenses of the war are stated at three million(?) per day,	900,000,000
A tax is proposed (on reduced property and business) of	250,000,000
The loss of business, deterioration of property, and various	
other contingencies, may be estimated at	300,000,000
Deterioration of government securities, (?)	200,000,000
	<hr/>
	2,250,000,000

So that we may safely calculate the loss and injury to the country at two thousand millions of dollars annually! And this in our long boasted land of freedom from debt and taxation.

Nor is this the worst; corruption, fraud and iniquity rule rampant every where. Instance even now follows instance, with fearful rapidity; but thousands of such cases will only appear at the final summing

up of debt and expenditure, and yet more thousands only at the Day of Judgment. The next result of the war course, is the frequent violation of the Constitution ; its boasted right of habeas corpus, free speech and a free press ; as much crushed as in France or Austria.

But worse yet, civil war *undermines the heart*. A bitter hatred arises, often the inheritance of generations, sure to prevent any cordial reconstruction of government, or the usual friendly intercourse, even in case of a separation. Again, supposing the success of the stronger over the weaker party, we have established, perhaps forever, the Russia or Austria of America, to the utter destruction of the principle on which the Union was formed, the consent of the governed. We shall hold a number of *conquered provinces* in subjection, at the *point of the bayonet*.

But success is not the sure lot of any mortal undertaking. The course adopted of war, instead of a peaceful separation, strikes beyond our own concerns, and cuts deeply into the mighty interests of foreign lands. It is only by a palpable concession to fear and superior power, that the North has just escaped another sad consequence of the war course. More trials may be in store for her ; " the end is not yet ; " who can foresee it ? It is death, debt, demoralization already ; it may be destruction. Ah ! what a contrast to the peaceful course first suggested, had compromise been listened to, or even separation assented to.

We are not advocates for secession. The result of a legal election in which the South took part, should have been binding on her ; but two wrongs do not make a right ; and it is the duty of all peacemen, of all Peace Societies, to show up the blessings of peace, and horrors of war, and urge such societies back to their original doctrines. We insist that there is a sure worldly wisdom in this course of peace ; but above all, we urge the American Peace Society to this course, upon the Christian principles of its organization. The whole gospel, from end to end, commands peace, love and brotherhood, good for evil, clear of quibble, exception or circumstance. If the Society is content now to be a martyr for these principles, it will one day—and no distant one—come out of the cloud arrayed in glory.

New York.

W.

R E M A R K S .

We admit the above article of our friend, but must enter our protest against some of its statements, and against no small part of its logic.

1. Its whole drift does us wrong. Through it all there runs the false implication, expressed at times in so many words, that we have renounced or contradicted our principles. We repel the charge, and insist that we have done neither, but stand now precisely where we have stood for more than twenty years.

We marvel that one whom we take to be in the main fair-minded, should indulge in such flippant, wholesale charges or insinuations. He seems to be ignorant of what we have said and done on this very issue about which the friends and the enemies of our government are now in bloody conflict. We took in *advance* the ground, that the repose of the country was to be preserved by the plain, straightforward process of enforcing the constitution and laws which all the parties had a joint agency in providing for the purpose; that it is the specific, paramount duty of government to guard society by restraining and punishing the wrong-doers who disturb its peace, and peril its interests; but that it is no part of the Peace Society's proper mission to interfere with such duties of rulers in executing the laws, or to say how murderers, rebels or any other class of offenders shall be treated. All such questions belong, not to Peace, but to the Government which is provided on purpose to deal with them. It may be right or wrong in its mode of dealing with them; but, whether right or wrong, it is not the business of the Peace Society to decide. We presume that its members share the views generally current on such questions; but, whether they do or not, we can properly call them to account only on the single object to which they are devoted in common—the abolition of war, or the practice of nations—not citizens, or different parts of the same government—settling their disputes by the sword.

We did at the outset what we consistently could “to dissuade the parties from all thought of appealing to the sword.” Can our friend have forgotten our appeals? “Civil War!” we exclaimed, “what a world of crimes, calamities and woes would it bring. The very thought is enough to make one's blood curdle with horror. ° ° Have we not among us enough of Christianity, patriotism or common sense, to settle all our domestic controversies by peaceful means? Men of the North and the South, brothers all, shall we on any issue, or for any reason, steep in fratricidal blood the memory of our common ancestry, and thus blast the fairest hopes of freedom for the human race? ° ° We plead merely for a bloodless issue of the controversy. It is not ours to decide on *what* terms it *ought* to be settled; we only ask that it may, in any event, be brought in *some* way to a con-

clusion by peaceful, legal, rational means. Have we not such means already at hand? Does not our government, by its constitution and laws, contain provisions designed and adapted to meet just such cases as this? Here is the proper remedy; and, were such provisions used aright, we see not what occasion there could ever be for war among ourselves on this or any other issue."

2. But the chief complaint of our friend would seem to be, that the Peace Society will not endorse nor extenuate the present rebellion. His article is clearly, though perhaps unconsciously, a plea or apology on behalf of the rebels. The whole drift of his argument aims to show how wrong our rulers and people have been in not letting them have their way; how many and how grievous evils have come from the attempt to sustain the government by a due enforcement of its laws; how all, or nearly all these evils would have been averted by a prompt, cheerful compliance with their demands. He brings a general bill of indictment against all loyal men for abiding by their own government, and insisting that its constitution and laws shall be executed in accordance with their acknowledged intention. This he censures in fact more than he does the rebellion itself; and because the Peace Society will not interfere, with what influence it may have, to thwart and neutralize government in its confessedly legal efforts for suppressing the rebellion, he reproaches us as recreant to our principles! To all this, our short and simple answer is, that the cause of peace was never meant to meet such issues, but leaves government, as the agent of society for such purposes, to deal with murder and piracy, rebellion and any other offenses, as it deems best. It may be right, or it may be wrong; but, right or wrong, the Peace Society cannot assume its functions, nor call its own members to account for their views on such questions.

3. We doubt whether W. understands the full sweep of his own logic; for he assumes that the true principles of peace are incompatible with the legitimate operations of government. "The whole gospel," he says, "commands peace, love and brotherhood, good for evil, clear of quibble, exception or circumstance;" and he "urges the American Peace Society back to its original doctrines." He thus assumes peace to be synonymous with no-government; for otherwise he must allow government to punish rebellion, itself a mass of wholesale crimes, no less than other crimes against society. Government, if it exists at all, must have the right to define crimes, to prescribe their penalties, and employ all the force requisite to inflict these penalties. If it may not or cannot do all these things, it is in truth no government, but a

practical nullity. Advice, argument, persuasion is not government. It must have authority to enact laws, and power to put them in execution, or it is only a man of straw, a mere bugbear. If it has no right to coerce and punish every class of wrong-doers, especially rebels as the worst of all offenders, it is in fact no government at all. This logic drifts us down to no-government with a witness and a vengeance, to universal and irretrievable anarchy.

Such are the conclusions to which the reasoning of our friend must lead. The rebels avowedly trample under foot all our laws; but because they do not *choose* to obey these laws, the government does wrong in attempting to compel obedience! Does not such a principle annihilate all authority, all law, all government? A man violates the laws; but the magistrate forsooth must not punish or forcibly restrain him! A family of children refuse to obey their father; and so it is a species of domestic tyranny in him to force his authority upon them, or call them to any account! "A portion of the people" in New York or Boston refuse to pay their taxes; and it is, according to the logic of our friend, an outrage upon their rights, contrary to the fundamental principle of all free government, "the consent of the governed," to *compel* payment! "They have not given their *consent*;" they voted at the last election in the minority; neither they nor their party are just now in power; they do not like the set of men at the helm of affairs; and so they conclude to "secede," or, in ordinary English, to rebel against the government, and denounce a regular enforcement of the laws as a gross outrage upon their rights as freemen! Here is the logic of rebellion in few words. 'So long as we could rule, we were content; but if we can't rule, we will ruin: If the majority persist in ruling against our wishes, we will rebel; and, though we commit every crime known to the laws, and do our utmost to crush the common government so long over us, it will be utterly wrong, a gross and glaring violation of the first principles of free government, for you to resist or complain.'

Now, does any Peace Society commit itself to such conclusions as these? Does it presume to say how government shall deal with pirates, or incendiaries, with rebels or any other class of transgressors? Does it profess a single principle which it deems incompatible with the legitimate and necessary operations of civil government? Does it proscribe the criminal code? Does it denounce all penalties, all force, all efforts to restrain, convict and punish crime, as unchristian? We know no such Peace Society in the world. The Quakers themselves would dis-

avow, as they repeatedly have, any such construction or application of their principles.

We think our friend will on reflection modify his logic, and mitigate his rebuke of Peace Societies for not endorsing his peculiar views. It cannot be that he really would throw, as he seems to do, the chief blame of our present rebellion upon those who are trying to suppress it by a proper enforcement of our laws. Government and its supporters mainly responsible for these crimes and woes? Strange logic! 'Yes; let the rebels have their way, and all would be quiet and peaceful.' So, if you let any class of wrong-doers, thieves, robbers, assassins, do as they please, you would save for a time the trouble of bringing them to condign punishment; but is this the legitimate, distinctive business of government? Was it ordained of God thus to deal with offenders, thus to turn the other cheek to the smiter, thus to overcome evil with good, thus to abet, patronize and reward crime? What Peace Society, or what man in his senses, can be supposed to believe this? Yet all this underlies and pervades the logic of our friend.

Here, then, is the issue before us. Men have combined in vast numbers to commit the worst crimes, the sum of all offences against society. What shall be done with them? Our friend says, 'government must not punish or forcibly restrain them; for this would be contrary to his view of the gospel, violating its great law of love, returning one evil for another, just adding to the mischief, two wrongs in place of one. Let the offenders alone to do as they like; it would be wrong for government to enforce its laws against them, and thus bring them to condign punishment.' The Peace Society, on the other hand, says in effect, 'it is not our province to decide such questions; for they belong not to the Peace Reform, but to the province of civil government. It is not ours as peace-men to say what shall be done with those who violate its laws. On such questions we leave our members to think for themselves, but presume of course that they will, as friends of law and order, stand by the government in the execution of its laws against wrong-doers. If it has no right to do this, it has no right to be a government. If it be a government, it must have laws; if it have laws, it must enforce them; and if you say it must not do this, you put an end in fact to all government. No matter what the crime, or how many join in committing it, one or a million, the laws must be executed, or the government is only a name. If society has no right to do this, it has no right to exist at all, and cannot long be held together. Government is organized resistance by force against wrong-doers; and, if such resistance is wrong, then all government, even that of God himself, is wrong.'

DIFFICULTIES OF PEACEMEN IN AMERICA.

BY HON. AMASA WALKER.*

REV. HENRY RICHARDS, *Secretary of the London Peace Society*:

Dear Sir,—You know very well the painful position in which the friends of peace in this country are placed, in consequence of the frightful civil war raging here in our midst; a war which involves in its results our whole land, and extends its destructive influence over a greater territory than was perhaps ever occupied by any two conflicting armies in the history of mankind. There are at this moment in the field probably one million men, actively engaged in the great work of mutual slaughter; and our whole nation, as you will readily believe, is being rapidly transformed from a most peaceful to a most military people.

Under these circumstances, I take the liberty to address you, not only as a much valued friend, but as one who has an intimate knowledge of what war is, and what it has done; as one, too, who, from his official position, has been led to the examination of the great question in all its economical, social and moral bearings, and has given to the subject as much patient study and reflection, as perhaps any other person in Europe; and I may add, as one also in whose candor, judgment and Christian character I have the greatest confidence.

My desire is, to know how you think the Peacemen of this country ought to conduct in a terrible crisis like the present. In order to do this, I take the liberty to suppose that the British government and people were passing through a trial as near as possible like ours, so that the subject may be brought home to your mind in the same manner, and with the same force, that it is to our own.

Suppose that all the counties of England, south of a line drawn from the Bristol channel to the Thames, from Cornwall to Kent, from Somersetshire to Sussex, dissatisfied with the results of a Parliamentary election, or a change of ministry, were formally to declare themselves absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and then proceed to establish an independent government. Suppose that this was done too, not by the decision of a popular vote, but by the intrigues and machinations of political leaders, who dare not submit their action to the people for approval.

Suppose the new confederacy, as soon as organized, should seize upon all the public property within its reach, all the money in the Queen's Custom Houses, Post-offices, Mint, &c., and all the fortifications and arms within the territory of which they can obtain possession, fire upon and insult the British flag, and take all necessary measures to resist the government.

*This Letter, written nearly six months ago, we hoped to see ere this in the London Herald of Peace, with the views of our English friends on the subject; but, after waiting thus far in vain, we have solicited a copy for our own columns. Our readers will all endorse it as a very fair and truthful view of the case.—ED.

Now, when matters had gone thus far, what ought the London Peace Society to do? What could it do advantageously and properly?

But suppose the rebellion advances in its career, and the insurgents build fortifications around, and make preparations to reduce the principal fortress at Portsmouth, which we will suppose is still held by the national troops; and at last when the beleagured garrison is on the point of starvation, and the government attempts to send them reinforcements and provisions, they open their entrenchments upon the fortress, and after a severe bombardment, force it to capitulate. At this point, what should the Peacemen of England do?

But suppose still farther, that Her Majesty now proceeds to call out a large army to suppress the rebellion, and regain possession of the property and territory that has been wrested from her, and that this measure so exasperates the rebel leaders that they threaten to march on London, and actually do advance their forces, in great numbers, within sight of the capital, with the avowed design of seizing the Queen, her cabinet and the national archives; and that, as a matter of fact, there is great danger the metropolis and all it contains will fall into their hands. At this point, how ought the friends of peace to interfere? Or should they stand perfectly neutral and indifferent?

But the contest becomes more earnest. Large armies are assembled on each side the Thames. Collisions take place between them; and at last in a great battle the Queen's troops are defeated, and driven back into London in disorder. The rebels, exulting in their victory, threaten not only to take London, but Liverpool, and advance to Edinburg for winter quarters; and, what is worse, there is no little danger they will do so.

But the conflict does not stop here. Both parties now put forth all their strength, and immense armies are gathered along their extended lines. An additional fact adds greatly to the difficulties of the contest. It is now found that a large part of England, not included in the secession, is found in sympathy with it, and instead of being confined to the counties between Bristol channel and the Thames, the disaffection extends over as much territory north of the supposed line as south of it. On all this territory, the rebel flag is flying; and London itself, though held by royal troops, is situated far within the enemy's country. When such had become the position of affairs, what should the Peacemen of England do? What course would they recommend the British government to take?

These are the points upon which the friends of peace in this country need counsel; and, if our friends in England will candidly place themselves in the position which our hypothesis contemplates, and which we beg them to understand we regard as the *true one*, as near as we can describe it, and then say how they would act, and what they think they should do, we should be laid under high obligations.

But it will not satisfy us to be told that we are mistaken in the view we take of our position. We think we understand it as well as any other party can, and shall insist that the supposition we have made does present, as nearly as may be, our own real position. We hope, and from the high opinion we entertain of our peace friends in England, we expect, they will frankly tell us what their action would be in the case we have supposed. That may indicate to us the path of duty in our present circumstances.

How the Peacemen of England would act in case of a war with Russia, or a rebellion in British India, we already know very well; for we have seen and approved of their conduct in both those cases; but what course they would pursue, if their own government was struggling for existence, and putting forth all its energies to suppress rebellion, and protect their honored sovereign from violence and insult, that we have yet to learn.

We propose the foregoing questions in no captious spirit, and with no sinister purpose. We have never before been placed in such a position as that in which we now find ourselves, and feel that we need the counsel and kind advice of our esteemed friends abroad. And if you, Sir, representing as you do the oldest and most influential Peace Society in the world, and familiar as you must be with the views of your associates, will afford us the information requested, you will certainly confer a great favor on all who take an interest in the peace cause in this country.

I am very sincerely yours,

AMASA WALKER.

North Brookfield, Mass., November, 1862.

POLITICAL EFFECT OF SECESSION.—Senator Douglass, in one of his last speeches said, “if this new system of resistance by the sword and bayonet to the result of the ballot-box, shall prevail here in this country of ours, the history of the United States is already written in the history of Mexico. It is a curious and startling fact, which no American citizen should ever misapprehend, that from the day that Mexico separated from Spain down to this hour, no President of hers elected by the people has ever been inaugurated and served his term of office. In every single case, from 1820 down to 1861, either the defeated candidate has seized possession of the office by military force, or has turned out the successful man before his term expired. What is more significant? Mexico is now a by-word for every man to scoff at. No man would deem himself treated as a gentleman who was represented as a Mexican. Why? Because he cannot maintain his government, founded upon the great principles of self-government and constitutional liberty—because he wont abide by the ballot-box—because he is not willing to redress grievances inside the constitution, and in obedience to its provisions, instead of seizing the bayonet and the sword to resist the constituted authorities.”

SCRIPTURAL IMPRECATIONS.

Every thoughtful reader of the Bible must be familiar with this vexed question ; and the rise of our gigantic rebellion, with the efforts of our government to suppress it, has naturally called attention anew to the subject. Long and elaborate articles have been published in theological quarterlies ; but nearly the whole issue, with its substantial solution, is condensed in the following extract from the *Zion's Herald* :—

"If David was needlessly cruel, judged according to the Christian standard, we must consider that he never acted as *an individual* for private advantages, but as a sovereign solemnly bound to destroy the enemies of God's established kingdom.

Still we are not disposed to plead that in all these acts David was justifiable. He lived in a moral twilight. The full-orbed Sun of Righteousness had not clearly risen. The domestic institution of polygamy, as opposed to abstract right, was not designed to be allowed when man was created, and was suffered in his chosen nation by Jehovah only on account of "the hardness of their hearts." If this be true of a practice so prevalent, why may it not be true of Israelitish wars? Indeed, Jesus directly opposed and repealed the law of equivalent punishment, the heathen *lex talionis*, which had been a part of the Divine Law—a law, we may justly infer, allowed to the Israelites on account of the "hardness of their hearts," or their incapacity to appreciate a better law, but destined, in God's progressive history, to pass away before a higher and nobler law. So may it have been with the cruelties of David's wars.

Here we notice those fearfully vindictive expressions found in a few of the Psalms of David. "Break their teeth, O God! in their mouth; break out the great teeth of the young lions, O Lord!" "The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance; he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked." "Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee? And am not I grieved with those that rise up against thee? I hate them with perfect hatred. I count them mine enemies." "They have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love. Set thou a wicked man over him; and let Satan stand at his right hand. When he shall be judged, let him be condemned; and let his prayer become sin. Let his days be few; and let another take his office. Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow. As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him; as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him." These and similar fearful expressions are not surpassed in the rhetoric of cursing. How can they comport with the spirit of love? How fall from the lips of an inspired man, "a man after God's own heart?"

Our translators have undoubtedly given us the true spirit of the words of David. The charge, that these vindictive expressions are inexcusable or totally wrong, is not only fatal to a proper reverence for the Sacred Word, but also betrays an incapability of comprehending either the true mission of David, or the grand plan of God in maintaining the Israelitish nation, and in governing the world. The only way to understand them is frankly to acknowledge that there is a true province for vengeance in the economy of God. "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." No mere man has shown this so distinctly and equivocally, as the Son of God himself. The words *punish*, *indignation*, *anger*, *wrath*, applied to the Divine Being and his actions, are not unmeaning figures of speech. They exhibit great, unalterable facts. The true apology for David is that, according to his belief,—which belief was correct—a proper vindication of God's govern-

ment, and a true preservation of right, did demand that the enemies on whom he implored God to inflict punishment, should be punished; that a carrying out of the spirit of his imprecations was called for, and that without it the integrity of God's own empire could not have been maintained.

Now, are not these representations true? Was it not necessary to maintain the government of which David was made the human head? Look at the world as it was in his day. Where was there any solid righteousness but in the nation of Israel? Everywhere else idolatry was universal. "The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, and seek God. They are all gone aside, they are all together become filthy; there is none that doeth good, no, not one." A second deluge of water, like that which swept the antediluvians from the earth, would have been just. A universal shower of fire, like that which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, would have been righteous. The inhabitants of the earth had forfeited the right to live. Mercy itself to other generations, to other worlds, may have demanded the destruction of the guilty race. It is not unjust in God to allow putrefaction and filth to breed a pestilence; but if it would have been just for him by earthquake, or pestilence, or water, or fire, to destroy the whole race, it was certainly right for him to destroy a part as examples for the rest. This we verily believe is the key to unlock the mysteries of David's fearful imprecations. He spoke as he was moved by the Holy Ghost, to implore Jehovah to do what it was needful for him to do in perpetuating the human race, and planting the church of Christ. No man can understand the history of the world, nor its present condition, without recognizing the absolute necessity of punishment in a wicked world. Rightly understood, it is in fact a profound mercy, springing from the heart of him whose name is love. In no case does David desire personal vengeance; he seeks only the honor of God and of God's cause. Personally he was willing to suffer, even to die; but his anxiety was that the acknowledgment and worship of Jehovah should not be driven from the earth, and all remembrance of him disappear.

NO REAL NECESSITY FOR WAR.—It is an evil purely gratuitous, without any compensation of good. This is granted. And the great politicians of Europe have been searching for the means to avoid war, as much as possible in that part of the world. What means have they devised? The balance of power among the great European States! "To ensure peace," Louis Napoleon said in May, 1854, "is not to maintain during some years a factitious tranquillity. It is to labor to banish national hatreds, by favoring the interests and the natural tendencies of every people. It is to establish an equilibrium between the Powers."

No doubt that equality of power between the great States is, to a certain extent, a guarantee of peace. A great nation will think twice before attacking a State of equal strength with itself. But how difficult is it to maintain an equal balance between the States of Europe! How many causes are there to make it incline now on the one side, now on the other! Here, the ambitious views of Russia respecting Constantinople; there, the Austrian influence in Italy; elsewhere, the maritime preponderance of England. What wars, what treaties have there been for maintaining firm this balance, so often compromised, from the Thirty Years' War and the treaty of Westphalia, to the taking of Sebastopol, to the peace of Paris, to the victory of Solferino, and the peace of Villafranca; and how many motives might still operate to disturb that fickle balance, that equilibrium, which Louis Napoleon sought to establish at the price of so much blood and money?

PEACE AND THE PROPHECIES.

In an inquiry whether Christianity allows of war, there is a subject that always appears to me to be of peculiar importance—the prophecies of the Old Testament respecting the arrival of a period of universal peace. The belief is perhaps general among Christians, that a time will come when vice shall be eradicated from the world, when the violent passions of mankind shall be repressed, and when the pure benignity of Christianity shall be universally diffused. That such a period will come, we indeed know assuredly; for God has promised it.

Of the many prophecies of the Old Testament respecting it, I will refer only to a few from the writings of Isaiah. In his predictions respecting the “last times,” by which it is not disputed that he referred to the prevalence of the Christian religion, the prophet says, “They shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift the sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.” Again, referring to the same period, he says, “They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea.” And again, respecting the same era, “Violence shall be no more heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders.”

Two things are to be observed in relation to these prophecies: first, that it is the will of God that war should eventually be abolished. This consideration is of importance; for if war be not accordant with His will, war cannot be accordant with Christianity, which is the revelation of His will. My business, however, is principally with the second consideration—that *Christianity will be the means of introducing this period of peace*. From those who say that our religion sanctions war, an answer must be expected to questions such as these: By what instrumentality and by the diffusion of what principles, will the prophecies of Isaiah be fulfilled? Are we to expect some new system of religion, by which the imperfections of Christianity shall be removed, and its deficiencies supplied? Are we to believe that God sent his only Son into the world to institute a religion such as this—a religion that, in a few centuries, would require to be altered and amended? If Christianity allows of war, they must tell us what it is that is to extirpate war. If she allows “violence, and wasting, and destruction,” they must tell us what are the principles that are to produce gentleness, and benevolence, and forbearance. I know not what answer such inquiries will receive from the advocate of war, but I know that Isaiah says the change will be effected by *Christianity*. And if any one still chooses to expect another and a purer system, an apostle may, perhaps, repress his hopes: “If we, or an angel from heaven,” says Paul, “preach any other gospel than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.”

Whatever the principles of Christianity will require hereafter, they require now. Christianity, *with its present principles and obligations*, is to produce universal peace. It becomes, therefore, an absurdity, a simple contradiction, to maintain that the principles of Christianity allow of war, when they, and they only, are to eradicate it. If we have no other guarantee of peace than the existence of our religion, and no other hope of peace than in its diffusion, how can that religion sanction war? The conclusion that it does not sanction it, appears strictly logical: I do not perceive that a demonstration from Euclid can be clearer; and I think that if we possessed no other evidence of the unlawfulness of war, there is contained in this a proof which prejudice cannot deny, and which sophistry cannot evade.

The case is clear. A more perfect obedience to that same gospel, which

we are told sanctions slaughter, will be the means, and the only means, of exterminating slaughter from the world. It is not from an alteration of Christianity, but from an assimilation of Christians to its nature, that we are to hope. It is because we violate the principles of our religion, because we are not what they require us to be, that wars are continued. If we will not be peaceable, let us then, at least, be honest, and acknowledge that we continue to slaughter one another, not because Christianity permits it, but because we reject her laws.—*Jonathan Dymond.*

FINANCIAL RESULTS OF THE WAR-SYSTEM.—*What evils follow in its train!* In time of peace the cost of standing armies requires a large sum, which has been estimated at two milliards of francs. The annual loss in labor which Europe sustains by the withdrawal of four millions of men who are ranged under the banners of war, has been valued at 390 millions of francs. These two sums combined constitute an expense for Europe every year of nearly three milliards. In time of war these expenses, and by consequence the taxation, increase to frightful proportions. War, which devours every year forty thousand men out of every hundred thousand, thus takes away for ever from Europe a great part of its laborers. Hence come depopulation and debt, without taking into account pestilences and diseases. Napoleon said at Saint Helena: "Under the school of Pitt, we have desolated the world, and with what results? You have imposed fifteen hundred millions upon France, which were levied by the Cossagues; I have imposed upon you seven milliards, which were levied by your own hands through your Parliaments; and now, even after victory, is it certain that you may not sink beneath the weight of such a charge? With the school of Fox we should have understood each other; we should have accomplished the emancipation of peoples, the reign of principles; there would have been in Europe but one fleet, one army; we should have governed the world, we should have established in all countries repose and prosperity, either by force or by persuasion. Yes, I say once more, what evil have we done, what good might we have done!"

In fact, by reducing standing armies in time of peace, and rendering war as rare as possible, what decrease of taxation could be effected—what reduction of the public debt—what progress in industry, in commerce, in agriculture! In augmenting the number of working men, you would, on the one hand, diminish the price of workmanship, and on the other increase the mass of productions. It is thus that, according to the expression of Franklin, the earth might become in some sort a terrestrial paradise.—*French Paper.*

HENRY CLAY ON CIVIL WAR.—If we should be involved in war, civil war, between the two parts of this Confederacy, in which the effort of the one side should be to restrain the introduction of Slavery into the new Territories, and upon the other side, to force its introduction there, what a spectacle should we present to the astonishment of mankind in an effort, not to propagate rights, but—I must say it, though I trust it will be understood to be said with no design to excite feeling—a war to propagate *wrongs* in the Territories thus acquired from Mexico. It would be a war in which we should have no sympathies, no good wishes; in which a mankind would be against us; in which our own history itself would be against us; for, from the commencement of the Revolution down to the present time, we have constantly reproached our British ancestors for the introduction of Slavery into this country."—*Speech in the U. S. Senate, 1850.*

NATIONAL HONOR.

National honor, whatever the phrase may mean, was the sole ground on which England was lately ready to launch into a war with America. All men admitted that the highest *interests* of both countries lay in peace. None but those who were utterly blinded by passion, attempted to disguise from themselves the enormous evils which such a war must have entailed upon us. It would have involved a suspension of the laws of God, and an inversion of all the principles of morality in the intercourse of the two countries. It would have led to the total setting aside of Christianity on both sides; so that, instead of cultivating the "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance," which it enjoins upon us as the fruit of the spirit, we must have been bound by the most solemn obligations of patriotism to cherish and promote "the hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, envyings, murders," which it denounces as the works of the flesh. Still the voice of honor requiring it, was imperative. It would have virtually committed England to an alliance with and a defence of slavery, and so stultified before the world her long course of exertion, sacrifice and protest against that master-abomination. It would have destroyed a commerce which in peaceful years exceeds sixty millions (\$300,000,000) per annum, and would have rendered utterly valueless for a time, if it did not lead to a total ultimate confiscation, of 140 millions (\$700,000,000) of British property invested in American securities. It would have converted the ocean, from being the great highway of nations, into one vast scene of mutual carnage and plunder, where swarms of war-ships and privateers would be forever prowling about to make prey of lawful commerce, and to wage deadly conflict with each other. It would have diverted millions upon millions of our money from the service of civilization, and progress, and philanthropy, to be expended in equipping and sending forth gigantic expeditions, by land and sea, to lay waste the coasts, to bombard the cities, to destroy the lives and property of a people who are our fellow-Christians and fellow-Protestants, our nearest kindred, and our best customers. It would have carried terror and anguish into ten thousand families through our own land, and would have hurled multitudes of our young men into premature graves, and to sudden judgment. All this may be true; still "our honor," "English honor," "the honor of the British flag," must in any case remain intact and untainted. Yes; international commerce is no doubt important, the freedom and security of the seas are valuable, the lives of our people and the happiness of our homes are precious, the cause of the slave is the cause of justice and humanity, the principles of morality are sacred, the authority of the gospel is great; but the honor of the British flag is transcendent and supreme!

Now, what is this honor? "Honor," an able writer says, "is the judgment upon our lives or our acts, which is uttered by fellow-mortals. It is the product of their voices. It is the echo of their characters and minds. Its value and significance are, of course, to be measured by the weight which is justly attached to their opinion." Now, as the popular estimate of what is honorable differs widely in various ages, countries and circumstances, it is obvious that whosoever would guide his conduct by 'the sense of honor,' can have no fixed standard whatever by which to regulate his life. The Huns bestowed glory upon the successful robber; the Scandinavians upon the triumphant pirate. The North American Indians commemorated the chief who was able to hang at the door of his wigwam a heavy string of scalps, the spoils of war. The New Zealander honored the sturdy champion who first slew and then ate his enemies. The cannibal of the Feejee Islands was

praised for his adroitness in lying. The Spartans did homage to successful falsehood and theft. The public opinion by which the early disciples of Christianity were surrounded, regarded faith in the crucified Nazarene as the most shameful of all things, exposing those who professed it to be counted and treated as the filth and offscouring of the world.

When, therefore, we speak in these days of being compelled to pursue a certain policy by a regard to national honor, we mean, of course, that we must act, not in accordance with any fixed rules of justice, or with the laws of God, still less with the principles of Christianity, but in deference to the *opinion* which prevails, in our own and other countries, as to what is right and honorable. Now, we want to ask what authorize we have for thus erecting the opinion of our fellow-men into the supreme standard of our personal or national life? So far as we can discover, the sentiment of honor which has so much predominance in our modern ideas—the sentiment which prompts us to pay such implicit respect to the judgment of our fellow-men—is only once distinctly referred to in the New Testament, and that once for the purpose of being denounced as what rendered it impossible for men to accept the message of Christ. “How can ye believe which receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor which cometh from God only?” If there be another allusion to it, it is in a sense and with an application exactly and diametrically the reverse of the use to which it is put in our codes of international morality: “Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love, in *honor preferring one another.*”

But, in truth, ‘the sense of honor’ which has done so much to supersede all higher and nobler principles in our social and political intercourse, is the offspring, not of Christianity at all, but of chivalry, and of that only after it had fallen into decrepitude and decay. Yes, even the fastidious and fantastic system of sentiment which goes under the name of chivalry, did not, at its outset, erect self-worship under the guise of honor into its supreme idol. It aimed at something nobler and more disinterested than to fondle and cocker its own reputation. Its votaries professed to wander up and down the world, to protect the weak, to rescue the captive, to practice “deeds of emprise and courtesy.” As Spenser describes them,

“Full many countries did they overrun,
From the uprising to the setting sun,
And many hard adventures did achieve;
¶ Of all the which they honor ever won,
Seeking the weak oppressed to relieve,
And to recover right for such as wrongs did grieve.”

But “after the original intention of the orders of knighthood had been attempted to be served in warfare with the enemies of the Christian faith, and when the limits of the Turkish empire began to be settled and recognized by the nations of Europe, the military spirit of combativeness, inherent in these combinations, began to fret and eat into their own constitution. When they ceased to use their weapons against a common foe, they began to employ them each man against his neighbor. Hence arose a singular system of punctilios of honor, feats of arms, tournaments and duels. It is not unjustly supposed that the circumstances and manners of these orders had a great effect in moulding the minds and characters of the aristocracy of Europe. In due time the whole science of knighthood consisted in settling the niceties of behavior in matters of honor, and in adjusting the various legitimate methods of rendering satisfaction when insult had been personally offered, or reputation aggrieved.”*

By degrees from this corruption of the old system of chivalry, the spurious idea of honor, like purulent matter absorbed into the physical system,

* Duncan on “The Principle of Association.”

was diffused through the veins of society, until it threatened at one time to poison the whole current of its blood. All sense of right, all respect for law, all sentiments of humanity, and of course all the precepts of the gospel, were trampled under foot with the most imperious and insolent scorn. The one point to which all these things were ruthlessly sacrificed was 'the point of honor;' but that was spread out over the whole surface of life, and ran into ten thousand fantastic forms, which met men at every turn, until it had established a most audacious and intolerable despotism over the community that recognized its rule. Duels were multiplied to an incredible extent. In France it was estimated that during ten years of the reign of Henry IV., no less than 6,000 persons fell in duels. The same insanity spread into all other European countries.

In course of time these worshippers of honor established what they designated "the law of honor," and a most wonderful law it is, described by Paley in his *Moral and Political Philosophy* thus: "The law of honor omits such duties as relate to the Supreme Being, as well as those which we owe to our inferiors. For which reason, profaneness, neglect of public worship or private devotion, cruelty to servants, rigorous treatment of tenants or other dependents, want of charity to the poor, injuries done to tradesmen, insolvency or delay of payment, with numberless examples of the same kind, are accounted no breaches of honor." This law, moreover, he continues, "allows of fornication, adultery, drunkenness, prodigality, duelling, and of revenge in the extreme, and lays no stress upon the virtues opposite these."

Happily, since the time of Paley, this law of honor has, in the intercourse of society, fallen greatly into disrepute. The common sense of the world has looked through, and done something to laugh down, its pretensions and hypocritical effrontery. Society became weary of the reign of bullies which it had established. The improved morality of the age, let us hope, revolted against the claims of such thinly-varnished vice to be crowned with the highest honors of virtue. The ministers of religion mustered courage to resist and rebuke so monstrous an affront to the whole spirit of Christianity. But in the sphere of our international morality this principle is still permitted to have full sway. For the national honor that clamors passionately for war, in order "to thrash," "to chastise," "to crush"—for such are the favorite phrases—another nation on account of some affront, real or imaginary, or merely to humble its pride if it seems to talk too big for our pride to bear, is precisely the same in spirit and quality with the duellist's honor, which nothing would satisfy but to wash out its sense of wrong in its enemy's blood. They have the same characteristics throughout—the same contempt for justice and mercy, the same fierce determination to override, without being able to refute, the laws of God, and the principles of Christianity, the same unreasoning violence of temper towards all who counsel peace, the same reckless disregard of consequences, however solemn and terrible.

Now, let us try to look this swaggering braggart, Honor, in the face, and ascertain what manner of thing it is. *It has little or no respect for the right.* Indeed, the very fact that the idea of honor is put forward in the place of justice, is a proof of this. It was really very curious to observe, in the late affair with America, how completely the latter was swallowed up by the former. The great anxiety of all men was not that we should do what was right, but that we should save the honor of the country. Right would, of course, have been on the side of the Americans, if it had turned out that the law was with them; but our honor, it appears, would have been none the less compromised. Right and honor, then, are things which somehow stand quite apart, and may even be utterly opposed to each other; so that what is right may be sometimes very dishonorable, and also, of course, what is wrong may nevertheless be perfectly honorable. And yet, surely, con-

science is an infinitely higher and nobler principle than honor ! To be right, before truth and justice and law, is a better thing than to be highly esteemed in the opinion of our fellow-men.

Honor is perhaps the most selfish principle that exists in the human heart. It is utterly incapable of all generosity, magnanimity or mercy. Let any one read the history of duelling, and what will he find ? That where honor was concerned, all other considerations—ancient friendship, near kindred, the agony of the widow and fatherless, the public importance and value of the victim,—were trodden relentlessly under foot. The whole universe was nothing to the “man of honor,” compared with his own reputation. And it is precisely the same in international relations. Those who could sufficiently abstract themselves, though for a moment, from the atmosphere of prejudice and passion in which we have been enveloped for the last three months, must surely have been sometimes struck with this, in reference to the late *imbroglio* with our American kindred. With all our morbid sensitiveness as regards our *own* honor, no one seemed disposed to make the least allowance for the existence of a similar feeling on the part of our opponents ! They were in the midst of the most fearful calamity that could overtake any people. They were struggling for their national existence. The men who had fallen into their hands, were among the prime ringleaders of the gigantic rebellion that was rending the public in twain. At the time they were intercepted, they were engaged in a mission which, if it had been successful, would have been most disastrous to Federal interests. Their capture had sent a thrill of gladness and gratitude through the hearts of twenty millions of people. To surrender them, therefore, was an immense sacrifice, a bitter mortification. But did all these things cause any sympathy or relenting to the lovers of British honor ? So far otherwise, that their gratification was immeasurably enhanced by a knowledge of the humiliation which it would cost our adversary to comply with our demand.

Honor is by no means brave. Nay, rightly regarded, it is about the most dastardly of all the sentiments by which men are moved to action. For what is its main-spring ? A servile and abject fear of opinion. A fear, not of doing wrong, or of offending God, but of being laughed at by our fellow-men. Carlyle, in speaking of the courage of the world's “man of honor,” says : “The courage that can go forth once and away to Chalk Farm, and have itself shot, and snuffed out with decency, is nowise wholly what we mean here. Such courage we indeed esteem an exceeding small matter, capable of co-existing with a life full of falsehood, feebleness, poltroonery and despicability. Nay, oftener it is cowardice rather that produces this result ; for consider, is the Chalk Farm pistolero inspired with any reasonable belief or determination, or is he hounded on by haggard, indefinable fear how he will be cut at fashionable places, and plucked geese of the neighborhood will wag their tongue at him, a plucked goose ?”

So it is often, we fear, on a larger scale. Nations are driven to do what they would otherwise gladly avoid by this moral poltroonery. But is it not pitiful to see a great Christian community obliged to plunge into a course of butchery and blood against which its reason, its regard for its own interests, its sense of humanity, and its Christian conscience revolt, by a base fear lest its reputation should be hissed at by “the plucked geese” of the world ? Yet so it is. As one of our old poets says :

“Reputation ! That man's idol,
Set up 'gainst God, the Maker of all laws,
Who hath commanded us, we should not kill;
And yet we say, we must for reputation.
What honest man can either fear his own
Or else will hurt another's reputation ?
Fear to do base unworthy things is valor;
If they be done to us, to suffer them
is valor too.”

FORCES RAISED TO SUPPRESS THE REBELLION.

The Secretary of War says in his report at the opening of Congress in December last, that the conspiracy against the government extended over an area of 733,144 square miles, possessing a coast line of 25,414 miles, with an interior boundary lines of 7,031 miles in length.

ARMY.—In all 660,971, all volunteers, as follows:—

STATES.	3 MON.	THE WAR.	AGGREGATE.
California.....	—	4,688	4,688
Connecticut.....	2,236	12,400	14,636
Delaware.....	775	2,000	2,775
Illinois.....	4,941	80,000	84,941
Indiana.....	4,686	57,332	62,018
Iowa.....	968	19,800	20,768
Kentucky.....	—	15,000	15,000
Maine.....	768	14,290	15,007
Maryland.....	—	7,000	7,000
Massachusetts.....	3,436	26,760	30,195
Michigan.....	781	28,550	29,331
Minnesota.....	—	4,160	4,160
Missouri.....	9,356	22,130	31,486
New Hampshire.....	779	9,600	10,379
New Jersey.....	3,068	9,342	12,410
New York.....	10,188	100,000	100,338
Ohio.....	10,236	81,205	91,441
Pennsylvania.....	10,199	94,760	113,959
Rhode Island.....	1,285	5,898	7,183
Vermont.....	780	8,000	8,780
Virginia.....	779	12,000	12,779
Wisconsin.....	592	14,000	14,945
Kansas.....	—	5,000	5,000
Colorado.....	—	1,000	1,000
Nebraska.....	—	2,500	2,500
Nevada.....	—	1,000	1,000
New Mexico.....	—	1,000	1,000
District of Columbia.....	2,823	1,000	3,823
	77,875	640,637	718,512
Regular Army.....		20,334	—
Total.....		660,971	

NAVY.—The old, 76 ships, 1733 guns, and 105,271 tons. Purchased 136 vessels, 524 guns, and 71,297 tons. Built 53, of 356 guns, and 41,448 tons. Total, 264 ships, 2,557 guns, and 218,016 tons. In March, 1861, 7,600 seamen, and now not less than 22,000.

AN UNCLE KILLING HIS NEPHEW.—“I’ve been,” said the uncle, “on the battle-fields of Mexico, and nobody could ever say I was a coward there; but fighting *foreigners* is not like fighting one’s own flesh and blood! I confess I felt qualmish; and if it hadn’t been for a strong glass of bitters just as we moved forward, I should have showed the white feather right at once. Well, the word was given, and on we rushed madly, cutting and slaying right and left, cousins and kin, never stopping to reflect—if

we had, we shouldn't have fought any more! Well, when I'd helped to thin the Southern ranks considerably, and done deeds that only whiskey and excitement could have made a man do, I spied a fine, tall young fellow making full tilt at me with his bayonet. I jumped aside, gave one lunge at him, and ran him through; but, oh! my God, I hadn't more than done it, before I discovered it *was my own sister's son* I'd killed! There were the blue eyes and the black curly hair his mother was so proud of; and just as he fell, bloody all over, he gasped out 'Oh! uncle, is it you? is it you?' Oh! that dying look! I can never forget it! it's burned and branded into my soul for all time and eternity! There was the noble little boy I'd hugged to my heart many a time; there was the fine, dashing young man that had grown up so good and so handsome; it wasn't any wonder his mother was proud of him. And now I'd murdered him, my own sister's child, my sister's only boy! Oh! if I could bring him back again, and restore him to his mother! But neither tears nor blood can do that!"

SENATOR SUMNER ON MARITIME REFORMS.

We gave extracts in our last from Mr. Sumner's speech on the Trent affair. We now enrich our pages with its conclusion on certain much needed reforms in maritime law, the urgent necessity of which has been by that affair pressed upon the attention of the civilized world.

"Let the rebels go. Two wicked men, ungrateful to their country, are let loose with the band of Cain upon their foreheads. Prison doors are opened; but principles are established which will help to free other men, and to open the gates of the sea. Never before, in her active history, has Great Britain ranged herself on this side. Such an event is an epoch. *Novus sæclorum nascitur ordo*. To the liberties of the sea this power is now committed. To a certain extent this cause is now under her tutelary care. If the immunities of passengers, not in the military or naval service, as well as of sailors, are not directly recognized, they are at least implied; if neutral rights are not ostentatiously proclaimed, they are at least invoked; while the whole pretension of impressment, so long the pest of neutral commerce, and operating only through the lawless adjudication of a quarter-deck, is made absolutely impossible. Thus is the freedom of the sea enlarged in the name of peaceful neutral rights, not only by limiting the number of persons who are exposed to the penalties of war, but by driving from it the most offensive pretension that ever stalked upon its waves. To such conclusion Great Britain is irrevocably pledged. Nor treaty nor bond was needed. It is sufficient that her late appeal can be vindicated only by a renunciation of early, long-continued tyranny. Let her bear the rebels back. The consideration is ample; for the sea became free as this altered Power went forth upon it, steering westward with the sun, on an errand of liberation.

In this surrender, if such it may be called, our Government does not even "stoop to conquer." It simply lifts itself to the height of its own original principles. The early efforts of its best negotiators, the patriot trials of its soldiers in an unequal war, have at length prevailed, and Great Britain, usually so haughty, invites us to practice upon those principles which she has so strenuously opposed. There are victories of force. Here is a victory of truth. If Great Britain has gained the custody of two rebels, the United States have secured the triumph of their principles.

If this result be in conformity with our cherished principles, it will be superfluous to add other considerations; and yet I venture to suggest that estranged sympathies abroad may be secured again by an open adhesion to those principles which already have the support of the Continental Governments of Europe, smarting for years under British pretensions. The powerful organs of public opinion on the Continent are also with us. Haute-feuille, whose work on the Law of Nations is the arsenal of neutral rights, has entered into this debate with a direct proposition for the release of these emissaries as a testimony to the true interpretation of international law. Another distinguished Frenchman, Agenor de Gasparin, whose impassioned love of liberty and enlightened devotion to our country give to his voice all the persuasion of friendship, has made a similar appeal. And a journal, which of itself is an authority, the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, hopes that the United States will let the rebels go, simply because "it would be a triumph of the rights of neutrals to apply them for the advantage of a nation which has ever opposed and violated them."

But this triumph is not enough. The sea-god will in future use his trident less; but the same principles which led to the present renunciation of early pretensions, naturally conduct to yet further emancipation of the sea. The work of maritime civilization is not finished. And here the two nations, equally endowed by commerce, and matching each other, while they surpass all other nations, in peaceful ships, may gloriously unite in setting up new pillars, which shall mark new triumphs, rendering the ocean a highway of peace, instead of a field of blood.

The Congress of Paris, in 1856, where were assembled the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey, has already led the way. Adopting the early policy of the United States, often proposed to foreign nations, this Congress has authenticated two important changes in restraint of belligerent rights; first, that the neutral flag shall protect enemy's goods except contraband of war; and secondly, that neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag. This is much. Another proposition, that privateering should be abolished, was defective in two respects; first, because it left nations free to employ private ships under a public commission as ships of the navy, and, therefore, was nugatory; and, secondly, because, if not nugatory, it was too obviously in the special interest of Great Britain, which, through her commanding navy, would thus be left at will to rule the sea. No change can be practicable which is not equal in its advantages to all nations; for the Equality of Nations is not a mere dry dogma of international law, but a vital national sentiment common to all nations. This cannot be forgotten; and every proposition must be brought sincerely to this equitable test.

But there is a way in which privateering can be effectively abolished without any shock to the Equality of Nations. A simple proposition, that private property shall enjoy the same immunity on the ocean which it now enjoys on land, will at once abolish privateering, and relieve the commerce of the ocean from its greatest perils, so that, like commerce on land, it shall be undisturbed except by illegal robbery and theft. Such a proposition will operate equally for the advantage of all nations. On this account, and in the policy of peace, which our Government has always cultivated, it has been already presented to foreign Governments by the United States. You have not forgotten the important paper in which Mr. Marcy did this service, or the recent efforts of Mr. Seward in the same direction. In order to complete the efficacy of this proposition, and still further to banish belligerent pretensions, contraband of war should be abolished, so that all

ships may freely navigate the ocean without being exposed to any question as to the character of persons or things on board. The Right of Search, which, on the occurrence of war, becomes an omnipresent tyranny, subjecting every neutral ship to the arbitrary invasion of every belligerent cruiser, would then disappear. It would drop, as the chains drop from an emancipated slave; or rather, it would only exist as an occasional agent, under solemn treaties, in the war waged by civilization against the slave trade, and then it would be proudly recognized as an honorable surrender to the best interests of humanity, glorifying the flag which made it.

With the consummation of these reforms in maritime law, not forgetting blockades under international law, war would be despoiled of its most vexatious prerogatives, while innocent neutrals would be exempt from its torments. The statutes of the sea, thus refined and elevated, will be the agents of peace instead of the agents of war. Ships and cargoes will pass unchallenged from shore to shore; and those terrible belligerent rights, under which the commerce of the world has so long suffered, will cease from troubling. In this work our country began early. It had hardly proclaimed its own independence before it sought to secure a similar independence for the sea. It had hardly made a constitution for its own Government before it sought to establish a constitution similar in spirit for the government of the sea. If it did not prevail at once, it was because it could not overcome the unyielding opposition of Great Britain. And now the time is come when this champion of belligerent rights "has changed his hand and checked his pride." Welcome to this new-found alliance. Welcome to this peaceful transfiguration. Meanwhile, throughout all present excitements, amidst all present trials, beneath all threatening clouds, it only remains for us to uphold the perpetual policy of the Republic, and to stand fast on the ancient ways.

CONGRESSIONAL PLUDNER OR PRODIGALITY.—Take a few specimens of the year just past. For the single item of stationery, there was expended for the Senate, \$12,000, or about \$190 for each Senator; for newspapers \$3,500, more than \$50 for each Senator; for "miscellaneous" \$23,000; for *The Congressional Globe* \$62,333 32, about \$1,000 for each; and for binding, lithographing and engraving \$130,721 79, or nearly \$2,000 more each, making in all more than \$3,000 for each Senator. This does not include the expenses for printing. The total for the items enumerated amounts to \$231,555 11, a sum greater by \$28,006 75 than that drawn for compensation and mileage.

In the House \$21,363 was expended for stationery; \$12,500 for newspapers; \$127,727 for "miscellaneous;" \$318,090 for folding, binding, engraving and lithographing; \$67,445 for *The Congressional Globe*; \$237,997 for paper; and \$174,141 to meet deficiencies in appropriations made for paper and printing in the same year; making a total for these items of \$966,042 for the House, and for the Senate and House of \$1,197,597. And this does not include the cost of the public printing office. The amount drawn for mileage and compensation by Representatives, for the year was \$581,540 59; so that each Representative cost the country, in addition to his salary and mileage, nearly \$3,500 for stationery, books, etc. The expenditure for pages, clerk, and other employes, is on an equally lavish scale; and the total expenditure for both Houses, for all these purposes, exceeds \$2,000,000.—*N. Y. Tribune, Jan., 1862.*

We are quite inclined to think the people will be ready ere long to hear

pleas for peace. We shall patiently wait for that hour; but meanwhile, alas! how much of treasure and blood will it cost to learn the lesson which a bitter experience is sure to teach in the end.

CONTINENTAL MONEY.—Every war, but especially one of revolution, is wont to cost incidentally much more than issues from the public treasury. Our revolutionary war, not unlike the present Rebellion of the South, relied for its prosecution upon promises in the form of notes that were never paid, and in this way alone the country, with little more than three million people, lost more than \$300,000,000, or \$100 for every man, woman and child. Here are the issues for seven years:—

In 1775.....	\$ 3,000,000
In 1776.....	20,864,464
In 1777.....	26,426,333
In 1778.....	66,963,269
In 1779.....	149,703,856
In 1780.....	83,799,464
In 1781.....	12,587,344

About \$362,000,000 in all, of which 1,000 came to be represented in value by a single silver dollar. It is in such ways that war comes to cost so much more than even its enormous estimates. A hundred dollars, and more, to every inhabitant!

ABSURDITY OF WAR.—War is quite an incomprehensible mystery. In the abstract, it is so absurd that questions of fact, or right, or morals should be decided by the deadly quarrels of large bodies of ignorant men, that a child's logic repudiates it. It is so repugnant, also, to the ordinary impulses of affection, and an instinctive regard for self-preservation, that it would seem utterly impossible to induce nations to fight. Were it not a fact, the very idea of war would be the extremest absurdity. Were it asserted that one half the population of a nation drilled themselves voluntarily to skilful evolutions, and that finally, on a set day, they all by common consent committed suicide, each plunging his weapon into his own body, it would be no more absurd than the actual facts of war. Many times more human beings than now people the whole earth, have actually fallen in war; enough to people a number of planets like this!—*Zion's Herald*.

FEEDING AN ARMY.—It is a huge, all-devouring monster. The Union forces now amount, in round numbers, to 650,000 men. It may be interesting to know what such an army will consume in one month. The following figures are strictly correct:

14,625,000 pounds of pork, or 24,375 pounds of fresh beef; 136,994 barrels of flour; 48,750 bushels of beans, or 1,950,000 pounds of rice; 1,950,000 pounds of coffee; 2,892,000 pounds of sugar; 195,000 gallons of vinegar; 12,249 bushels of salt; 8,580,000 pounds of potatoes, with 292,500 pounds of candles each week, and 780,000 pounds of soap.

BATTLE SCENES.

CHARGE AT FORT DONELSON.—It was the second day of the fight. A body of from ten to twelve thousand of the enemy had cut through our right flank and escaped. This was the attack upon McClelland. A galling fire was being kept up on our left and centre from heavy siege and field artillery, and our forces were being fast decimated. To remain in this position, would surely prove our ruin; and no alternative was left but to hazard everything in a united charge upon the whole enemy's works. Though officers clamored, and the men were impatient to make the assault, still General Grant hesitated, and it was not until half-past two that the order to assault the works was given. "Soldiers," said General Smith, "we are ordered to take those works by assault. Are you ready?" "Aye, aye, sir, ready!" And on they march in close order, the advancing brigade looking more like a blue porcupine, with its quills turned forward, than aught else I can compare it to, right up to the rebel works. Though the enemy kept up an incessant fire from howitzer, field-piece and musket, of shells, solid shot and lead, still that brigade marched on, nothing daunted, to the enemy's earthworks, which reached, over it they went, right into the midst of the butternut-colored devils who had so savagely welcomed them inside the entrenchments. When the blue coats appeared inside the breastworks, the veteran Gen. Smith at their head, brandishing his sword, the rebels took to their heels, and left for the next line of entrenchments. Our men fired one volley after them as they retreated, then planted the Stars and Stripes upon the walls, gave three times three cheers when it swelled to the breeze, and settled down for further orders. This was the turning-point of the fight, when it was discovered that the national ensign had been planted within the enemy's entrenchments, a charge was made all along the enemy's front, forced him back to his earthworks, leaving the open field to our troops, and securing to us an easy victory on the morrow."

AFTER-SCENES OF BATTLE.

AT MILL SPRINGS IN EAST KENTUCKY.—"I rode over the battle-field in the evening. Our men were burying the dead; but many still lay ghastly where they fell. The wounded had been all taken up. The same kind treatment was extended to the enemy's wounded which was given to our own. The universal remark they made to me, as I passed through the hospital, was, 'We never expected to be treated so. We have been misled. We expected to be served like dogs, should we fall into your hands. You are kinder to us than we would have been to you.' The only difference was in the burial of the dead. Those of the enemy were laid together in common pits. Our own were buried in separate graves, and on many of them I saw young cedars already planted by their comrades. Beside one of the graves prepared for the enemy's killed, I noticed several lying ready to be interred. One poor boy lay in the exact position, as I was told, in which he was found. He rested on his side, his head lying on his right arm, while his left hand was loosely closed on his right elbow. His eyes were closed, and he looked as though fallen asleep."

"Along the edge of the open field," says another, "lay the bodies of four or five of our men. As I advanced into the woods, the marks of cannon shot could be seen on every side, but I saw no one of those nearer than twenty feet from the ground; nor did I see a dead or wounded man who had been struck with a cannon shot. Passing through the woods from the first open field, a distance of nearly half a mile, we reached another open,

half-cleared field, where eighty-five dead rebels lay; and further on is the corn field where the brave Indiana Tenth suffered so severely. In the woods, and along the road, the scene was dreadful. One body was placed in a sitting posture with the back leaning against a tree, the hands crossed in his lap, his eyes partly opened, and lips slightly parted. The ball had entered his left breast just above the region of the heart. Another lay upon his side, with head and arms thrown back; the ball had cut away a part of his skull over his left eye. Against a tree, leaned back in the most classic composure, was the fairest and most beautiful countenance I ever saw in death. No female complexion could be more spotless. The silky locks of wavy auburn hair fell in rich profusion upon fair temples and a faultless forehead. Some friendly hand had parted his garments, baring his breast, from which the red current of life flowed out, and had bathed his temples, which were still warm, but had ceased to throb forever. O ye winds, bear these tidings softly to the loved ones at home!"

FORTITUDE OF THE SUFFERERS.—Among the wounded of our men, it was really comforting to see with what patient heroism they bore their pains. I said to one poor fellow with a shattered leg, 'You must be in great pain; can I do anything for you?' He said, 'There are others worse off than I; when they are carried in, you can tell them where I am, if you please.' Another man had a ball through his right hand, breaking two of the bones. He had done it up himself with a wet bandage, and with his other hand was carrying one corner of a stretcher with a wounded man; carrying another corner of the stretcher, was a man with his head and face covered with blood. He said, he was not hurt at all, he had only lost a large piece of his scalp.

REBEL SUFFERINGS.—Among the rebels some of the scenes were horrid and revolting in the extreme. A large number of the dead were shot in the head. One was shot directly in the eye, and the brain was oozing from the wound. Five dead and wounded lay behind one log, all but the wounded one shot in the head. One rebel had a ball through his neck, which destroyed the power of speech, though I do not think his wound was mortal. Several of the dead were old grey-headed men. A dark complexioned man with a heavy black beard, who said he was from Mississippi, was lying on the ground with a broken thigh. He was stern and sullen; he had only one favor to ask, and that was that some one of us would kill him. A young man, quite a boy, begged me not to let the Lincolnites kill him. An elderly man, with his back against a stump, had a ball directly through the centre of the head at the base of the brain. There was a ghastly grin upon his countenance; his eyes were stretched widely open, and staring wildly into vacancy, while his breath was rapid, deep and heavy. His was a living death, for he was senseless. A lad of fourteen, with a smashed ankle, protested his innocence, and begged to be taken care of.

I left those fields of human suffering with feelings such as I never before experienced. The freshness of death seemed to fill the whole atmosphere. It is a scene which a man needs only to look upon once in his lifetime.

AT FORT DONELSON.—I was invited, the morning of the surrender of the fort, to take a ride over the battle-field. It extended outside of the fortifications two miles up the river. It was here that the grand sortie was made by the rebels with the intention of turning our right flank, and cutting their way through. Some ten or twelve thousand men composed this force, and under a deadly fire of artillery, steadily drove Gen. McClelland's force before them a distance of fifty or sixty rods. Our troops here made a stand, and, having been reinforced by one or two regiments, began the terrific assault before which the enemy were forced to retreat.

The ground was contested with desperation, and the slaughter on both sides was immense. The whole space of two miles was strewn with dead, who lay in every imaginable shape and form. Federals and rebels were promiscuously mingled, sometimes grappled in the fierce death-throe, sometimes facing each other as they gave and received the fatal shot or thrust, sometimes lying across each other, and again heaped in piles which lay six or seven deep. I could imagine nothing more terrible than the silent indications of agony that marked the features of the pale corpses which lay at every step. Though dead, and rigid in every muscle, they still writhed and seemed to turn to catch the passing breeze for cooling breath. Staring eyes, gaping mouths, clenched hands and strangely contracted limbs, seemingly drawn into the smallest compass, as if by a mighty effort to rend asunder some irresistible bond which held them down to the torture of which they died.

The sights were revolting. One sat against a tree, and, with mouth and eyes wide open, looked up into the sky as if to catch a glance at its fleeting spirit. Another clutched the branch of an overhanging tree, and hung half suspended, as in the death-pang he raised himself partly from the ground. The other hand grasped his faithful musket, and the compression of the mouth told of the determination which would have been fatal to a foe had life ebbed a minute later. A third clung with both hands to a bayonet which was buried in the ground, in the act of striking for the heart of a rebel foe. Great numbers lay in heaps, just as the fire of the artillery mowed them down, mangling their forms into an almost undistinguishable mass. Many of our men had evidently fallen victims to the rebel sharpshooters, for they were pierced through the head by rifle bullets, some in the forehead, some in the eyes, others on the bridge of the nose, in the cheeks and in the mouth.

The enemy in their retreat carried off their wounded, and many of their dead; but the ground was still covered with dead, and all the way up to their intrenchments the same scene of death was presented. There were two miles of dead strewn thickly, mingled with firearms, artillery, dead horses, and the paraphernalia of the battle-field. It was a scene never to be forgotten—never to be described. An officer stated that he stood upon a little hillock where the battle raged the fiercest, and counted within a circle of twenty feet seventeen dead bodies, ten of whom he could reach with the point of his sword without moving from his position. For days considerable numbers of the dead were still on the field unburied, and some of the wounded lay in the woods three days and nights before they were found."

HOSPITAL SCENES.—"Perhaps," says one writing from the Georgetown hospital near Washington, "no one sight gives a man so impressive an idea of the simple horror, the unmitigated inhumanity of war, as a visit to wounded and dying men, lying pale and patient in the hospitals. I have been to day to visit our wounded men in the hospital at Georgetown; a sight that few men, not previously trained to that especial experience, can endure. The stalwart men, who went into the ward with me, turned faint and sick, and had to be led to other rooms, where restoratives and time might give them fresh heart. One of these men is a captain in one of the bravest and staunchest regiments at Bull Run; a man who, with his own single hand, slew three rebels, and captured five; who, in his own arms, carried for miles a wounded man of his own company, until he placed him in a place of safety, a man who fought, disbelieving the order to retreat, and who, with his men, stood in the rear guard that protected the retreat

of our men, till for the third time the order came to fall back, when, with tears in his eyes, he reluctantly brought off his company in its appropriate place in the regiment. Such staunch men are always of the kindest; and this captain (from good old Connecticut,) having that day heard the whereabouts of one of his missing, instantly left his camp, and posted to the hospital, a journey of many miles and several hours, to look after his comrade. Yet this very man no sooner breathed the hospital air—no sooner caught sight of the men lying patiently on their beds, no sooner caught the first glimpse of the festering wounds, than he turned faint and sick, and had to be led away. In due time he recovered his equanimity, and so far mustered his feelings as to return and assist making comfortable the man he came to see, and remained for an hour or more to give him all the comfort possible. This effort cost him, he asserts, exertion and a courage he never felt the need of when he was ordered for his first time into the thickest of the enemy's fire."

Still worse are the hospital scenes immediately after a battle like that of Pea Ridge, Arkansas. "The morning after the 8th (March)," says an eye-witness, "I passed the hospital, where most of our wounded were carried on the previous night. Here lay dead officers and soldiers mingled indiscriminately together, most of them having died after or during amputation. Outside of the buildings were several legs and arms, the former with the stockings and occasionally a portion of the pantaloons still unrecovered. A row of corpses lay in front of the principal hospital, and a number of attendants were busy in their removal. Each was covered with a blanket, and the utmost nonchalance was displayed in all their movements. "That's Captain —," was a remark as a blanket was turned down from the face of a corpse, revealing at the same time the double-barred shoulder strap. "That's private —," or "That's a sergeant of — regiment," and similar remarks, were the only hospital eulogiums as the column of dead was passed by. Whatever bravery and daring were shown when these death-wounds were received, was here unnoticed. Satiated with these horrors, I turned away and hastened to the field, where the final battle was about commencing."

SOCIAL EVILS OF THE REBELLION.

Wherever it put its feet down, there was desolation. Its line of power is marked by the ashes of farm houses and the debris of desecrated churches. It traced its boundaries with a finger of fire, and marked its outposts by depopulated villages. Its *avant couriers* were exiled women and children, fleeing for their lives. It laid its hand upon populous villages, peaceful and happy homes, and they were cursed with the desolation of Sodom. Its laws were the sword and the bayonet; its peans of triumph the wailings of women, and the voice of Rachel crying for her children. Every living thing was blasted by it. Wide fields, spreading in beauty, were the camps for destroying armies; fine buildings the barracks for soldiers. A brutal soldiery had no law but their own lusts, no God but their own passions. Everything valuable that they wished, was seized, and what they could not carry off, was destroyed. Commissions of plunder were issued, and armed bands searched and stole under the authority of law. No place within the narrow circuit was safe from devastation. Commerce and trade were destroyed, for they had no need of them. Everything they touched withered. In their flight they destroyed, with indiscriminate outrage, whatever was most valuable. It made no difference whether it was the property of Union or secession, the fell spirit of

organized mob struck it. The mere fact of its being property was enough to demand its destruction.—*Louisville Democrat.*

SOUTHERN MISSOURI.—Its condition was most deplorable. The country was first overrun and pillaged by Claib. Jackson and his rebel cohorts, then the Kansas "jayhawkers" took their turn, and what was left was plundered by a force raised in adjoining counties for the ostensible purpose of scattering the jayhawkers, but which spared neither friend nor foe, robbing farms, stores and dwellings indiscriminately. The destitution which has followed these successive scourages, is extreme. The inhabitants have fled in terror, and the country is to a large extent depopulated. Probably no part of the United States ever before presented so extensive a scene of devastation.

Two thousand men, women and children accompanied Gen. Siegel's federal division from Springfield. Families joined the army all along the route, fearing to remain under the rule of the rebels. It was painful to witness the distress of these people, in being obliged to remove from their homes. Many were stripped of nearly all they possessed.

NORTHERN MISSOURI—suffered in like manner. The secessionists throughout the State are showing their heads again in dastardly and brutal attacks upon the Union men. Two influential persons have been assassinated in cold blood within a week—Judge Richardson, in the northern portion of the State, and another prominent citizen, whose name has escaped me, in the vicinity of Greenfield. Refugees from the South-west narrate some of the most pitiable stories of wrong and violence suffered at the hands of the rebels and their sympathizers. One citizen of Dade county, among others who had retreated after the fall of Lyon, upon returning to his home found that his property had been sold by the rebels at prices one-twentieth of its real value. Agricultural implements, stock and crops had been put up at auction, and bid off at little or nothing. Several of the purchasers agreed to return their purchases; and it was asserted that a compromise could be effected with them all. Upon going to reclaim one of his horses from a neighbor, the rebel shot him before he could make known his errand.

Dr. Elliott, editor of the *Christian Advocate*, St. Louis, made in Cincinnati, Dec. 8, 1861, an address to the children of a Sabbath school; and, in attempting to contrast the condition of affairs in Ohio with those in Missouri, his emotions got the better of him, and he gave way to uncontrollable sobs. "There is not," said he, "a place in all Missouri, outside of St. Louis, where you could now gather as many as half a dozen children in the capacity of a Sabbath-school."

WESTERN MISSOURI.—Our letters and dispatches from day to day exhibit a terrible condition of affairs in that portion of the State. Roving bands of secessionists, supposed to be detachments from Price's army, have been scouring the country, and arousing some of the worst passions of human nature among the citizens. The property of Union men has been ruthlessly seized and destroyed, whenever it has been of a character not calculated to be put to the use of the robbers, or, if useful to them, taken off and appropriated. The residents of these sections are being daily driven from their homes, and are flocking to the various military posts for protection.

COST OF SLAVERY.—"What is Slavery now costing the United States? TWO MILLIONS A DAY for the support of the Army and Navy, and ONE MILLION for the value which the labor of soldiers and sailors would create if devoted to peaceful, productive employments. In all, we are now paying THREE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS A DAY, not to mention suffering and loss of

health and life, for the privilege of keeping four millions of faithful friends of the Union enslaved to its deadly enemies. Is it not about time to put an end to the necessity for such an expenditure?"—*N. Y. Tribune.*

A CHRISTIAN VIEW OF WAR.—A pamphlet with this title, published lately at Quincy, Ill., we have received from the author, with permission to print it entire, but not "extracts from it." It breathes an excellent spirit, and presents some views of much importance; but we have not space for the whole, and cannot endorse *all* its positions.

One of these is, that *Christians, as such, have nothing to do with civil government, except to submit to its authority without resistance.* "All governments belong to the world, and are of this world, and are constituted by the will of man on the principles of the world. * * They are composed of a heterogeneous mass of wicked men. God has laid down no principle in the Bible for such an organization, or for its perpetuation. He does not acknowledge its officers as subjects for his instruction. They are left to follow the dictates of their own will. Christians are commanded to come out from among them,"—take no part with other citizens in the affairs of Government—"and touch not the unclean thing." All this means, if it means anything to purpose, that Christians, as such, should take no part in civil government.

Another principle taken is, that *all resistance against wrong by force is unchristian.* "Carnal weapons and all resistance to evil are prohibited. It (the church) is not to *resist* the wrongs of an enemy. It is not to take revenge. It is to overcome all evil of an enemy by doing him good, and in doing so, you cannot kill him. It saves life, but does not destroy it. * * Man is forbidden to take the life of man. There is as much authority in Moses' law for adultery and polygamy, as there is for taking the life of man. The taking of the life of man is a violation of the principles of Christ."

Now, while sharing all the writer's hostility to war and war-system, we cannot endorse such extreme positions as these. He seems to assume that no man can be a thorough, consistent friend of peace who does not believe in the strict inviolability of human life; but, while allowing others to oppose war for whatever reasons they choose, we are not aware that any considerable Peace Society has ever adopted this principle. There is really no need of it. We seek to do away the custom of war; and that we hold to be wrong, whether it be right or not to hang the murderer, or to use force in putting down mobs and insurrections. We would fain rally as many as possible for the abolition of war; but if only those who believe human life to be strictly inviolable, or think that all Christians should abstain from any participation in the affairs of government, are to unite in this great reform, we must despair of its triumph in season to do much good.

TO PREVENT WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND OUR COUNTRY.—We reported in our last the noble efforts made on a large scale by English friends of peace to avert such a crime and calamity. Happily the necessity for their continuance was arrested even before they were fairly put in operation; but a specimen of what was in progress we have in an Address from "Ministers of Religion at Boston, Linconshire, England, to their brethren the Christian Ministers of all Denominations in the City of Boston, Massachusetts." It is a brief, touching appeal in view of a war then threatened. It was dated on the last Christmas-day, but did not reach us till several months after, too late to be properly used here. If we had space, we would gladly copy it entire, with the names of the nine Christian ministers appended. To our namesake in the father-land, we would send back from our American Boston a most cordial response to this kind, Christian greeting. Let our friendship be uninterrupted and perpetual!

BRITISH MISCONCEPTIONS OF AMERICA.—On this theme we have thus far kept silent; but we confess our patience has been sorely tried by the strange and seemingly incurable misconceptions prevalent in England respecting our country and its great rebellion. We will not now break this silence, except to express the earnest hope that our English friends, who certainly have now the means of doing so, will correct their wrong views, and that our own countrymen will, as we think they have thus far done much better than could have been expected, restrain those feelings of distrust and prejudice, if not of hatred and vengeance, to which they have been provoked by the treatment we have received from the British government. Till within the last month it has acted all along the part of an enemy under disguises that could deceive only its own partizans; but, while we see no possible excuse for this hostility betrayed by the men at the helm of her government, by her leading organs of public opinion, and by her aristocratic classes, we feel happy in the assurance that the people of England, do not share these hostile feelings towards us. They are our reliable friends, and ought ever to be so regarded and treated by us.

Our friends who are able to help us, should bear in mind, that we are now in more need than ever of their aid.

ANNIVERSARY OF OUR SOCIETY—will be held, as usual, in Boston on the last Monday in May, the 26th. Business meeting at 3 P. M., and the public exercises in the evening. Annual Address by the President, HOWARD MALCOM, D.D., LL.D. W. C. BROWN, Rec. Sec.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

ANNIVERSARY


OF THE

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

IN BOSTON, MAY 26th, 1862.

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1862.

THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MAY AND JUNE, 1862

A D D R E S S ,

BY HOWARD MALCOM, D. D., LL. D.

Great principles of truth and justice, which never would be questioned, or seem obscure, if regarded in the abstract, are often subject to doubt and contention when brought to bear on particular issues. Doctrines which by their nature know neither age, country, nor circumstance, but apply every where, and at all times, to man as man, may be so mixed up with local or casual questions, as to be robbed of their power to determine action. Not only so. The advocates of great truths, which the men of their day are unwilling to admit, or incapable of comprehending, are deemed enemies to public tranquility, invaders of private rights, and wanderers from common sense. They encounter contempt, or opposition, according to the temper of the times; and in some instances have been effectually silenced by a dungeon or a scaffold.

We meet this day, as advocates of a doctrine which the world is not ready to receive, and under circumstances, which make our object discordant to the prevailing feeling, and subject to jealous scrutiny. We are surrounded.

by the clamor of politics, and the excitement of war; a war more calculated than others to rouse and intensify passion. Men are breathless with apprehension, noisy with bravado, or delirious with success. Every one talks of the war, and has his theory, his advice, his remonstrance, or his prediction. A peace party is deemed by some absurd, by others dangerous, and by all untimely. Our general ultimate purpose is not impugned, for to do so would be to condemn the mission of the Son of God; but the distractions of a great national crisis are upon us, and to advocate peace looks like making concessions to our enemies.

We maintain that no condition of public affairs, or state of public opinion can require the suppression of a grand and universal truth. It never can be wrong to persuade men that "one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." It is to educate the world to this sentiment that our Society exists; and the less there is of it, the more should we exert ourselves. Why tell us that our efforts are vain, because the world is not prepared to appreciate our object? It certainly will not be prepared the sooner by silence on the subject. Our country furnishes a notable example of this mode of preparing to redress a wrong. From the origin of our government, all agreed, North and South, that slavery is a moral and social evil; but the majority insisted that the time for its removal, or even for the discussion of the subject, had not come. It could not be mentioned in pulpit, press, or parlor. To show sympathy for bondmen in an ecclesiastical assembly, or to demand that our Tract and Sunday School Societies should publish the law of God in regard to slavery, as they do in regard to drunkenness, or lust, or Sabbath breaking, drew down the charge of incendiarism. The dismemberment of the Union was the bugbear held up to repress every

expression of opinion, and the oracles of God were tortured to furnish an apology for slaveholders. The few who persisted in regarding the negro as a man and a brother, were hooted, and ostracised, and perilled; and an abolitionist was the synonym for a perverse and pestilent fellow. Meanwhile the evil grew to giant size, and breaking every restraint, has done the very deed to prevent which its existence was connived at, and which abolitionism would have prevented. Let us not try a similar mode with the doctrine of peace, lest our land be given over to standing armies, iron-clad fleets, and a dictatorship.

We are not careful to apply our doctrine to passing contingencies; nor must we be responsible for every inference which may be drawn from it. We are not agreed among ourselves on many collateral questions, and do not hold one another responsible to the Society in regard to our differences. We unite to *abolish war as the mode of settling international controversies, and for that alone*. Whatever I may say, therefore, more than this, is to be received only as my individual opinion.

In refusing to pronounce upon specific applications of our doctrine, our Society does not take refuge in an unfair or unusual position. Men are allowed to inculcate the nature and duties of marriage, without being obliged to discuss the question of marrying a wife's sister; or the duty of parents to bring up children in the fear of God, without determining the propriety of infant baptism; or the expediency of fostering home industry, without settling the details of a tariff. Legislatures enact laws, and leave it to courts to decide their applicability to particular cases. Even so, we as a Society ignore current complications, and hold aloft our one principle above the surges of passing excitement, assured of finding, in grow-

ing numbers, minds calm enough to comprehend it, and hearts candid enough to be open to conviction.

Were it our province to influence only minds of inferior power or cultivation, we would abstain from our full utterances, till they had comprehended some preliminary and more elementary truths. Paul, in addressing particular classes and individuals, gave milk or meat, "to each a portion in due season." But in writing for all the world, and for all time, he inculcated truths hard to be understood, well aware that some would wrest his words, as they did other Scriptures, to their own destruction. We propound our doctrine to scholar and laborer, to ruler and voter, to the present and all future generations ; but expect to live in peace with all men, only "so far as it is possible." For myself, I regard our present bloody strife as the issue of a fixed purpose to break up the United States, cherished and threatened for many years, but to accomplish which no peaceable measures were proposed, and to prevent which the North made constant and even criminal concessions. Inflaming themselves with imagined and unspecified grievances, and visions of a mighty empire, spreading over adjacent regions, and founded on human chattelism, the South, so soon as the government passed out of its hands, proceeded to clutch at the nation's throat. The interests of all nations, and of all our posterity, demanded that we should resist the murderous assault, even unto blood. The insurrectionists will ere long be converts to peace, at a terrible and most needless cost. After burning their bridges, their homes, and their crops, destroying their roads, wasting their treasure, scattering their slaves, and decimating themselves, they will sue for peace. They have not shown the world that they were suffering any political grievances, and this causeless

and cruel war only reveals the folly and madness of their rebellion, and the extent of the calamities it must entail.

But, now that the exorbitant and ever-growing demands of the slave power have been checked ; now that the nation's life is safe, and the government of our choice secure ; why may not bloodshed give place to negociation ? Pride answers, shall we negotiate with traitors in arms ? But had *they* been victorious, and held their legions in Philadelphia and New York, would we not have been ready to negotiate ? Can it be less honorable to offer a resort to reason, now that 'all the world sees us to be not only the just, but the stronger party ? Jehovah himself says to rebellious men, " come let us reason together ; " and his holy oracles tell us to be " peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy." Is it the dictate of wisdom to insist on retaining, as part of ourselves and equal with ourselves, a people who both hate, despise, and fear us ; who believe all their social interests to be at variance with ours ; who cherish unto death an institution hostile to national peace, honor, and progress ; and who deserve nothing but expulsion from the Union, as we have expelled their representatives from Congress. May we not offer them the alternative of resuming their place with us, on condition of immediately initiating measures to let the bond go free, and thus do away that which alone makes them our enemies, or of being territories to be protected and fostered by the Federal Government till truth, honor and safety will allow their restoration to the Union ? We shall conquer, for we have both right and might ; but there is danger that after all our victories, we may restore them to their former standing by sacrificing principle, and renew a union only to entail discord and future wars. We may dearly purchase the conviction that a country may be majestic in extent,

without stability in its government, or prosperity among its people. As a contiguous nation, the weakness of the Cotton States would preclude apprehension ; but as part of ourselves, we shall have a fourth part of our people under sullen restraint, hanging on the wheels of legislation, corrupting the measures of the administration, and ready, in case of foreign war, to side with our enemies ; while we again become bound to recognize and defend an institution hateful to ourselves, denounced by the civilized world, and forbidden by Him whose attributes are against oppressors.

But I do not forget that our meeting this day is chiefly to cheer each other, and mark our progress ; and that in the full license we give each other to be peace-men of all complexions, we may comfortably leave such points to private judgment. I turn, therefore, to notice some of the encouraging signs of the times ; preferring to dwell on two or three, rather than to glance at many ; and omitting the grandest of all, the Word of God, which has been often adduced on these occasions.

1. In all the world, feudal forms are growing feeble, while the populace is growing strong. The expression of opinion is becoming more free ; and its correctness will increase in the ratio of its freedom. This revolution is too gradual, and too general, and too reasonable, to be liable to reaction. The certain result of enlightened sentiment, is the recognition of just privileges ; and as the demands of one period are met new ones present themselves, and are secured. And the oftener this is repeated, the less will agitation accompany reform, for the resistance will be less ; right will go on to triumph over prescription, and principle over power, till men shall find that they are brothers all. The result will be a preference of peace to war.

We may mark and measure the currents and forces of mind, not less than those of matter ; and the ultimate prevalence of peace is as demonstrable as a proposition in dynamics. If we compare the forces which formerly effected changes in opinion, with those now operating, we see a mighty increase, both of momentum and velocity. Formerly, such changes were the work of a few, operating on a few, by philosophy or by power ; but now the masses argue themselves into conviction, under the influences of self-interest and philanthropy. These masses are no longer serfs, but citizens. They no longer consent to be despised, worked, taxed, and shot at for their rulers, as a fate to which they were born, and which they could not so much as enliven with a hope ; but claim the potentialities of learning, wealth, and position. Resistance to their elevation diminishes as the superincumbent stratum is diminished. Kings and nobles, imbued with the same spirit of progress, find no inducement, and have no longer the power, to repress the general uprising. When we add to this calculation, the tendency of the age to associated action, we see how resistless is the march of mind, and how certain to be swept away are the remaining barbarisms of the age. There is no need to overturn thrones, abolish distinctions, confiscate wealth, or weaken law ; for those who learn to govern themselves, always learn to respect the interests and rights of others, and to recognize lawful authority. There is need to abolish war, for it is ever been begun in iniquity, and carried on to the damage of every social interest ; but its abolition will create no panic in men's hearts, no struggle against conscience, no commotions in society, no reactions of sentiment. As duelling, and the slave-trade, and other enormities, have been abolished, without convulsions, and without regrets, so will war be. It is but a question of time.

2. We draw another encouragement from the *constant improvement in international law*. The absorption or oppression of feeble nations by the strong, is now condemned by general consent. Never till the Congress of Laybach, was the doctrine broached which was afterward so solemnly affirmed at the Congress of Vienna, that nations have a mutual interest in each other's condition. Never, till lately, have statesmen troubled themselves about maintaining a balance of power. We have already seen Greece aided when oppressed by Turkey, and Turkey when menaced by Russia. The combination of nations to relieve Africa of the slave-trade, and the aid extended to Italy in assuming her place among the nations, are indications of the same spirit. The French Revolution of 1798, struck the midnight hour of despotism, and ushered in the morning of human brotherhood and equality. Even then, the blessed doctrine was so falsified by exaggeration, and so turned to frenzy by fanaticism, that the era of its development was an era of horrors. Yet, since that period, France has twice revolutionized herself no less radically, without licentiousness, and without cruelty.

This interest of nations in each other is shown in that, before one of them ventures to make war the consent of other powers is coming to be necessary. Witness the late Crimean, and the present Mexican war. England seemed lately ready to make war on us, had she obtained the consent of France. Witness, too, that glorious novelty of modern times, monarchs offering to meditate between hostile nations, and peacefully settling great controversies by friendly arbitration. Witness, too, the blessed fact that in six or seven recent important treaties, there are express stipulations that any controversy, on subjects growing out of them, shall be submitted to arbitration, and the award be final.

Never till Grotius, and Puffendorf, and Bynkershoeck, was international law treated as a science. Some of their doctrines are crude, and the question is not yet settled whether such law is founded in nature, in usage, or in mutual interest; but they gave an impulse in the right direction, which gathers strength continually, and which nothing can check unless Christianity can be overthrown. The aim of the American Peace Society is the perfecting of international law; and every symptom in the political world is cheering. It is announced that, at the approaching meeting of the Social Science Society, a plan will be brought forward for forming "a code of the sea, to be agreed on by all nations." Mr. Cobden, also, has called the attention of the British Parliament to the state of maritime law. The affair of the Trent, in which England ignored her own precedents, and withdrew her claim to be mistress of the sea, has waked Europe to the need of settling the rights of neutrals and belligerents; just as the affair of the Merrimac and Monitor, has waked her up to see the uselessness of certain forts and fleets, built at a boundless cost. The settlement of maritime law will draw after it a code for the land also. This will be followed, of course, by the establishment of a Court, to adjudicate cases under this code; for it will be seen that without such a tribunal, the family of nations would be in no better condition than would one nation, with good laws, and no courts nor magistrates.

Lastly. It is evident that in all respects the world is coming up to a higher civilization. We need go back but a little, to see many great evils universally prevalent, which are now abolished. Lunatics were loaded with chains. Prisoners of war were mutilated, or kept as hostages,

or released only by a great ransom, or made slaves for life. Armies did not respect private property. The slave-trade and piracy were honorable professions. Foreigner and enemy were synonyms. Resident ambassadors were not allowed by any government.* *Lettres du cachet*, star chamber writs, and the capricious orders of Kings, set law and liberty at defiance. Brutal judges compelled jurors to convict innocent men against their consciences. No man could travel without a passport. Death was the penalty of nearly two hundred kinds of offence even in enlightened England. Licentiousness, drunkenness, duelling, and wearing a sword, to be always ready for a bloody broil, were marks of gentility. Supposed witches were burned. To possess a Bible was a felony, and to hold a prayer meeting incurred the pillory. The holiest of men were executed and martyred, while the established clergy were pampered monsters of idleness, ignorance, and profligacy. But time would fail us to recount the abuses which have been reformed, or the improvements which have been effected, within a century. All mark progress in civilization, stimulated and sustained by Christianity; and all evince a steady growth of the influences which are working out these healthful changes. Every discovery and correction of a wrong, is followed by the discovery and acquisition of a right; while every advance is secured, and made permanent by new institutions, and the power of habit. What is there to stay this improvement till civilization shall bear the full image and superscription of Christianity, and abolish that last, worst, mightiest mischief — war itself?

Man's normal state is not war, but peace; not acquiescence under wrong, but progress toward right. He will come to

* Ferdinand of Arragon, in the 15th century, was the first to permit such residents at his court.

see that a custom which has slain twenty times the present number of males on earth, destroyed thirty times the present value of all the property in the world, and produced more misery than any other evil, is intolerable. That day is not distant. A change of sentiment on this subject is at hand, which will sweep like a tide; and existing influences, long repressed, will operate at last with an energy which will resemble a sudden excitement, rather than the result of deliberate convictions.

The change which marks this year, and this country, for the rapid development of antagonism to slavery, indicates and exemplifies the suddenness and resistlessness of the coming development of antagonism to war. Slavery, so generally regarded as an incurable evil, has been faithfully, though at first feebly, attacked by argument, and the public conscience has been growing more enlightened and more sensitive on the subject, from year to year, till at last when it shouted defiance and trailed Fort Sumter's banner in the dust, and drove from its midst all who could not join in its praise, it revealed itself as intolerable. Then came its culmination and its doom; and at the fall of Fort Sumter a nation of abolitionists was born in a day. The millions of the free rose as no nation ever rose before, to save the nation's life; and the few who still would speak soft words for slavery, are laggards in the progress of opinion, and powerless defenders of a by-gone error.

So will it be with war. Long have men sung pæans to peace in the abstract, and tolerated war in the concrete, till instead of the raids of olden time, and the conquest of weak nations by the strong, wars have grown to huge dimensions among the mightiest empires, subsidizing every art and science, taxing every movement of industry, and carrying desolation to every

hearth. One by one, costly systems of national defence have been abandoned for others more costly, and formidable navies for others more formidable, and terrible implements for others more terrible, till human energy and skill are well nigh exhausted. Already we see sign of re-action. The monarchs of Europe are proclaiming that the world demands peace; and what is more, public opinion is beginning to demand peace.

Our triumph is sure. In all contests of public opinion, victory sides at last with the party whose rallying cry wakes the highest aspirations, that stirs most deeply the elements which generate zeal and confidence, that touches most men's interests, and that will bear reflection, when calm consideration succeeds violent emotion. Such a rallying cry is ours. Our banner bears a motto, destined to claim the loyalty of the race: — **PEACE ON EARTH!** There it floats, displaying in three words, a benefit which no imagination can overstate, and appealing to every principle of tenderness, interest, honor, and religion. There *let* it float, cheering and expounding every coming change, till implements of war are consigned to the anvil of the smith, or the cabinet of the curious.

BURKE ON CIVIL WAR.—War suspends the rules of moral obligation, and what is long suspended is in danger of being totally abrogated. Civil wars strike deepest of all into the manners of the people. They vitiate their politics; they corrupt their morals; they pervert even the natural taste and relish of equity and justice. By teaching us to consider our fellow-creatures in a hostile light, the whole body of our nation becomes gradually less dear to us. The very names, affection and kindred, which were the bond of charity while we agreed, become new incentives to hatred and rage, when the communion of our country is destroyed.

ERASMUS ON WAR.—I know not whether *any* war ever succeeded so fortunately in all its events, but that the conqueror, if he had a heart to feel, or an understanding to judge as he ought to do, repented that he had ever engaged in it at all.

R E P O R T .

THE SOCIETY'S UNIFORM COURSE.

Every enterprise of reform ought to be well defined in its object, its sphere and its means. So has the cause of Peace been from the start; and on none of these points has it left open any valid reason for dispute or doubt. Our Society has ever aimed solely to do away the custom of war among nations.

Here is a true epitome of our cause; and this view of its precise aim and sphere has been kept constantly before the public. Nearly a quarter of a century ago we stereotyped such expositions as the following: "All the social relations of mankind may be reduced to three classes;—the relation of individuals to one another, the relation of individuals to society, of citizens to government, and the relation of one society or government to another. The principles of peace are applicable to all these relations; but the cause of peace is concerned only with the intercourse of nations, and aims merely to prevent war between them.—This singleness of aim excludes a variety of objects sometimes attributed to our cause. If our only province is the intercourse of nations, and our sole object the prevention of international wars, then we have, as associated friends of peace, nothing to do with capital punishment, the right of personal defence, or the question of discarding all physical force from the government of states, schools or families. We go merely against war; and war is defined by lexicographers to be "a contest by force between nations or states"—such conflict between governments alone; "and hence neither a parent or teacher chastising his child or pupil, nor a father defending his family against a midnight assassin, nor a ruler inflicting the penalties of law upon a criminal, can properly be called war, because in most of these cases there is really no conflict by force, and because in them all the parties are either individuals, or government and individuals, not nations alone. The cause of peace confines itself to the single object of abolishing the custom of international war."

To this single purpose we have steadily adhered from the first. At a later day, but more than ten years ago, we said even more distinctly, that it is no part of our business "to inquire how murder, or any other offenses against society shall be punished; how force shall be used for the suppression of mobs, and other popular outbreaks; by what specific means government shall enforce its laws, and support its rightful and indispensable authority; how a people, deprived of their rights, shall regain and preserve them, or in what way any controversy between a government and its own subjects shall be adjusted. With such questions, however important, the cause of peace not concerned, but solely with the intercourse of nations for the single purpose of abolishing the custom of war, or their practice of settling their disputes by the sword."

THE GOVERNMENT QUESTION DISTINCT FROM THAT OF PEACE.

Such has been our uniform course—opposition, not to civil government in its legitimate operations, but only to the whole war-system as utterly contrary to the gospel; and these positions, so early and distinctly taken, compel us to look upon the present rebellion in our country, like any other offense against society, as belonging, not to the province of peace, but to that of civil government. It is no part of our specific work as peace men to deal with such crimes. We are not rulers, but reformers. We aim solely to do away the practice of war between nations; but in this case our government has no contest, in form or fact, with any other nation. It is a difficulty among ourselves alone, a controversy between our government and its subjects; and the single point in issue is, whether the government shall enforce its laws, or permit them to be violated with impunity. A portion of our people claim the *right* to trample on our constitution and laws at pleasure; and the question to be settled is, whether such offenders shall, like all others, be brought to condign punishment, or shall be allowed to go on, unpunished and unresisted, in their career of gigantic crimes to the overthrow and extinction of the government itself.

Here is the precise and sole issue; and we say that, in strict propriety, it belongs, not to the cause of peace, but to civil government. It is not our business as a Peace Society to decide such questions. They do not come within our province; nor can we properly call our members to account for their views respecting them. We seek to abolish war, not government, or any part of its criminal code; nor are we pledged against the infliction of its penalties on those who violate its laws. *No act of civil government in punishing its own subjects for the transgression of its laws, ought ever to be deemed war, and can be so called only by a figure of speech.* If such punishment is war, then all penalties are acts of war, and government itself is little else than an engine of incessant, ubiquitous warfare upon wrong-doers. If it has a right to do anything, it certainly may and must punish those who persistently trample on its laws.

Now, what is the present rebellion in our land but a wholesale violation of our laws, and what are all the efforts of our governments for its suppression but a simple enforcement of these laws? People will, of course, call it war; but it comes not within any strict or proper definition of the term. On the part of its originators, it is war, far worse than ordinary warfare, a parricidal stab at the heart of the best government on earth; but on the part of our rulers, it is merely maintaining the constitution, and enforcing the laws against the millions banded for their wholesale violation. It is a legitimate operation, precisely what our constitution and laws require them to do. It is only the enforcement of law by an infliction of its prescribed penalties. In what sense can this be called war? There has been no proclamation of war, no interruption of friendly relations with any foreign power, but only a special effort, such as the extraordinary emergency demanded,

to execute our own laws among ourselves ; and the whole controversy is expected to end, not by any treaty of peace and amity, but by the simple submission of the rebels to the government they have attempted to overthrow. It is government legitimately restraining and punishing crime ; its proper, indispensable work. It is clearly a simple process of justice ; precisely the principle that arrests, convicts and punishes any criminal. The number concerned in the crime makes no difference, except to increase its enormity. Whether few or many, one man, a hundred, or a million, the principle is the same, and requires, for the protection of society, a proper enforcement of its laws against wrong-doers. All this belongs to the very idea of civil government, but forms no part of our business as peace men united for the sole purpose of doing away the practice of international war.

It may, indeed, be said that such sweeping enforcement of law against offenders, must be attended with some of the worst evils of war. Very true, and quite inevitable ; but the rebels alone are responsible for all such deplorable results. The punishment of crime is always a painful process ; but is the government accountable for the evils thus occasioned by their own guilt ? Do we, from fear of such evils, let burglars, incendiaries, or murderers go unpunished and unrestrained ? No ; however much it may cost, law *must* be enforced, or government becomes a sham and a mockery ; but it may well be doubted whether its cost in this case is at all disproportioned to the magnitude of the crimes perpetrated, or of the interests assailed and outraged. If pirates were swarming among the British Islands, eluding or defying the whole power of England, plundering her commerce of millions, suspending or crippling her manufactures, and murdering her citizens by scores and hundreds, could such a horde of offenders be brought to exemplary punishment without a vast amount of suffering, or without many feelings and deeds which no Christian can approve ? Something very like war would be expected in such a case ; and yet it would not be war in fact, but only a legitimate enforcement of law against its violators. We suppose that nearly, if not quite, all peace men would favor such enforcement ; but it is no part of our business to deal with such questions, since our specific and sole object is to do away the immemorial, world-wide custom of nations settling their disputes by the sword.

ALL UNITED IN OUR COMMON OBJECT.

From this specific aim of our cause, we cannot allow ourselves to swerve. On this we are all united, but know not how far we are on any other issue, and certainly are not on the government question. Even on the subject of peace, there is among us no little diversity in our modes of reasoning, though we all unite in condemning the war-system, and in seeking its entire and perpetual extinction. Some peace men, though their number is exceedingly small, insist that the gospel, relying solely on moral power, forbids all use whatsoever of physical force, whether by individuals or society at large ; a theory clearly, if not confessedly, incompatible with all forms of

civil government that have ever existed in the world. Others, regarding human life as inviolable, would oppose only such use of force as shall intentionally destroy life, while they deem themselves steadfast supporters of government in all its legitimate powers and functions. A far larger class of peace men, on the other hand, look upon government as authorized at discretion to take life in the punishment of crime, for the support of its own authority, and for the suppression of mobs, insurrection or rebellion. While differing thus on the government question, as on a variety of other subjects, we all agree in holding war in abhorrence as utterly unchristian, and unite in common efforts to supersede it by the substitution of better expedients for the settlement of all disputes among nations without a resort to the sword. To this practical conclusion we all come at last. Here is our grand, sole aim; and if our friends will aid us in using the means requisite for its attainment, the Peace Society, without holding itself at all responsible for their peculiar logic, leaves them, each for himself, to reach this final result by such arguments as are most convincing respectively to their own minds. If they will help us do away the custom of war, the world's mammoth evil in all ages, we will thankfully accept their co-operation, without inquiring whether they are right or wrong on any other subject. Only in this way is it possible to carry on any great reform like ours; for if we demand perfect similarity of views and modes of reasoning on all kindred or related questions, there must soon come an end to all effective co-operation.

The subject is too large for full discussion here; but we may refer to the action of the two General Peace Congresses held in London, the first in 1843, and the last in 1851, as a fair and satisfactory exposition of our principles, of the means we would use in our cause, and of the chief expedients, more especially Stipulated Arbitration, and a Congress of Nations, that we would urge as substitutes designed to supersede in time the entire war-system. We restrict ourselves as peace men to the single object of uprooting, and banishing first from Christendom, and finally from the whole world, the practice of nations deciding their controversies by the sword.

PEACE COMPATIBLE WITH THE LEGITIMATE OPERATIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

The Peace Society, however, holds no principles that we deem incompatible with the legitimate operations of government. We all-acquiesce in its rightful authority, and recognize it as an ordinance of God designed for the benefit of mankind, and indispensable to their social order and welfare. Its necessity springs from their nature and circumstances. Formed for society, they must live together, but cannot without some species of government to regulate their intercourse, to prescribe and enforce their mutual duties, to define and guard their respective rights. Nor is it optional with them, whether to have a government or not; God has himself settled this point, and left them merely to decide what shall be its form. Whatever this may be, whether a democracy, an aristocracy, or a monarchy, the rule of one man, of a select few, or of a whole people, its right to exist at all comes from the

will of God, and the exigencies of human society. They *must* have, as he ordains they *shall* have, a government; and this not a mere name, but a substantial, effective reality. It must embody or represent the whole physical force of the community for which it acts. It must enact laws, and execute them, prescribe penalties, and inflict them; and if it may not, or cannot, do all this, it is in truth no government at all. No amount of mere argument, persuasion, or moral influence can deserve the name. There must be authority backed somewhere by a force sufficient to execute its decrees. It must have the right, purpose and power to restrain or punish every class of wrong-doers. Society without all this can have no real, permanent security through laws, courts and magistrates. All government is organized resistance against wrong-doers; and if it be not right thus to restrain and punish, then all government, even that of God himself, must be wrong.

Now, in all this we contradict no principles of peace that we conceive to be taught in the Bible. We cannot suppose that Christ or his Apostles ever meant to forbid civil government, or to interfere with any of its legitimate operations. They condemn war as wrong, but uphold government as an ordinance of God. They enjoin submission to rulers, and recognize their right to command, coerce and punish. Without this right there can be no proper, effective government; and if we deny such right, or the power requisite for its enforcement, we reduce all government to a mere name and scarecrow. On this principle, indeed, there never can be any government among men, or in any part of the universe.

We may, however, be told, as we sometimes are, that these are not the principles of peace. Call them what we please, are they not a part of God's revelation, binding on us all? Are peace principles the only truths taught in the Bible? Does it not also enjoin civil government, invest it with the right to punish wrong-doers, and impose upon it the duty of protecting society against their crimes by a due enforcement of its laws? If so, then all this must be as truly a part of the gospel as is the Sermon on the Mount. 'But can we reconcile these teachings?' Whether we can or not, they are here in the Bible, in the New Testament itself; and we deem it our duty to receive them both as equally the will of God. Such they clearly are; and, whether we can show their consistency or not, they must be consistent, because God cannot contradict himself. When he bids us love our enemies, and do them good, turning the other cheek to the smiter, and overcoming evil with good, we take him at his word; nor less so when he represents civil government as his own ordinance for the benefit of society, armed with power for their protection, a terror to the wicked, but a shield to the good, "a minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath (punishment) upon every one that doeth evil." Are such teachings self-contradictory? Does Paul in his epistle to the Romans allow what Christ had condemned in his Sermon on the Mount? Does the Bible anywhere forbid the punishment of wrong-doers as unchristian? If so, then all government, even that of God himself, must be contrary to the gospel; for it cannot exist without the right

to punish offenders. Now, all punishment is an infliction of suffering or evil of some sort as a penalty for transgression. No matter what the penalty, whether a halter, a prison, or a simple fine, it makes the criminal suffer in some way for the wrong he has done. It *must* do this, or it is government only in name.

If told that the enforcement of law *may* lead to war, we reply that such a process could never deserve the name. In all its essential moral elements, it differs entirely from those of war. Government may indeed use force, and even take life, in the discharge of its legitimate functions; but is this necessarily war? If so, then *all* government is war, nothing *but* war in principle. It rests, from first to last, on the right to employ all the force requisite for the execution of its decrees against those subject to its authority. Ordinarily it requires no physical force, because resistance is seldom attempted; but should there be, then the whole force of society must, if necessary, be called out to carry even the least important of its decisions into effect. Such operations of government we never, in strict propriety of speech, call war. When a bevy of constables arrest a burglar or incendiary; when a court sentences a murderer to the prison or the scaffold; when the mayor of a city, or the governor of a state, calls out the military as an armed police to preserve the peace, and put the laws in execution, we do not deem all this war, but a legitimate, peaceful operation of government. But what more than this has been attempted even by the vast efforts made to suppress the rebellion in our country? Is it not all a proper, necessary operation of government, just what our laws prescribe and enjoin? Our rulers have sworn to put these in execution; and have they done a whit more than this? No; all our forces on land and sea, six or seven hundred thousand men in martial array, have been, in theory and in fact, only a police force on a gigantic scale to insure a due enforcement of our laws against a gigantic crime. In principle it is just as truly and properly a process of justice as it would be to quell a mob, or arrest an incendiary, to hang a pirate, or imprison a burglar. If government may not do all this, what can it do, what right has it to exist at all, or what is it in truth but a sheer fiction and mockery? Such, if it is what it claims to be, must be its legitimate operations; but none of these deserve, strictly speaking, to be called war.

OUR TREATMENT OF THE REBELLION.

It is, however, a sad and terrible necessity that demands an enforcement of even the best laws against such a multitude of transgressors. The necessity ought never to have come; and when it did come, it was the fault, not of those who simply demanded a due enforcement of the laws, but solely of the bold, bad men who trampled them all under their feet, and strangely claimed impunity in their crimes. Foreseeing the storm, we did in season all we could, by remonstrance and entreaty, to avoid it. We said, indeed, that 'it was not ours as peace-men to decide precisely how the controversy ought to be settled; we only asked that it might, in any event, be brought

in *some* way to a bloodless issue. Have we not the best means for this purpose? Were not our constitution and laws designed expressly to meet such cases as this? Here, then, is the proper remedy; and if all would acquiesce in its application, we see not what occasion there can ever be for war among ourselves on this or any other question. If our laws are wrong or inadequate, change or repeal them. If dissatisfied with the constitution itself, take the steps requisite for its amendment. Wait for legal, peaceful measures to right, if possible, every wrong. If the parties are fully resolved not to remain united under our present or any other government; if there is such a conflict of principles, institutions and interests in different sections, as to forbid all hope of their ever living together in harmony; if on the slave issue neither party will yield its settled convictions or preferences; if the South is irrevocably bent on demanding what the North is equally resolved not to grant, the adoption of slavery as a national institution for all coming time; then let us in peace take the steps requisite for such a change of the constitution as will allow the withdrawal of those who wish to leave. The necessity of such a measure we should deeply deplore; but it would be infinitely preferable to civil war. Civil war! God forbid that it should ever sweep its besom of wrath and vengeance over our land. No arithmetic could compute, no imagination conceive the sum total of its evils; and if money could avert it, better far to bankrupt the entire country for ages. We ought to blush at the thought of such a burning shame. If in this land of Bibles and Sabbaths, of Christian pulpits and Christian presses, with a church for every five hundred souls, and every sixth man among us a professed follower of the Prince of Peace, we cannot, after all, settle our own disputes without drenching the land in fraternal blood, it must surely brand us, in view of the whole world, with everlasting disgrace.'

Such appeals we made before the storm had actually burst upon us; and these appeals we scattered, while the old facilities of communication remained, as widely as possible in every section of the country. It was all in vain. The die was cast, the demon let loose; and no persuasion could now restrain him. Treason, in its madness, turned a deaf ear to the voice alike of duty and reason, of loyalty and self-interest. On the rebels, not on the government or its loyal supporters, rests the whole guilt. The slave-oligarchy, that had so long ruled under the forms of law, now boldly resolved either to rule against law, or ruin the republic, and erect, if possible, a slave empire on its ruins. A scheme more utterly lawless and atrocious never stained the annals of crime. Yet the rebels, with matchless arrogance and audacity, claimed the right to trample at will upon our constitution and laws with entire impunity; a claim as absurd as that of Satan to the throne of God. Such claims, if yielded, must have put an end to all real, effective government among us. Here was the only alternative left; and thus our rulers were compelled either to enforce the constitution and laws against the rebels, or to abdicate all authority, and confess that we had no government except in name, and even this at the mercy of a few hundred thousand slaveholders.

If our rulers could not punish such crimes, they could do nothing to purpose for the public peace and weal. On the principles underlying every government that ever existed among men, we see not how they could have done essentially otherwise than they did. Duly elected to office, and solemnly sworn to uphold the constitution, and execute the laws, their only choice was either to resign at once, or faithfully discharge their duty by doing all in their power to suppress the rebellion.

In such an emergency, then, what was the Peace Society to do? Was it ours to say that the government ought not to be upheld in its rightful authority, that its laws ought not to be put in execution against the worst, the most comprehensive of all crimes against society, or that our rulers were not to be sustained in doing the very things they were chosen on purpose to do? Is it our province as peace men thus to interfere with the legitimate processes of government, and do what we can by our moral influence to neutralize its power for the protection of society against wrong-doers? Surely not. All our views as peace-men compel us to be loyal; and this loyalty, if it means anything to purpose, must require us *to support the government in every way consistent with our principles*. Thus Quakers themselves do; and surely we cannot do less. We cannot indeed be expected to endorse everything that the government may do; but in the maintenance of its rightful authority, and in a due enforcement of the laws, we must ever be openly and uncompromisingly on its side.

While thus loyal to our government, however, no language can tell how sorely this war grates, at every step of its progress, on all our feelings. Never, since the rebellion of Satan, has the world seen a more stupendous crime against God and humanity. It is enough to mark an era in human depravity. Its folly, guilt and countless evils defy all utterance, all conception. Its authors deserve to be branded with everlasting infamy as enemies of the human race. No censure can be too severe. Their names ought to be gibbeted before the gaze of the whole world for the abhorrence of all coming ages. Such degeneracy and suicidal madness in the countrymen of Washington would seem incredible; and after a year's bitter experience of the reality, it often rises before us as a strange and horrible dream. To future ages it must seem the very climax of folly and crime, for which scarce a shadow of either excuse or explanation can be found, except in the accursed system of human bondage, that chief sin, shame and scourge of our land. Our government has all along shown a very remarkable degree of leniency in dealing with this rebellion; but the process, after all, has necessarily been accompanied with deeds and results from which patriotism, humanity and our peaceful religion recoil with horror.

OBSTRUCTIONS TO OUR CAUSE FROM THE REBELLION.

It is quite clear that such a rebellion as is now raging in our country, can allow small chance to work in the cause of peace. It fills the whole land, every nook and corner, with obstructions the most serious to the progress

of such a work. It lies directly across our path. It creates prejudices so bitter, kindles passions so fierce, and keeps the public mind so constantly stretched on such tenter-hooks of anxiety, fear or other excitement, that the people will not consider in earnest the general question of peace. They are in no mood for such discussions. Engaged in a death-grapple with the hydra of rebellion, they must crush the monster before attending to any other matter. They have little time, thought or care for anything else. The general facts and arguments in favor of peace, they will not heed, or will heed them only to pervert. The time is surely coming when they *must* heed them; but they will not do so just now. We must wait till the hurricane is past, and all is calm and orderly once more. Friends of government, we can do nothing intentionally to weaken its hands; and, while so sure to be misconceived and thwarted, we have deemed it wise not to attempt for the present our usual scale of operations. The cause itself we hold in undiminished regard, even more important than ever; and, when we come forth from this terrible baptism of fire and blood, we think that all must see more clearly than ever its absolute necessity to the general, permanent welfare of our country and the world.

A GLANCE AT OUR OPERATIONS, AND THE PROGRESS OF OUR CAUSE.

Meanwhile we have not been idle, but have been quietly setting at work a variety of agencies and influences in its behalf. The press, always our chief instrument, we have employed very much as usual. We have not been able to issue new editions of our stereotyped volumes or tracts, but have put not a few of these in circulation, and have continued for the most part our periodical to the leading papers and literary institutions throughout our country, in order to keep the subject in its main aspects before the community. The whirlwind of an excitement so intense and universal, may have blown away or neutralized most of the seeds we have thus attempted to scatter over the land; but we still think that some germs will have found an effective lodgment in the public mind, and will in time yield a harvest of good results. A cause so dear to the God of Peace, and so essential to the welfare of mankind, its friends can never let die; and amid all the discouragements of the year, we have done what we could, and with some slight degree of success, to keep it alive. It does live still, and will continue to live, till it shall yet write the epitaph of war, and see all nations at last basking in the sun-light of universal and permanent peace.

The past year, indeed, has witnessed, after all, some proofs of progress in our cause. It is teaching lessons of wisdom and warning not likely soon to be forgotten. The desperate efforts of our rebels to carry into effect their piratical schemes against our commerce, have nearly all signally failed chiefly through the recoil against them of an improved public opinion that would neither encourage nor tolerate such an outrage on the civilization of the age, and the general interests of humanity. Other nations have looked on, with bated breath, to learn more fully how fatal is war in any form to

their own steady advancement and welfare, and what a web of common interests is binding them all to a system of permanent peace. The struggle among ourselves is felt in its effects not only in England and France, but throughout Europe, and all over the earth, as a general bane and curse. Thus the question of peace is seen to touch the great interests of the whole world, and must in time compel both rulers and people to heed its claims as vital to their welfare. Our rebellion is doing much to beat this long-neglected truth into the public mind; and when it shall secure a full, effective lodgment there, it must in time work a wondrous and blessed revolution.

Our intercourse with England the past year, though marked with some painful passages, has nevertheless proved the strength of peace principles among the people at least of the two countries. We have no words to express our deep displeasure at the course pursued by her government, her leading journals, and her ruling aristocracy; but her masses have shown themselves the steadfast friends of a peaceful policy, and thus compelled their rulers to abandon hostile measures that must inevitably have led to war. This escape we owe not to the government, who have all along done just as much to abet our slaveholding rebels, and to crush or cripple our government, as they thought they safely could, but solely to the honest, intelligent, Christian yeomanry of England, who frowned upon the hostile policy and *animus* of their rulers. In all this there is nothing strange, for aristocrats are the natural allies of slaveholders, both classes privileged drones pensioned on the toiling millions; and, but for the resistance of her people, they would long ago have committed her government beyond retreat to their open support.

The affair of the Trent drew forth from the Christians of Great Britain spontaneous and overwhelming demonstrations of their hostility to a war with our country. "During the recent crisis," says the Secretary of the London Peace Society, "I had very ample opportunities of ascertaining the state of opinion and feeling among large and important classes of our population. For no sooner did the difficulty become known here, than we put ourselves in communication with the representatives of all the religious bodies in the country. And what was the result? On no former occasion did we receive so general and cordial a response to the appeal we ventured to make. The Evangelical Alliance immediately called a large meeting for prayer at Exeter Hall. The prayers offered were marked by extraordinary earnestness and fervor, and the references made to America were full of deep and yearning affection.

The following bodies met immediately, and resolved upon memorializing the government in favor of peace:—The Congregational Union, the Baptist Union, the Congregational Board, the Baptist Board, and the Body of Three Denominations. They went up in a large deputation to Lord Russell, each body presenting its own memorial, but all deprecating war with America in the most earnest language. The Congregational and Baptist Unions, also, representing some three or four thousand churches in our land, adopted addresses full of Christian affection to their respective denominations on your side of the Atlantic. Some of the Presbyterian and Methodist bodies, also, passed similar resolutions. Besides, hundreds of memorials from cities, towns and congregations were forwarded to Lord Palmerston and Earl Russell, entreating them, that, if the matter in dispute could not be settled by ordinary diplomatic negotiation, it might be referred to arbitration.

I pass now to another species of evidence. I need not tell you that great distress prevails in our manufacturing districts in consequence of the stoppage of the cotton imports. By a return which appeared two or three weeks ago in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, it seems that in 1,174 mills, usually employing 257,000 hands, there were 27,000 totally out of employ, 161,000 working only two or three days a week, and only 69,000 in full work. Since then several mills have been totally closed. And yet in the midst of all this suffering, what do we find? Mr. Layard publicly declared, a few weeks ago, that not a single petition or memorial had reached Lord Russell, asking the government to interfere by breaking the blockade. I need not tell you that Manchester is the center and heart of the Cotton Manufacture. In our papers of this very day there is a full report of the Annual Meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of that city. I suppose nearly all the members of that body are connected, directly or indirectly, with the cotton trade; and yet not a voice was heard at the meeting in favor of breaking the blockade, but every one of the speakers utterly disclaimed any such wish, and no part of their speeches was so loudly cheered as those in which these disclaimers were made. The leading papers, also, in the manufacturing districts, such as the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, and the *Leeds Mercury*, have indignantly denounced such proposals, when they have been made by the London Tory journals."

We welcome with great pleasure such friendly assurances as these from the people of our father-land. They were very much needed to counteract the effects produced among us by the policy of her government, and the utterances of her leading journals, whose hostility to our country, and complicity or collusion with our rebels, had become perfectly patent here to every mind of ordinary reflection. We think our people, considering the circumstances, were remarkably self-restrained; but the course of Great Britain was scattering all over our land such dragons' teeth of prejudice, hatred and vengeance as threatened to bring forth in time a terrible harvest of war. Even now we have many fears on this point; and sure we are that the utmost efforts of the friends of peace and our common Christianity, will long be required to restore or preserve the good understanding that was supposed to exist before this strange disclosure of British hostility or jealousy towards our republic burst forth upon us.

We may well congratulate ourselves, then, that the affair of the Trent is likely, after all, to prove a real triumph of our cause. At one time, indeed, it was full of peril; but already has it clearly shown the current of public opinion to be flowing in the right direction. Our Society's efforts were early directed against the practice of privateering as a part of the war-system that might be most easily abolished, or its evils greatly mitigated; and the first petition presented to any government on behalf of our cause, was from the friends of peace in Massachusetts more than forty years ago to our Congress against privateering. About thirty-five years later, the Paris Congress, in the name of the leading powers of Christendom, decreed in 1856 the abolition of this piratical usage, the bequest to us from more than forty centuries of barbarism. Our own government from its origin contended for the entire freedom of the seas, and insisted that both the person and the property of all non-combatants ought to be held, in war as well as in peace, sacred alike

on land and sea. They would allow neither individuals nor government, neither private nor public ships, to interfere with trade or travel on the ocean, but would have this broad highway of the world at all times open to every one without obstruction or peril. In 1812-15, we waged our second war with Great Britain chiefly in vindication of this principle against her claim to search at will our vessels for men who were born in her dominions, but had emigrated to our own country, and become American citizens. At length the tables were turned. Last autumn, one of our naval commanders, in imitation of her practice, but in violation of our own, seized, on board an English mail steamer, four of our rebel leaders. Anon all England was swept with such a tornado of excitement as seemed for a time to render war inevitable; but happily the result now promises to unite the civilized world, Great Britain herself included, in demanding the entire freedom of the seas. It is a consummation most devoutly to be wished; and should it be permanently secured, this alone would go far to compensate all the evils likely to flow even from our gigantic and atrocious rebellion.

OUR FINANCES.—In such a year as the past, we should, of course, expect a serious diminution of our income; but the result has been much better than our fears. Some of our friends, like our noble-hearted co-worker in the Sandwich Islands, Rev. TITUS COAN, who sent us recently one hundred dollars from his native church at Hilo, and a few others among ourselves, have not only continued but even increased their ordinary contributions. To such friends we chiefly owe it, that we reach the close of the year with a small balance, as for the last fourteen years, on the right side of the ledger—our receipts \$2,157.61, and our expenditures \$2,136.80, leaving \$20.81 in our treasury; a result much more favorable than we had reason to expect.

Another part of our financial affairs has prospered beyond our highest calculations. It will be remembered, that in January, 1857, our Committee, encouraged by a conditional pledge of \$5,000 from one of our friends, undertook to raise a permanent fund of \$30,000. The proposal was received with special favor; and had the effort been made at once, there would have been a far better chance of success; but as our Corresponding Secretary was expected to obtain the whole sum as a mere incident to his other manifold duties, five years were allowed as necessary to complete the subscription. During nearly all this period, the financial condition of our country has thrown well-nigh insuperable obstacles in the way of success; but in spite of them all, the Secretary has succeeded in securing more than \$20,000, the sum specified in the conditions as requisite to render the subscriptions binding. We must congratulate ourselves on a degree of success so unexpected in times like these; and the result clearly proves that, had the circumstances been as favorable as they were when the plan was formed, we might, with comparative ease, have raised even more than the \$30,000 originally proposed. Nor do we despair, when settled peace shall once more return to our country, of yet exceeding this amount as a financial basis for the perpetuation of a cause so clearly shown by passing events to be essential to the

permanent welfare of our country and the world. Only a part of this fund, indeed, will be immediately available for the support of our operations ; but it is made ultimately as sure as such reliances well can be. It was never designed to be, nor ever can be, a substitute for the ever-living liberality and zeal of our friends, whose ceaseless activity can alone insure steady progress onward to final triumph. In this cause, as in every other, we must keep using the means of God's appointment ; and hence we shall still need, as truly as ever, the liberal and zealous support of all its friends. Sooner or later there must be a more than tenfold increase of effort in this cause.

DEATH OF FRIENDS.—It is sad to think what ravages death is making among the small number of our earnest, reliable co-workers. Early in the year we were called to mourn the loss of two prominent, steadfast friends, MOSES GRANT and SAMUEL GREELE, both of this city, on the occasion of whose death our Society entered on its records the following testimony to their worth: "The Executive Committee of the American Peace Society take the earliest opportunity after the decease of their late lamented co-workers in the cause of Peace, SAMUEL GREELE and MOSES GRANT, the former at the age of 78, and the latter 74, to record our deep and affectionate veneration for their character, and our sense of the great loss sustained in their death by our own and other enterprises of Christian Benevolence and Reform. Deacon Grant, always a cheerful and sometimes a large contributor to our funds, was for a series of years a member of our Committee and Board of Directors ; and for more than twenty years, Deacon Greele was one of the Vice Presidents of our Society, and during most of this period, and down to the time of his death, he continued an active and valuable member of our Committee. We shall sadly miss these excellent friends of our cause, while we bless the God of Peace for the fragrant memories they have left behind them, and devoutly hope that their mantle will fall on many who shall rise up to take their place, and carry on the good works in which they labored so long and so well."

Within a few weeks, also, we have learned the death of the Hon. THEODORE FREELINGHYSEN, LL. D., for nearly twenty years the senior Vice President of our Society ; an event which has touched with sorrow the whole Christian community, who lament in him one of the brightest ornaments of our common Christianity ; a man remarkable for his purity and loveliness, a Christian Israelite indeed without guile ; one in whom were combined such rare excellences as won the confidence, esteem and love of all that knew him, whether in public or private life ; as a lawyer honest as Sir Matthew Hale, as a statesman faithful as Daniel himself to the convictions of his conscience, as a Christian welcoming to his heart all of every name that bear the image of our common Master in heaven.

A FEW OF THE MANY LESSONS OF THE YEAR.

The bitter experience of the past year is likely to teach some valuable lessons not soon to be forgotten. One of these is *the importance of government duly administered as a conservator of peace and order*. Here is its province. It was established for these ends, and is indispensable for their

attainment. Had our own government, as a faithful guardian of the common weal, discharged from the first this duty aright by a seasonable enforcement of its laws against wrong-doers, the present rebellion could never have arisen, or would have been easily crushed in the germ ; and the only sure way of restoring our country to the repose and prosperity of past years, must be to re-enthroned government in undisputed authority, and then insist hereafter upon a strict execution of the laws against every class of transgressors. Such is its proper business, its grand, specific mission ; and without this, we can never hope to prevent in future the recurrence of such evils as are now upon us.

Another lesson, the most important of all, is *the necessity of training society at large in the principles of peace*. Here is the only reliable safeguard against rebellion or war. It is a *sine qua non* ; and nothing short of this will ever suffice. It was just the lack of such training, the universal prevalence of intensely warlike habits at the South, that gave rise to the present rebellion. It is a legitimate offshoot of the war-principle. War is always a species of *lynchism* ; a desperate, reckless determination, right or wrong, to have by brute force one's own way in spite of all legal provisions to ascertain and secure what is right. It was in such war habits as these, that germinated this great slaveholding rebellion. It is the natural result of Southern training. Had the people of the South been educated only as well as those of the North are, in even the lowest principles of peace, and accustomed to seek or tolerate only what can be secured by legal, peaceful means,—the fundamental idea underlying the whole peace movement,—not a rebel would ever have lifted his arm against our government. All the evils now upon us, we owe to the war habits of the South ; and unless the mass of our people in every section shall be trained in the principles of peace, at least to the extent of acquiescing in lawful authority, we can never be safe from like evils in future. These principles will be found indispensable for the permanency or successful working of every popular government like our own, whose motto must ever be *the reign of law enforced by an omnipresent public opinion in its favor*. Our chief aim is to educate nations, as well as individuals and minor communities, in such habits of reliance on rational, peaceful, legal means alone for the accomplishment of their ends. Here is the great practical idea pervading our cause ; and if all were thus trained, there could be little or no danger of either rebellion or war. All resort to physical force, except for the enforcement of law against its violators, would cease, and the entire war-system be gradually superseded by far better means of deciding the right. Such an education of society, however difficult, is clearly possible ; and, when fully completed, there will thenceforth be found no more need of war among nations than there is now of duels between the members of a Christian church.

Here, then, is the great work of Peace ; a work in which must be enlisted the leading influences of society, before nations can be secured against war. We need for this purpose a general, thorough education of the peo

ple in right, peaceful habits; such as shall effectually forbid a resort to the blind, brutal arbitraments of the sword, and demand the use of rational, legal means alone. Here is the grand desideratum. And how little would all this cost, compared with what is spent to support the war-system even in a time of peace, or to meet the incalculable evils inseparable from actual war! A mere fraction of what has been from the first wasted upon our own skeleton of a war-system, would have been amply sufficient. Had Christians in our country spent aright in this cause only \$100,000 a year from its rise nearly fifty years ago—in all, scarce a single day's cost and loss of the present war to both parties,—this gigantic rebellion could never have arisen. Alas! how short-sighted are even good men! They would not in season give one dollar for peace; and now they are obliged to spend or lose a hundred thousand in war and its nameless evils.

The time, however, has not yet come to reckon up the sum total of these evils in a thousand ways and forms—in property wasted, in business suspended or deranged, in scores of thousands of lives lost, in families bereft and broken up, in villages burnt, and cities left in ruins, in the Sabbath desecrated, and enterprises of benevolence and reform arrested or crippled, in churches, schools and colleges closed, in a wide prevalence of irreligion, vice and crime, a fearful injection, perhaps for generations to come, of the war virus into nearly all the veins and arteries of society. We have no arithmetic that can fully compute these evils, And the worst of these will cling to us like the shirt of Nessus. We may sing pæans, and raise monuments; but nothing can alter or efface the terrible facts of the case. Long will its malign influence be felt all over our land. It will infuse its war venom into the nation's heart, and thenceforth increase perhaps fourfold the expenses of our war-system, and the dangers of actual war. Our religion, our morals, our liberties will all suffer for ages to come. There is not a child now living that will survive them all. We may indeed expect some compensations for these, more or less; but if all history be not false, there will be a fearful and long-continued preponderance of such evils. God will doubtless overrule them all for good in the end, but only as he makes even sin and the Devil subserve the ultimate purposes of his wisdom and love.

Nations, however, seldom learn much except from bitter experience; and on one point at least, we are in a fair way to be taught a lesson that we shall feel to the quick—the cost of this war. How much, nobody can as yet guess; but we shall soon learn enough to make us rue the day we entered upon such a career of war prodigality as took the nations of Europe long ages to reach. In this respect we have outdone all examples. Thus far we have only borrowed; but pay-day must come soon, and teach us for many a year, perhaps for many an age to come, what is meant by an omnipresent system of war taxation, like that of England so vividly sketched by Sidney Smith: "Taxes," he says, "upon every article which enters the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the feet; taxes upon everything which

it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell or taste; taxes upon warmth, light and locomotion; taxes upon everything on the earth, and in the waters under the earth; taxes upon everything that comes from abroad, or is grown at home; taxes upon the raw material, and upon every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of man; taxes on the sauce that pampers man's appetite, and the drug that restores him to health; on the ermine which decorates the judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal; on the poor man's salt, and the rich man's spice; on the brass nails of the coffin, and the ribbons of the bride. Taxes we never escape; at bed or board, couchant or levant, we must pay. The schoolboy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle, upon a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine, which has paid seven per-cent., into a spoon that has paid fifteen per-cent., flings himself back upon his chintz bed which has paid twenty-two per-cent., makes his will upon an eight-pound stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a license of a hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is immediately taxed from two to ten per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble; and then he is gathered to his fathers—to be taxed no more.”

ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S REPORT

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY *in account with* JOHN FIELD, *Treasurer.*

RECEIPTS—

Balance from last year's account,.....	\$197 41
Receipts acknowledged in Advocate of Peace,.....	987 20
“ to be acknowledged “ “	703 00
Interest on Investments,.....	90 00
Dividends,.....	180 00
	<hr/>
	\$2,157 61

PAYMENTS—

For paper, printing, and other expenses connected with publications, \$1,125 26	
For agency services, and travelling expenses,.....	818 55
For postage, rent of office, stationary, meetings, &c.,.....	147 71
For premium and incidental expenses,.....	45 28
Balance to new account,.....	20 61
	<hr/>
	\$2,157 61

BOSTON, MAY 26, 1862.—We, the undersigned, have this day examined the above account of JOHN FIELD, Esq., Treasurer of the American Peace Society, and find the same correctly cast and vouched.

W. C. BROWN, }
H. H. LEAVITT, } *Auditors.*

ANNIVERSARY PROCEEDINGS.

The American Peace Society held its thirty-fourth anniversary meeting in the Winter Street Church, Boston, May 26th. At the business meeting, 3 P. M., HON. AMASA WALKER, one of the Vice Presidents, was called to the chair, and, in the temporary absence of the Recording Secretary, J. W. Parker, D. D., chosen Secretary pro tem. Rev. L. H. Angier and H. H. Leavitt were appointed to nominate a list of officers for the ensuing year; and on their report, those of the last year were, with the exception of two changes by resignation, and three by death, elected as found on page 100. The report of the Directors was read by the Corresponding Secretary, and, with a slight modification, was adopted, after remarks by Rev. Mr. Perkins, Dr. Parker, W. C. Brown, J. P. Blanchard, Dr. Malcom, Rev. Warren Burton, Rev. L. H. Angier, George Merrill and Hon. A. Walker. The Report of the Treasurer was, also, laid before the Society and adopted.

RESOLUTIONS.

The following preamble and resolutions, explanatory of the Society's course, were adopted, viz:—

Whereas, the present rebellion in our country necessarily exposes the friends of peace to sore and very peculiar trials, and our views to many serious misconceptions and misrepresentations; therefore,

Resolved. 1. That we find in the strange and bitter experience of the passing hour no reason whatever to change either our principles or our measures.

2. That we still adhere fully to the basis of the first Peace Congress in London, June, 1843, and adopted as the basis of all the subsequent Congresses held in England and on the Continent, viz: "That War is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the true interests of mankind;" and that our object in the Cause of Peace is "to show the world the evil and inexpediency of the spirit and practice of War, and to promote permanent and universal Peace."

3. That, in accordance with the recommendations of those Congresses, we earnestly desire "the adoption of the *Principle of Arbitration* for the adjustment of all international differences, and that stipulations be introduced into all international treaties to provide for this mode of adjustment, whereby recourse to war may be entirely avoided between such nations as shall agree to abide by such stipulation;" and that, while favoring this plan of Stipulated Arbitration "as a measure most immediately available for the prevention of war, we still regard, as Peace Societies have from their origin, "a Congress of Nations to settle and perfect the Code of International Law, and a High Court of Nations to interpret and apply that law for the settlement of all national disputes, as that which should be urged upon governments as one of the best practical modes of settling peacefully and satisfactorily such international disputes."

4. That these resolutions designate the leading measures which the friends of peace ought ever to keep in view, until they shall have trained the general mind of Christendom effectually to demand and secure the adoption of these better means of international justice and protection in place of the sword, and thus gradually supersede the whole war-system as a relic of pagan barbarism and brutality.

5. That in treating the vast rebellion in our country as not coming properly or strictly within our province, but rather as a gigantic crime with which government must deal, as it does with all similar offenses, by a due enforcement of its own laws applicable to the case, we have neither contradicted nor ignored any of our principles, but have merely carried out the views distinctly proclaimed by our Society from its start.

6. That all our experience and reflection thus far constrain us more and more to regard our course in this respect as the only one either right, safe or practicable in the prosecution of our great reform; and we trust it will soon be understood, if it is not so now, that our cause does not aim to interfere with the legitimate, indispensable operations of civil government, but restricts itself to the single purpose of doing away the custom of war, or the practice of nations settling their disputes by the sword.

To the above resolutions were added the following :—

1. That the concession by England and France of Belligerent Rights to our rebels, we are constrained to regard as utterly wrong in principle and tendency, as a practical endorsement and moral guaranty of the rebellion itself, as clearly violative of the obligations assumed by them in their treaties of peace and amity with us, and as virtually proclaiming to the world a rule of action fatal to all stable government, viz : that men who avowedly combine to commit the worst crimes known in the criminal code of our own or any other country, are just as deserving of approval, sympathy and aid, as our government itself in attempting to enforce its own laws, and thus bringing to condign punishment the disturbers of the public peace.

2. That we see no reason why this Society should cease to put forth earnest and vigorous efforts for the attainment of its great object, the suppression of the entire war-system; for, if war was ever wicked and cruel, it is so still; if ever absurd and useless, it is so still; if ever the greatest obstacle in the path of human progress and improvement, it is so still; or if there was ever a reasonable prospect of overthrowing the system by the silent yet powerful influence of Christianity, by the progress of commerce, and the triumph of reason and common sense over passion and prejudice, the present is pre-eminently the time when the friends of peace may labor with the best hopes of ultimate success.

3. That the occurrences that have taken place within the last year in this country, growing out of the sad and disastrous struggle in which we are engaged, clearly indicate a general revolution in the war-system, especially as carried on by sea; and we see good reason to expect that privateering, blockades, and the right of search, will ere long be abolished by the common consent of civilized nations, and that the ocean and all navigable waters of the globe will be neutralized.

4. That the wonderful changes recently made in the enginery of human destruction on sea and land, whereby its effectiveness is greatly increased, have a direct tendency to hasten the time when such enginery shall be disused altogether.

PUBLIC EXERCISES.

In the evening the Society met at 7 1-2. A select audience, larger than could have been expected under the circumstances, were present. DAVID THURSTON, D. D., long a personal friend of our Society's founder; William Ladd, and a zealous co-worker with him in our cause, who went at the age of more than seventy as a delegate to the third Peace Congress, held on the Continent at Frankfort, Germany, introduced the exercises by prayer, and

by reading from the prophecy of Isaiah, 2: 2-5. Large extracts from the Directors' report were read by Dr. Beckwith, and the annual address was delivered by the President of the Society, HOWARD MALCOM, D.D.

At the close, on motion of Hon. Amasa Walker, a vote of thanks was passed for the able and very timely address just delivered, and a copy requested for the press. At the suggestion of Dr. Beckwith, Mr. Walker was also requested to furnish in full a copy of his remarks, partially made at the Society's business meeting, on the present progress and prospects of our cause.

We designed, but have no room, to give these remarks, so suggestive, and so pertinent to the times, in our present number. We shall publish them in the next Advocate, which may be expected in a few weeks.

THE SOLDIER TO HIS CHILDREN.

The following exquisite poem is taken from the *Boston Transcript* as written in camp, after a battle, by a soldier to his children at home.

Darlings, I am weary pining :
Shadows fall across my way ;
I can hardly see the lining
Of the cloud—the silver lining,
Turning darkness into day.

I am weary of the sighing,
Moaning, wailing through the air ;
Breaking hearts, in anguish crying
For the lost ones—for the dying ;
Sobbing anguish of despair.

I am weary of the fighting ;
Brothers red with brothers' gore.
Only that the *wrong* we're fighting—
Truth and *Honor's* battle fighting—
I would draw my sword no more.

I am pining, dearest, pining
For your kisses on my cheek ;
For your dear arms round me twining ;
For your soft eyes on me shining ;
For your loved words, darlings—speak !

Tell me, in your earnest prattle,
Of the olive branch and dove ;
Call me from the cannon's rattle ;
Take my thoughts away from battle ;
Fold me in your dearest love.

Darlings, I am weary pining ;
Shadows fall across my way ;
I can hardly see the lining
Of the cloud—the silver lining,
Turning darkness into day.

THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JULY AND AUGUST, 1862.

SPEECH OF HON. AMASA WALKER,

At the Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society, in Boston, May 26.

I rise, Mr. PRESIDENT, to make a few remarks in support of the resolutions just offered, and to congratulate you, and the society you represent, upon the auspicious circumstances under which we this day meet. In my judgment, no preceding period has ever equalled the present in hopeful indications for the cause of peace. Hitherto we have lived by faith; but now we can see clearly that the time has come when the great Moloch of war is to be overthrown, and the nations are "to learn war no more."

Twelve months since we met in this place amid all the wild excitement and delirium of a nation rushing into civil war; we meet to-day while 800,000 men are engaged in the terrible work of mutual slaughter. This fact may seem in ill accordance with the congratulations I offer you; but it is not that our beloved country is thus involved in one of the most cruel and murderous wars ever waged, that I see cause for congratulation, but that out of this terrible calamity events have already arisen which cannot fail first to revolutionize, and finally, if not speedily, to abolish the whole war-system.

You doubtless anticipate to what great events I refer—the operations of the rebel Merrimac, and the loyal Monitor. The day on which those vessels met in conflict, I regard as one of the most important of all the days in the great calendar of human events. When the Merrimac emerged from her hiding-place, and made her experimental trial upon the Cumberland, and, by a single blow with her formidable prow, sent the stately vessel with her priceless human freight to the bottom, she announced to all the world, in language that can neither be disregarded nor misunderstood, an entire revolution in naval warfare. When the Cumberland went down,



she carried with her the present navies of the world. The blow which crushed her sides, shattered the wooden walls of England, and converted her seven hundred armed vessels into useless hulks.

But, Mr. President, this was only one act in that memorable drama. While this marine monster under the rebel flag, in all the pride of her strength, was thus engaged in destroying the best ships in the American navy, and the Congress, as well as the Cumberland, had succumbed to her power, suddenly a new and wonderful character entered the arena. The Monitor, a strange, unique craft, appeared in Hampton Roads, and at once engaged the great destroyer.

To those who believe in the providence of God, and that not a sparrow falls to the ground without his notice, the arrival of the Monitor at the very moment when her presence was not only indispensable to the safety of the remaining vessels in the neighborhood, but, so far as we can see, of every city and town on the Atlantic coast, seems one of the most remarkable interpositions recorded in history. The government had neither ordered nor purchased the Monitor. She sprang from the brain of a private individual, and he a foreigner. The Secretary of the Navy merely permitted the great inventor to make an experiment; yet on its success the immediate safety of the National Capital, and perhaps the final result of the great struggle depended. The two great champions of a new age in naval warfare met. The Monitor was triumphant, and the Merrimac drew off, never to renew the conflict. The irresistible Merrimac found a superior in the invulnerable Monitor.

Now, Mr. President, what is the lesson taught by these novel and wonderful events? And why do we draw from them occasion for sincere and heartfelt congratulation?

1. First, because these events show that the different nations of the earth are, so far as immediate preparation for war on the ocean is concerned, placed essentially upon the same level. Hitherto one nation has been supreme, and vaunted herself, not without reason, the mistress of the seas. The Merrimac and Monitor annihilated that supremacy in a single hour; and it no longer exists, except in her illustrious history. For this we have occasion to thank God; and we trust never will she hereafter have such an overwhelming preponderance on the ocean. It is not for the interests of mankind, nor of the giant power itself. It makes a nation insolent, overbearing, and disregarding of the rights of others. England has been so. I am glad, therefore, that her sceptre of the sea is broken; and yet I have no unfriendliness to England, and no sympathy with those who are constantly disparaging her as the embodiment of all that is selfish, treacherous and cruel. I admire her greatness, and rejoice in every thing which redounds to her true glory; and if I may be allowed an allusion personal to myself, I will say that I am often taunted with being British in my sentiments, so high is my appreciation of all that is excellent in the British constitution, and all that is noble in British character and history.

I do not hesitate to say, because it is my sincere conviction, that I regard the civilization of England, not only as the grandest that now exists, but that ever has existed, so far as history informs us. When I say this, I do not consider that I utter any thing in derogation of my own country—far from it. Ours is the civilization of youth, full of promise and hope; hers that of mature manhood, with all its magnificence and power. If true to ourselves, to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the teachings of the gospel of Peace, the close of another century will find us as much in advance of what England now is, as England is of Russia or Turkey to-day.

But, while I cheerfully say all this, I still say, I heartily rejoice that she can no longer rule the waves with that despotic sovereignty of which she has in times past so often boasted. I rejoice that in most important particulars, she must, in time to come, stand upon a level with other nations. So far as aggressive power on the ocean is concerned, France is to-day nearly or quite her equal. It is hardly possible to over-estimate the importance of this equalization of naval power, in its prospective influence upon the world.

2. But, in the second place, the memorable affair I have referred to, has demonstrated, that land fortifications for harbor defenses are no longer of any use. This is a great matter; for no small part of the war expenditures of every country in modern times, has been for the erection of harbor defenses, for Gibaltars to protect commerce, and secure naval power.

All these, however, are now to go for nothing. Mr. Bentinck, in a late speech before the British Parliament, admitted that "coast fortresses were rendered perfectly useless by the invention of invulnerable war-ships." His argument, it is said, "rained destruction upon the fundamental idea of land batteries as means of defense to a harbor." So the British Parliament decides by its action; so says the American Congress, and so says the State of Massachusetts, which directs that an appropriation of 500,000 dollars, voted in the early part of the last session of the Legislature for fortifying Boston harbor, shall be used in building an iron-clad war vessel. The point, however, is conceded on all hands; and the vast fortifications which now line the coasts of civilized nations, are to stand in the future as the monuments of an age in military science gone by. A late English paper, the *London Star*, one of the best journals in Great Britain, says, in allusion to this point:—"Plate a granite wall as thickly as you please, and mount upon it guns that will pierce even a Monitor a mile off; it will still be in the power of the ship to get out of range before you can load a second time, and in the power of a squadron to batter that fortress with guns equal to its own. We need not wait for the promised engine capable of throwing a thousand pound ball, and crushing what it cannot pierce. Whatever artillery can be mounted upon a land battery, can also be set afloat, and the floating engine will always have a vast advantage over the fixed. A steamer can do everything a fortress can do, besides moving to and fro, in and out of range, while the fortress is a fixture."

Another important consideration connected with floating defenses for harbors, (although I have never seen it noticed,) is this, that they can readily be made of such a formidable character that no sea-going vessel can possibly overcome them. A ship of war must be built with reference to ocean navigation, or she must be, in maritime language, a sea-boat. Now, in the very nature of the case, such a vessel cannot be built wholly with reference to invulnerability. Build a sea-going iron-clad vessel as powerful as you may, a floating battery can be made still more powerful. Monitors and Plongeurs must take the place of Sumters and Pulaskis, and harbor defences are forever transferred from land to water.

Suppose the boasted Warrior, or an iron-clad vessel four times as large and strong, if such is within the power of human effort, should come to our shores with hostile intent, and attempt to enter the harbor of New York, what would she be likely to find? A marine battery or a Monitor vastly more powerful than herself. This is certain, because just so far and so fast as Great Britain, or any other nation, extends the size and capacity of their great ships of war, just in the same proportion will the floating batteries and defenses of other nations be extended, and the latter can always be carried beyond the former.

Will not all this inevitably tend to peace? Will not every nation fortify its harbors successfully against all hostile attacks by sea? If so, then of what use are navies to be? The *London Star* has the following suggestion: "Let the maritime powers of the world agree to employ the cupola gun-boats only in the defense of their harbors—not for aggressive ocean warfare—and great will have been the gain to humanity from the memorable encounter in Hampton Roads." Now, this humane and sensible proposal, if practically adopted, would banish war from the ocean; and that it will be adopted, is as certain as anything future. It will come as a necessity that cannot be avoided. And methinks that when the nations agree to this, they might as well go a little farther, and decree that all the waters of the globe shall, like the Black Sea, be neutralized,—made, as neutral waters, safe against attack—and no war-ships be used anywhere.

Another fact of great importance presents itself in connection with this subject, viz: the immense expense which the new system involves. The cost of the Warrior has been stated at one million sterling, or five million dollars. Now, let us contemplate the cost of erecting an iron-clad navy, say only about one half the size of the British, which is some 700 ships. Suppose only four hundred of them invulnerable, they would, at the price of the Warrior, cost a sum equal to one half the whole national debt of Great Britain!

But it may be urged that this is an extravagant estimate, that England cannot need so many of this kind of vessels; but why not? If she is bound at all hazards to maintain her vaunted supremacy, she must have more than any one nation on the globe; and who can say how far other nations may go in this mad competition?

It may, also, be objected, that this estimate of the cost of a single vessel is too high. But I do not know that. The *Warrior*, though she cost a million, has been already proclaimed by British authority as vulnerable; that she could not withstand the *Monitor*, and that "Sir Wm. Armstrong's smooth bores would pierce her sides." So it is demonstrated already that something stronger, and of course more costly, must be built. No one can now say, that it may not be necessary to build war-steamers that will cost two millions, instead of one, if this rivalry between nations is to go on.

Now, the significance of this fact consists in this, that all the nations of Christendom are so deeply involved in debt on account of the war-system, their resources are already so completely used up or mortgaged, that it is not possible for them to encounter the enormous expenditures required by the changes proposed. What can France do, or England, or the United States, or Russia? And yet plunge into the vortex they must, if there is to be no truce to this insane competition.

Mr. President, the commercial bearings alone, if there were no other, cannot fail to have a strong influence in favor of peace. They already begin to tell on the public mind. Another and most suggestive consideration is the evident and inevitable absurdity in which the whole military and naval system of the world is sure to end speedily, if persevered in under present circumstances. England, the centre of the war system of modern times, is agitated as never before with the great questions started by the occurrences in Hampton Roads. The mistress of the seas not only finds her supremacy overthrown, but probably it can never be restored; that such are the triumphs of science and the arts, such their wonderful achievements and illimitable power of accomplishment, that not only must all the nations of the earth commence the vast work of creating navies anew, but, after they have done all that is possible, navies will be of doubtful utility, as compared with the past. These several points begin to be very seriously discussed in Great Britain already; and the more they are examined, the more impracticable and absurd the whole system appears, and the more obvious the hopelessness of competition.

Mutual preparations for war amongst nations in time of peace, are really no more absurd now than they always have been; but recent circumstances have presented the fact in such a light that everybody can see it. Napoleon builds *La Gloire*, and Great Britain the *Warrior* to match. Very well; but is either any safer than before? Certainly not; and what is more, both parties see it to be so, and therefore each commences another iron-clad monster. And so they may go on, side by side, until they have exhausted all their resources, and they will be mutually as defenseless at the end of the race as at the beginning.

Not only is all this palpably true, but the constant improvement in destructive engineering prevents the possible attainment of any point where national safety may be assured by military or naval preparations. The science and skill that produce a gun which will throw a shot of 300 pounds,

can produce one that shall throw 500 or 1000 pounds. There is no stopping place. Already Erricson, it is said, has made the plan of a Monitor that shall throw shot of 1000 pounds, and be covered with 24 inches of solid iron! If Great Britain, or "the Confederacy," should produce one that should send a 1500 pound shot, Erricson, or some other great engineer, could make one of the capacity of 2000.

Alluding to the absurdity and folly of such a competition, the *London Star* says, "Unless a higher policy interpose, France and England will be hurried by the example of America into competition even more reckless and costly than that typified by *La Gloire* and the *Warrior*." But suppose that this senseless rivalry had reached its ne-plus, and two of these iron-clad monsters were to meet mid-ocean, with the very laudable and rational purpose of blowing each other to pieces. They commence a fight. Both being invulnerable, when and how is it to end? They pound each other to their mutual satisfaction; but their shots fall harmless from their iron-clad sides. They fight on, nevertheless, until both have exhausted their ammunition, then they must both go home to get more powder and shot! That is the glorious finale of the contest!

Another circumstance of no little weight is, that the changes we speak of destroy the *romance* of war, all that is really chivalrous and fascinating. This is true to a great extent in regard to the land service, but almost wholly so on the sea. In olden times, before the invention of gunpowder, when armed knights met in hand-to-hand encounter, it was a trial of personal bravery and prowess, and opportunity was afforded for the display of martial and heroic virtues; but modern improvements have greatly changed all that, and human beings are now blown to pieces by shot and shell where they have little occasion to exhibit their personal courage or strength. Under the new system of naval warfare, the whole matter resolves itself into a struggle between material forces.

How unlike that memorable battle when Nelson, at Trafalgar, met and destroyed the combined fleets of France and Spain, would be a contest between a fleet of Merrimacs and Monitors, belching forth flames and smoke, and discharging their huge shot at each other's invulnerable sides! There can be no poetry in such a fight, no great heroism in loading and firing big guns, by machinery *under cover*. And yet it comes to this.

Another circumstance favorable to our cause is, that the bloody and desolating conflict in which we are now engaged, will teach the American people what war is, and what it does. Hitherto war has been with us an abstraction, a tradition, something to boast of and threaten. It will be so no longer. War in all its stern reality is upon us. Our sons and brothers are falling on battle-fields, and perishing in camps and hospitals. Trains of cars bring back from the scene of strife, the sick, the wounded, the dying and the dead. Our industry is paralyzed, and the tax-gatherer is upon us with his inexorable demands. A national debt is incurred which future generations must discharge. The nation will get enough of this, will be

satiated with it, and when peace is restored, will look with loathing and abhorrence upon war. I feel sure of this, and that a wholesome reaction will come, when the public mind will deeply feel all the enmity, all the inhumanity, all the folly of war. Hence I have great hope that the people of this country will be prepared to join, with alacrity and spirit, with other nations in demanding the abolition of the whole system.

But there are still other events in the history of the past year, of great significance as connected with the interest of peace. The influence of our civil war, and especially of the Federal blockade, on the trade and commerce of the world, has been quite disastrous, and therefore has had a very marked effect upon the public mind in England. As a consequence, it has led to a careful examination of the whole subject of commercial disturbances by war. The questions of privateering, blockades, and right of search on the ocean, have been very thoroughly discussed by statesmen, publicists and the press.

Richard Cobden, to whose "unadorned eloquence" Sir Robert Peel assigned the principal merit of the repeal of the corn-laws, and of whom it has been very truthfully said, that he "never constructed a syllogism, or was ever convicted of a fallacy," has recently addressed a communication to the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce "upon the present unsatisfactory state of international maritime law, as affecting the rights of neutrals and belligerents," entering at length into a consideration of these important topics. He shows that England, of all other nations, is most interested in the protection of neutral commerce. In 1856, the Paris Congress, at which the difficulties occasioning the Crimean war were adjusted, a proposition was made, as we all recollect, that privateering should be abolished, and the United States were invited to join in that arrangement. Mr. Marcy, our able Secretary of State at that time, replied in behalf of our government, that we were ready to agree that all commerce not contraband should be inviolable, and that neither private nor public armed vessels should be allowed to make war upon it. This most reasonable and liberal proposition of ours was rejected by Great Britain, although the other nations of Europe were ready cheerfully to accede to it. But the British government, conscious of the superiority of her naval power, refused its assent, and so the measure failed, though British merchants and manufacturers desired it.

Subsequently Mr. Buchanan, immediately after his election, signified his desire for a change in maritime law in a letter to the New York Chamber of Commerce, in which he said, "we must obtain the consent of the powerful naval nations, that merchant vessels shall not be blockaded in port, but be allowed to pass the blockading squadron, and go out to sea." Mr. Cobden shows clearly, in the letter referred to, that the government of this country has ever been ready to abolish privateering, and commercial blockades. He tells the people of England, in his usual clear and forcible manner, "that if the proposal of the United States to abolish commercial blockades, had been



favorably received by the British government, there can be no doubt, from the known tendency of other maritime powers, that it might have become a part of the law of nations, and in that case the commerce between Great Britain and the Southern States of the American Union, would have been uninterrupted by the present war; for the blockade is acknowledged by Europe only as a belligerent right, and not as the exercise of a municipal authority. In justice to the American government, I am bound to express the opinion, that the closing of the cotton ports is virtually OUR OWN ACT. We have imposed on ourselves as neutrals the privations and sufferings incident to a commercial blockade, because we assumed that we are interested in reserving to ourselves the belligerent right, which we now concede to others."

Mr. Cobden proceeds to show, that one third of the inhabitants of Great Britain, some ten millions, subsist on imported food, and that she, above any other nation, ought to desire the most perfect and uninterrupted commerce; and he closes a long and most interesting communication with proposing three reforms in international maritime law, viz:—

"1. The exemption of private property from capture at sea, during war, by armed vessels of every kind.

2. Blockades to be restricted to naval arsenals, and to towns besieged at the same time on land, with the exception of articles contraband of war.

3. The merchant ships of neutrals on the high seas to be inviolable to the visitation of vessels in time of war as in time of peace."

In conclusion of his able argument he says, "I regard these changes as the necessary corollary of the repeal of the navigation laws, the abolition of the corn-laws, and the abandonment of our colonial monopoly. *We have thrown away the sceptre of force*, to confide in the principle of freedom—uncovenanted, unconditional freedom."

In justice to Mr. Cobden, I ought to add, that these views are not with him the result of recent circumstances. He has long entertained and advocated them; but he seizes upon the present moment as favorable to their promulgation.

Now, when before in the history of the world have we seen the commercial interests of society so directly and effectively arrayed against the war-system? When has the common sense of mankind been so shocked at the folly and absurdity of war? When before has a British statesman of great eminence and influence, advocated the inviolability of commerce, the abolition of blockades, and the abandonment of the right of search? When before have we seen the public press, on both sides of the Atlantic, so ready to sustain these grand and comprehensive measures of peace? "For wealthy and civilized nations," says the New York Tribune, "to attempt to run a race in the manufacture of mutually destructive instruments of warfare, is as nearly allied to *madness* as any thing within the range of human weakness." Madness, insanity, indeed, it is for nations in this 19th century, to enter upon such a wild and reckless expenditure for a perfectly hopeless and useless object; and this the public is at length beginning to perceive.

It may be asked, 'but what of the present war? Have you nothing to say about that? Has the American Peace Society done any thing during the past year to put a stop to this terrible war?' Well, I do not know that it has. The society was not formed for intervention, but for prevention; not to prescribe to nations when they should fight, or how long, but to influence them, if possible, not to fight at all — to arrange their institutions so that all international difficulties might be peacefully adjusted. It has never proposed to interfere with governments, never attempted to decide what course they should pursue in the maintenance of their authority, the punishment of criminals, or the suppression of insurrections.

What would any man wish that this society should do in the present emergency? Suppose that at our last anniversary we had appointed you, Sir, and our honored secretary, a delegation to visit the President of the United States, and induce him to close up the war then just begun. Suppose you had gone to the Federal Capital, and introduced yourselves as delegates from the American Peace Society. The first question which the President would naturally ask would be, "What is the object, Gentlemen, of your association?" "Why, Sir, it is to prevent war between nations by inducing them to submit all their disputes to arbitration." "Very well; I greatly approve of the objects of your society; but what do you wish of me?" "Why, Sir, we come to ask you to put a stop to the war in which the country is now involved." "But, Gentlemen, this is not a war between nations; it is merely an effort on the part of the government to restore its supremacy, to maintain the laws, and preserve the institutions of the country. I am only endeavoring to put down what I regard as a most wicked and unjustifiable rebellion."

But suppose you were still to urge that the war must nevertheless be very cruel and destructive, and ought to be stopped at once, would not the President be likely to reply, "I agree with you, Gentlemen; but do you advise me to surrender to the rebels, abandon the National Capital now beleaguered, and allow the Federal Union to be broken up? Shall I send word to the arch-leader of the rebellion, that I am ready to grant all that he asks, if he will only make peace?" What reply would you make to that? I apprehend, notwithstanding your well-known shrewdness and good sense, you would be somewhat troubled to make an answer that would be satisfactory to either party. I think you would wisely conclude, that it was not within the province of the society you represent, to interfere in the matter, and, if it were, you would be at a loss what course of conduct to recommend.

For myself I have never from the first seen any way in which we could consistently act in the premises. We might, indeed, prior to the assault upon Fort Sumter, have proposed to the government to arbitrate with the rebels, or have suggested some concession or compromise; but I doubt whether it would have been either wise or useful. I think no possible good could have come of such an interference between rebels and their govern-

ment. I doubt, if Ireland were in active rebellion against the British Government, whether the London Peace Society, or any society in England, would be likely to wait upon the Prime Minister with a request that the Independence of Ireland should be acknowledged, or the matter in dispute be referred to arbitration; and I doubt still more if such a mission would be productive of any good, whatever it might propose.

But, while I thus speak as a member of this Society, I do not hesitate to say, that the war in which we are engaged, is one of the most wicked and cruel ever waged, a foul blot on the last half of the 19th century. War is always in direct antagonism to the gospel of Christ, and "utterly violates that spirit of love, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, and long suffering, which Christianity inculcates," and "stimulates into portentous and preternatural development all those passions of 'hatred variance, emulations, strifes and seditions' which Christianity denounces." No one can hold war in more utter abhorrence than myself; no one can, I trust, be more willing to labor for its extinction. I am no apologist for this war, or any war. I place all in the same category; and for one, as an individual, I did what I thought within my power to prevent an appeal to arms. After seven States had seceded, but before the assault upon Fort Sumter, I wrote for the public press, advising that a general convention should be called, by authority of Congress, of delegates from all the States, to whom should be submitted the single question, "what States are willing to go on together under the old Constitution?" The action of this body should be referred to the several States for confirmation by a popular vote, and the States wishing to do so, should then withdraw from the Union.

Now, I believed then, as I still do, that this was the true course to be pursued; and we should have allowed those States that desired it, to secede. Not that they had any right to do so under the Constitution, but that the loyal States, in view of their widely different and in fact totally discordant civilization in certain States, arising from the barbarism engendered by slavery, should have allowed them to go off by themselves, and develop the natural consequences of that inhuman and un-republican institution upon which they proposed to found their new confederacy. Whether this was a correct view of the case, we shall be better able to determine when this fratricidal war has been brought to a close, and all its results realized; but I am, and ever have been, fully of the opinion, that no good will be secured which could not have been more advantageously obtained without a resort to the sword. The great majority of the people thought differently, and rushed with alacrity into the war. Not a few were heard to say that 'the South deserved a flogging, and should have it.' I thought it would prove a hard job, and it has turned out so.

My peace principles, Mr. President, were formed anterior to the present struggle, and are wholly uninfluenced by it. I do not believe in war as necessary to the welfare of mankind. I regard it as an unseemly relic of heathenism and barbarism, which the extension of commercial inter-

course, and the onward progress of a Christian civilization, are destined to extinguish. As between the parties in this conflict, my sympathies are altogether with the government, because I think it has given no just cause for the rebellion, and I rejoice in every indication that it will be able to dictate terms of peace, which I hope it will soon be prepared and disposed to do. God forbid that I should have any complicity with a rebellion for the purpose of destroying republican institutions, and founding a despotism with human chattelism as its corner-stone.

Let me close, as I began, by congratulating you, Sir, and our associates, that the whole war-system has, by the events of the past year, been presented before the public mind as so enormously absurd, expensive and useless; that these features of its character have been made so palpable, and have so attracted the attention of public men generally, that we have reason to expect with great confidence that it will be at once modified, and ultimately abolished. I have not the spirit of prophecy, nor do I profess to foresee future events; but, by connecting causes with their legitimate effects, any considerate mind may be able to see clearly that certain results are sure to follow ultimately—it may be speedily. I venture, therefore, to predict, and I do it with much assurance, that the child is now living that will see the barbarism of war among civilized nations abolished; nay more, that the present century will not close before it will be apparent to every mind, that this great system of violence and blood is passing away.

FOREIGNERS ON THE AMERICAN REBELLION :

SOME EXPLANATION OF THEIR MISTAKES RESPECTING IT.

We need not say how much we have been surprised at the views expressed, and the feelings betrayed by foreigners, more especially by Englishmen, respecting the slaveholders' rebellion against our government. The leading minds, agencies and influences in Great Britain, as if in utter contradiction and mockery of her vaunted anti-slavery antecedents, have nearly all been enlisted against the free North in direct or indirect support of the most gigantic and barefaced attempt the world ever saw, to spread the worst form of human bondage in perpetuity over a continent. These facts we regard as in the main undeniable. How shall we explain them? The task, we confess, is difficult; but we will offer a few hints that may help to solve the mystery.

We should bear in mind that slaveholders have always held till now the helm of our government in their own hands, and have been for the last thirty years preparing the way, both at home and abroad, for just such a crisis as the present. No matter what party, Whig or Democratic, was in power, slavery ruled, and every thing was subordinated to its interests. For the last twenty years, no man, not deemed reliable for the support of

slavery, could be appointed ambassador to any important court; and thus have those high functionaries of our government been gradually tainting all the official circles of Christendom with pro-slavery influences. Slaveholders, or their tools, sometimes sorry specimens of American character, have long been misrepresenting us at almost every court in the world. Can we wonder at the result in a general prejudice among the leading minds of Europe in favor of slaveholders against the friends of freedom here? Need we be surprised to see such minds even in anti-slavery England receiving with a weak, greedy credulity statements, reasonings and predictions of our rebels which every day has been proving false and fallacious?

Foreigners, moreover, could hardly be expected to understand, as we do, *the despotic exigencies of our slave-system*. We know them well, for long and bitter experience has taught us. It is the worst despotism on earth, more cruel, unscrupulous and remorseless by far than that of Austria or Russia. Its spirit is autocratic; it subordinates everything to its own ends. Its exigencies demand all this; *aut Cesar aut nihil*. It must rule supreme, or it cannot be safe. Government, in all its departments, and with all its appliances, must stand ready to do its sovereign behests. Everything must give way to its demands, and be made subordinate to its interests. It must not only hold in its hands to-day the supreme power, but must insure, in one way or another, a perpetual lease of such power; for without such guarantees it cannot deem itself safe for a day. It was for reasons like these that the slave-oligarchy, when they could no longer hope to rule our country in the interest of slavery, resolved at once to break up, if possible, our government itself, and to raise on its ruins another that should be subordinated, as its paramount aim, to the support, extension and perpetuity of the slave-system.

Hence the *failure of every attempt at conciliation*. It was all the fault of the slave-oligarchs, a natural result of those arrogant, domineering habits which rule on the plantation. They insisted on having everything in their own way at all hazards, and seemed to imagine that the free North, so long used as their pliant tools, would still bow submissively to their dictation. The result has proved them wofully mistaken; but had they shown only a moderate share of courtesy, conciliation, or even common sense, they might have been allowed, under suitable guarantees for the safety of the old government, to try in peace their coveted experiment of a Democratic oligarchy constructed and upheld chiefly for the benefit of those who live in idleness and luxury on the enforced toil of others. In their whole course the ring-leaders of this rebellion have betrayed the worst traits of European despots, and thus forced the free States to the alternative of either compelling them into submission at once, or of looking forward to perpetual warfare with them as independent neighbors.

On such a point foreigners cannot judge half as well as we can. We are painfully familiar with the difficulties and hazards of the case. We gladly would, if we safely could, have yielded to their demand for a separate con-

federacy. We were at first inclined to let all leave who chose, and set up a government of their own ; but, when they betrayed, as they very soon did, such purposes and habits as rendered it certain that separation would prove interminable war in support of slavery, we were forced to the common conclusion, and our only hope lay in enforcing the laws against the rebels, and compelling their submission to the government. The result proves a terrible alternative ; but we have unquestionably chosen the surest and safest horn of the dilemma. Foreigners might very naturally differ from us on this point ; but, knowing slavery and slaveholders as we do, we have not the shadow of a doubt that any other course would have drenched our country from the Gulf to the Lakes, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in fraternal blood for ages. We hold in utter abhorrence the war method of settling such disputes ; but, if people will attempt their settlement by the sword, better by far put an end at once and forever to this conflict with the slave-power. It will cost incomparably less of treasure and blood to do this now, than to postpone the final struggle by compromise or delay: *Slavery must either rule or die* ; and, fully believing this to be the only alternative, we cannot, as patriots, philanthropists, or peacemen, refrain from the hope, that the contest, so wickedly forced upon the country by the abettors and champions of everlasting slavery, may go on till the hydra shall receive its death-blow.

Foreigners, however, are not likely to understand a tithe of the reasons which force us to this conclusion. They have little conception of what slavery here really is, or what deeds of fiendish atrocity it will perpetrate, if deemed necessary, for the support and perpetuation of its power. Men who cling with a death-grasp to such a system, such an outrage on justice, humanity and the Christian religion, will not scruple to commit in its service any conceivable crimes, and plead the end as justifying the means. The struggle in Kansas, and the treatment of Northern men all over the South, prove beyond a doubt that the abettors of slavery will stick at no fraud or falsehood, no meanness, cruelty or crime, which its interests may be thought to require.

Nor do foreigners, with a few very honorable exceptions, seem to have an exact or thorough knowledge of our case. Not a few who have spoken on the subject in public, or written for the press, have betrayed an ignorance of our affairs that would disgrace a lad in one of our common schools. Some of their blunders, if not so mischievous in their effects, would be ludicrous enough. They seem to have little conception of the many strong reasons, geographical, commercial, political, social, ecclesiastical, that so clearly, so imperatively require that there should be but one government within the present limits of our country. Let any fair-minded man set himself to the study of our geography ; and he would see at a glance, that it could not, even if slavery were out of the way, be divided without liability to incessant and endless disputes.

We find it difficult to frame a reputable apology for the ignorance or

wrong views of most foreigners respecting our affairs. In France, Count Gasparin, and in England such men as Mills, John Bright and George Thompson, seem to have a very thorough knowledge of our case. What excuse then can there be for the multitude who have so egregiously misconceived, misrepresented and abused us? We would not be uncharitable; but we cannot keep suspecting the motives of those who have so hastily, so vehemently, and with such an air of arrogant dictation, counselled submission to the demands of rebels in arms against our government. In all Europe is there a single government that would accept such advice? Least of all, would either England or France? Make the case their own; and would they not indignantly spurn the very advice they have been pressing upon us almost at the point of the bayonet?

SOLEMN QUESTION TO PARENTS.—Have you considered the influence you exert on your boy's character and destiny by giving him military toys and tinsel? Have you thought what are the feelings you are cherishing in that boy's heart? Are they those of gentleness, honor, benevolence, innocence, or are they revenge, hate, party spirit, mischief, murder?

The following anecdote, cut from an exchange paper, is but one of a thousand, which show how soon a bad spirit is generated in a boy who is encouraged to "play soldier." What may we expect from a whole generation brought up to love and admire the military profession? "The little fellow, (an only son, between four and five years of age,) had passed the day in his new uniform, a 'corporal,' by general consent, and with his commission he seemed very much delighted. Accoutrements laid aside at bed-time, however, he said his prayers at his mother's knee; and this done, she stooped as usual for her good-night kiss. But he drew himself back with an air of offended dignity. 'Do corporals kiss their mothers?' he inquired gravely, while his little hand kept her at a distance." x.

LABOR LOST BY THE WAR-SYSTEM.—Some correct statistics have been collected respecting the number of men employed in the armies of Europe; and it is really almost enough to make one despair of the progress of mankind, to find that something like 4,000,000 of men, at the very lowest computation, (more probably, 5,000,000,) are under arms. Here is the list.

Army of Austria,	- - - - -	733,344
" Prussia,	- - - - -	719,092
" Russia,	- - - - -	850,000
" France,	- - - - -	626,000
" Great Britain and India,	- - - - -	534,827
" Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Portugal and Italy,	- - - - -	303,497
Total,		3,765,760

The cost of maintaining, clothing, and paying these men, at the low average of £40, (\$200) per head, is £150,000,000, (\$750,000,000) per annum; but the loss is not to be measured by this sum, enormous as it is, for we must also reckon what would be gained, were this mass of labor productive, instead of unproductive. The labor of 3,771,760 able-bodied men cannot be calculated as producing less than £120,000,100 per annum; so that

virtually, between the cost of their maintenance, and what they ought to produce, were their labor utilised, there is a difference of something like £300,000,000 a year! We are quite sure this sum is rather under than over the mark.

The worst feature of all is, that we can see no termination to this expenditure. Talk of experience! What has it done towards preventing the Americans from following precisely in the course which has caused so much bloodshed, debt, and misery, in the Old World? As for the human race growing wiser, it seems to grow every day more foolish and more perverse. England, certainly, cannot say she sets a good example, for, (including the army of India, our reserves and our volunteers,) our forces amount to 763,067 men, or about 140,000 more than France. This force is really larger than that kept on foot in any other country in the world, if we consider that our returns are not paper returns.—*London Money Market Review*.

HOSPITAL SCENES.—“Perhaps,” says one writing from the Georgetown hospital, near Washington, “no one sight gives a man so impressive an idea of the simple horror, the unmitigated inhumanity of war, as a visit to wounded and dying men, lying, pale and patient, in the hospitals. I have been to-day to visit our wounded men in the hospital at Georgetown—a sight that few men, not previously trained to that especial experience, can endure. The stalwart men, who went into the ward with me, turned faint and sick, and had to be led to other rooms, where restoratives and time might give them fresh heart. One of these men is a captain in one of the bravest and staunchest regiments at Bull Run; a man who, with his own single hand, slew three rebels, and captured five; who, in his own arms, carried for miles, a wounded man of his own company, until he placed him in a place of safety; a man who fought, disbelieving the order to retreat! and who, with his men, stood in the rear guard that protected the retreat of our men, till, for the third time, the order came to fall back, when, with tears in his eyes, he reluctantly brought off his company in its appropriate place in the regiment. Such staunch men are always of the kindest; and this captain, (from good old Connecticut) having that day heard the whereabouts of one of his missing, instantly left his camp, and posted to the hospital, a journey of many miles, and several hours, to look after his comrade. Yet this very man no sooner breathed the hospital air, no sooner caught sight of the men lying patient on their beds, no sooner caught the first glimpse of the first festering wound, than he turned faint and sick, and had to be led away. In due time he recovered his equanimity, and so far mastered his feelings as to return and assist in making comfortable the man he came to see, and remained for an hour or more, to give him all the comfort possible. This effort cost him, he asserts, exertion and a courage he never felt the need of when he was ordered for the first time into the thickest of the enemy’s fire.”

Still worse are the hospital scenes immediately after a battle like that of Pea Ridge, Arkansas. “The morning after the 8th of March,” says an eye-witness, “I passed the hospital, where most of our wounded were carried on the previous night. Here lay dead officers and soldiers, mingled indiscriminately together, most of them having died after or during amputation. Outside of the buildings were several legs and arms, the former with the stocking and occasionally a portion of the pantaloons still unremoved. A row of corpses lay in front of the principal hospital, and a number of attendants were busy in their removal. Each was covered with a blanket, and the utmost nonchalance was displayed, in all their movements. “That’s Captain —,” was a remark, as a blanket was turned down from

the face of a corpse, revealing at the same time, the double-barred shoulder strap. "That's private ——," or "That's a sergeant of —— regiment," and similar remarks were the only hospitable eulogiums, as the column of dead was passed by. Whatever bravery and daring were shown when these death-wounds were received, was here unnoticed. Satiated with these horrors, I turned away and hastened to the field, where the final battle was about commencing."

REBEL WOMEN.

In nothing is the character of our Southern rebellion, its intensified and fiendish malignity, more strikingly seen, than in its influence on the women of the South. Here we discover the true index to its all-pervading spirit, a reflexion in social and domestic circles, of those views, feelings and habits which bear such terrible sway all over Rebeldom.

We find it difficult to believe or even conceive the statements on this point, brought to us on testimony entirely unquestionable. One woman, writing her friend in the rebel army, begs him 'to bring her some Yankee scalps;' another says she 'would willingly go to hell, if she could first shoot a Yankee;' and another expresses 'the hope that she may yet sleep beneath a blanket made of the scalps of Northerners.'

The malice and ferocity of these rebel vixens, often, if not generally, found in the higher circles of Southern society, seem almost incredible. In such places as Nashville, Baltimore, and even Washington itself, they have been wont to seek occasions for venting their spleen against loyal men, and especially for insulting our soldiers. Com. Rogers, writing from St. Augustine, Florida, says: "They seem to mistake treason for courage, and have a theatrical desire to figure as heroines." When our troops, under Gen. Banks, were retreating through Winchester, where "not a house had been robbed, nor a woman insulted," during our occupancy of the town, "women shot from the windows, and threw hand-grenades at our soldiers. Men were repeatedly shot after having been captured; and women, having accumulated pistols and hand-grenades, used them on helpless men." Too truly does chaplain Quint, who witnessed these deeds of female brutality, say, "the spirit of a slaveholder, as such, is the spirit of hell." Well does another aver, "when the history of this war is written, it will be found that the most violent and effective conspirators of the rebellion have been women."

All this we find fully confirmed by the most reliable witnesses living among these "she-devils of rebellion." "Thousands," says the *Louisville Journal*, Kentucky, "have read with astonishment the accounts that historians give of the conduct of a large number of women in Paris during the Reign of Terror throughout France. The women are said to have been fiercer and more bloodthirsty than even the fiercest and most bloodthirsty of men. The she-devils had more of the spirit of hell than the he-devils. They were loudest in their clamors for 'blood!' 'blood!' 'blood!' and every morning they thronged around the guillotine, some of them taking their knitting or their sewing with them, and sitting all day to behold the heads of victims rolling into the executioner's basket. Many of our people

have supposed that the accounts given of these things must surely be fictions or exaggerations. They have felt themselves unable to conceive that woman's nature could become a thing so utterly revolting. But if they will look and listen in this region at the present time, they will find that they have no further reason for incredulity or skepticism. The bitter and ferocious spirit of thousands of rebel women in Kentucky, Tennessee, and other States, is scarcely, if at all, surpassed by that of the female monsters that shrieked and howled for victims in the French Revolution."

So of the women of New Orleans. "The order of Gen. Butler," says the *Albany Journal*, "in relation to the women who insult the Union soldiers, has been sharply criticised. A gentleman just returned from that city, where he has resided ever since the war broke out, says we can have no conception of the indignities our brave fellows are compelled to suffer at the hands of these fiends in petticoats. All sense of shame and decency appears to have departed out of them. They rival the most degraded street-walkers, not only in ribaldry, but in obscenity. Women who have been regarded as the pattern of refinement and good breeding, indulge in language towards our officers and men which no decent journalist would dare to put into print. Presuming upon the privileges of the sex, they not only assail them with the tongue, but with more material weapons. Buckets of slops are emptied upon them as they pass; decayed oranges and rotten eggs are hurled at them; and every insult a depraved fancy can invent, is offered to the hated Federals.

"The forbearance of our troops, this gentleman says, is wonderful. They endure the jibes and persecutions of these unsexed wretches with a philosophy that nothing can overthrow. But the nuisance was fast becoming intolerable. The offenders were presuming upon the chivalry of troops to commit physical assaults. Something like the order of Gen. Butler became imperative. If women, pretending to be decent, imitated the conduct of "women of the town," it was proper that something like the same punishment should be meted out to them."

So late as June just past, the *Philadelphia Press* relates, on what claims to be reliable authority, the following tale, as one among many specimens of female rebel brutality:

"A soldier, wounded in the foot, sat down on the steps of one of the houses of Winchester. He had not been sitting there long when a woman came out, and asked him if he were not able to walk. He replied that he was not. Seeing a revolver in his belt, she asked him to let her look at it. The man suspecting nothing wrong, handed it to her; but she had not had it in her hands but a few moments, when she presented it at his head, and demanded that he should leave the steps. He did so; and after he had walked a few steps, she fired the pistol, the ball entering his side, and he fell on the street, where he instantly expired."

We find it well nigh impossible to credit such statements; but they are so common, and many of them attested by such unimpeachable witnesses, that we think the substance of them must be true. If one in ten be true, what a very Gorgon must this rebellion be! When or where has Christendom seen its like?

ABUSE OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.—In forty years Mexico has had no less than forty-five different governments; a failure chargeable not upon the principle of democracy or self-government, but on the character of the people so poorly trained for its duties and privileges.

MR. COAN'S LETTER.

HILO, HAWAII, JAN. 21, 1862.

G. C. Beckwith, D. D., Secretary of American Peace Society.

My Dear Brother,—It is a year since I wrote you. And *what* a year! How sad, how eventful, how awful the tale it records! "The rod has blossomed, pride has budded, violence has broken forth." Oppression, rebellion and treason have culminated. Cabals, dark plots, and midnight conspiracies have ripened into deadly deeds, and the revengeful and bloody blow falls everywhere. Over all the land we hear the roll of the drum, the blasts of the trumpet, the sound of the clarion. The marshalling of armies, the tramp of the war-horse, the thundering of cannon, and the shout of gathering hosts have aroused a nation from its slumbers. Under the roar of war the whole land trembles, and the dusky conflict darkens the heavens. The great lights of our political firmament look mournfully down through a baleful and bloody atmosphere. More than we feared has come. "Violence" is abroad in the land; "wasting and destruction" are in her borders. And "there is sorrow upon the sea." Her troubled waves roar. They are crimsoned with blood. Clouds thicken and darken, and thunder over them. Once the peaceful highway of commerce, and science, and truth, our seas are now the theatre of strife, and the scene of anxious fear and sudden alarm. The demon of war is unchained, and his foot-prints are marked with "tears and ashes and blood." On every hand we hear the sigh of the sister, the parent, the brother, and the wail of the widow. Grief and woe swell into thunder-notes, and roll over the land. Vials of wrath are being poured out upon the nation. Her judgment has come. "It is the time of Jacob's trouble." The long-abused mercy and forbearance of God have been exhausted. His "sword is bathed in heaven." His hand takes hold on judgment. He is rendering "vengeance to his adversaries," and "tribulation and anguish" take hold on evil-doers.

Why this sudden and awful burst of wrath upon that great and prosperous nation? The cause, both the remote and immediate, is not obscure. "The wise shall understand." They do understand. Long have they foreseen, and anxiously have they forewarned of the approaching storm. Pride, haughtiness, licentiousness, infidelity, violence and oppression had grown rampant, justice fell in the streets, and equity could not enter our civil and legislative halls. Gain was accounted godliness. The pulpit, the press, the forum and the Senate hall uttered but feeble and uncertain notes for the dumb and down-trodden. The fear of man spread a web-work of snares over the land. Policy was gospel, and expediency law. Popular favor was good, darkness was light, bitter sweet, and evil good. Self-interest, long indulgence, and the glosses of scribes and pharisees, and time-serving priests had made vice virtue, and condensed crime the perfection of piety and holiness. Sophistry was casuistry, and power was justice. Treachery lurked everywhere. Corruption tainted all departments of the government. Our legislative halls were the arena of strife and murder. False honor stalked forth with brazen front, and much which passed for piety, was a galvanic dazzle, and a white wash to deceive. "On the side of the oppressor, there was power; but the poor had no comforter. The Lord saw this, and it displeased him." His arm is now made bare. He is avenging the quarrel of justice. He is breaking the arm of the oppressor. The war which now blazes over the land, is a terrific purifier, if war can ever be said to purify; and surely the social, political, and moral atmosphere needed the electrical storm. God's hand is in it. His rod is above its roar. He rides upon the whirlwind, and the storm-cloud is the dust of his feet. The wheels

of His providence roll in high and solemn grandeur above us. The dark clouds are the pavilion of his throne; but to the eye of faith a bright bow shines out on the face of these clouds. The storm will pass, the thunder will cease, the sun will again shine forth, this sea of fire and blood will be washed away, and "the stars in their courses" will again look down, like angel eyes, upon a peaceful and happy land.

Such is my hope, and such my trust. "The Prince of Peace" still lives, and loves, and reigns. He has much people, many witnesses in America. He has called them. "Come, my people, enter into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee . . . until the indignation be overpast." This call has been heard. Multitudes are like Jeremiah, weeping in secret places for the pride and sorrows of the land. God will hear, and although He purge Zion "with the spirit of judgment, and the spirit of burning," He will not "cast off forever."

But perhaps you are asking, What now is your opinion of war? Just what it has ever been. War is a *stern fact*. This is a truism. It is also a *necessary* and an *inevitable fact*, so long as Christendom remains what it is. But we anticipate better days. We believe in a reign of peace. It is *promised*, it is *sure*, it *will come*. To this abstract doctrine the millions of Christendom assent. In theory there is unity. Our difference and our difficulty is *practical*. A few testify against war in word and in deed; the many have little to say, less to do, and nothing to give to check this enormous evil. What we desire, and all we ask is, that ministers and Christians everywhere lift up the voice of instruction, and warning, and supplication on this subject; that they unite in one solid phalanx to oppose the sin, and that they contribute enough of their substance to secure the circulation of all necessary light among all reading classes in all nations. Let them once do this, and war ceases in Christendom of *necessity*. With such a rampant opposition against it, it would be an *impossibility*.

Here was the origin of the calamity now upon our country. Had the professed Christians of the United States, North and South, taken this stand twenty, or ten, or even five years ago, this awful war would, in my humble opinion, never have rolled its waves of fiery ruin over the land. The true spirit which rises in intelligent opposition to war, involves in it the elements of opposition to all the *causes* of war. It is the spirit which "deals *justly*, loves *mercy*, and walks *humbly with God*." Ministers and disciples of "the Prince of Peace" should have this spirit; and they should have it in full and glowing action.

"Granted," says one, "but then we must take things *as they are*. The world is not yet *prepared* for such a step. War *is*, and you may as well attempt to turn the gulf stream with a lady's fan, or stay the awful Cyclone with a feather, as to stop the progress of war." Suppose you cannot stop it. Can you not do what *you know to be right*, and what you say *all ought to do*? *Feel right, act right, speak right* yourself. "Let every one mend one." This we all certainly can do. We must not go with "the *multitude to do evil*." Right is *right*, though it have but *one* defender; and wrong is *wrong*, though the *millions* practice it. When war shall be seen in its naked colors, and when all Christendom frowns upon it, then it will be easy for the timid and the time-serving to come over and denounce it. How much more noble, and magnanimous, and Christ-like, to do it in the face of popular sentiment, and, it may be, of obloquy and scorn! Thus we believe, and thus we speak; and we re-affirm our conviction, that whenever the Christian world shall take this stand, war will cease.

'But what of the *present war*?' It is upon us, an initiated and awful fact. We mourn its cause, and would bow with profound humility before Him who has suffered it to come. We would "know the rod, and who has

appointed it." We deserve it, we submit to it, we bend to the high behest of a righteous and insulted God.

But what is to be done? We believe in government, *righteous, kind and firm*. Families, towns, cities, nations, must be ruled. Wherever there is organization, there must be law, from the nursery to the empire; where there is law, there must be penalty; and the more uniform and certain this penalty falls on the transgressor, the more godlike is the government, and the more peaceful and prosperous the state. I have no sympathy with anarchy, with rebellion, or with treason. Nor have I sympathy with a weak, timid, vacillating administration. The true ruler is "the minister of God." In one hand he holds the balances of justice with a firm grasp; in the other, the sword of the avenger "to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." I honor our Chief Magistrate. I sympathize with him. I pray for him, and honor all, and pray for all, who, with a spirit of humility, a feeling of deep dependence on God; a love of righteousness, and a sincere and unselfish desire for the best good of our country and the world, are offering their prayers, their treasures, and their lives to sustain the right, and overthrow the wrong. God bless Abraham Lincoln. God save our country. And God grant that when this storm of wrath shall have passed, his own people shall so improve by the lesson, that it shall never be repeated. Soon may our "walls be salvation, and our gates praise."

Ever and truly yours in the bonds of Peace,

T. COAN.

The above accompanied a donation of \$100. from his Hilo Church.

THE COST OF OUR REBELLION.

The cost of the war to the Government, up to the 1st day of July, will be not less than \$600,000,000. This amount, however, is but a small part of the total expenses of this monstrous rebellion. Who can estimate the damage it has been, and will be, to individuals? Hundreds of millions have already been lost by the depreciation, waste and destruction of private property. How many ships have been sunk or burned! How many have been idle in our harbors! How many houses, with their contents, have been destroyed! What a vast amount of breadstuffs and other necessaries of life have been worse than wasted! Who can tell how many millions of days the past year have been idly spent? Time is money.

The loss on the real estate of the country, now going a-begging in all quarters, can only be counted by thousands of millions of dollars. How has business suffered in every city, town and village! The losses here in profits, and by depreciation of stocks, have been fabulous. The wheels of manufactories have been stopped, machine-shops have been closed, and every channel of trade has been clogged. Mechanics, laborers, and professional men have been forced to join the army to save their families from starvation.

The merchants of New York alone, it is estimated, have lost, in bad debts South, more than \$100,000,000. Hundreds here have been utterly ruined in consequence. We know a large number of mercantile firms who, two years ago, were regarded independent, but are now hopelessly bankrupt. Their only hope of relief from the crushing burdens resting upon them is in Congress, whither they now look with distressing anxiety. What Senator or Representative will refuse to give them help?

Nearly the whole capital of the country has been diverted from its ordinary peaceful channels. It is used for war, instead of aiding to promote

our national growth and prosperity. The accumulated property of generations—the surplus gains of an industrious people, on which have rested our commercial strength and thrift—has thus in a moment been swept away.

We are supporting an army of 600,000 men, who have been producers, but are now consumers. Figures will fail to show the immense loss in this direction. But the expenditures and losses must go on for years to come. Sufferings and privations, caused by this unholy war, may begin now, but they will not end, it may be, for a century. How many have pledged their property, their all, to find means for support through these pinching times! Embarrassments thus begun will, in numerous cases, end in bankruptcy and utter ruin. Homesteads will be sold, and hundreds of thousands of dollars will thus be sacrificed in many a little family group.

What is to become of the great army of maimed and crippled soldiers? What a mighty host of pensioners, for years, will draw their living from our national Treasury! These patriots, who counted not their lives dear unto them, will now add little to the capital of the country. They must be nursed and tenderly cared for till every tongue among them shall cease to tell the story of our wrongs, and the price they have paid for liberty. The millions for their support, we will give ungrudgingly.

The total losses of the nation and of individuals, traceable directly and indirectly to the war, cannot be less than *ten thousand millions of dollars*. The losses of other nations have, also, been, and will be, immense. How vast will now be the war expenditures abroad! Whole fleets, thousands of iron-clad naval ships, must be built. Money will flow like water in this direction.

Could we value the tears, the sighs, the groans, which this war has cost, and will cost, the amount would far exceed all other expenditures. How many homes have been made desolate forever! How the heart's blood will flow for years to come at losses which neither money nor gratitude can ever repair! The father, the joy and support of a happy home, the darling son, the hope and consolation of loving parents, the affectionate husband, the devoted brother—these by thousands have been snatched away, leaving a void which can never be filled."

The time has not yet come to reckon the sum total of what this atrocious rebellion will cost ourselves and the world. We have not ourselves attempted it; and the writer of the above article, the financial editor of the *N. Y. Independent*, well says, "the danger in every computation, is to make the amount *too small*." If this be true, as we think it is, how much is this desperate struggle for the support and perpetuation of slavery likely in the end to cost not merely ourselves, but the whole world! More by far than would suffice, with God's blessing, to *evangelize every nation on the globe*! No exaggeration, as the result will prove.

MISSIONARIES COMPARATIVELY SAFE.—God's providence is the surest protection of his servants. Rev. Dr. Turner, author of *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, said, when speaking, in a lecture at Glasgow, Scotland, of the few violent deaths connected with the missions in the South Sea Islands compared with others, that 260 persons in search of sandal wood had been killed during the last thirty years, while of 120 missionaries, who had labored there the last twenty years, only Williams, and Harris, and Mr. and Mrs. Gordon, had been killed. The missionaries had rescued 250,000 from savageism, and would rescue 500,000 more. How small a sacrifice to secure such results!

ITEMS OF THE REBELLION.

SPIRIT OF THE REBELLION.—History never presented so mad a rebellion as this. A few leaders stirred up the people, ignorance and bad whisky set the ball rolling, and the leaders could neither check nor control it. Moderate men were trampled down; candor was called disloyalty to the South; caution, treachery; unanimity, a "leaning to the North." Now they see before them inevitable ruin. The wealthy and educated would fain pause; but the brutal and ignorant who, by stealing and plundering, are making more money than ever before, will not be controlled. This class is led by unscrupulous men—men who would find no chance to thrive save on the ruins of cities and towns, and the overthrow of the better classes. You little know how terrible is becoming the thirst for blood amongst the ignorant mobs here. Those who watched the ripening of all the horrors of the French Revolution, saw nothing in its daily growth to create fresh alarm; but yet it did grow daily more bloody, bloated and deadly. So with this rebellion. The mobs in the streets catch up the faintest sign of favorable feeling towards the North, and hanging on the first tree is the result. Their leaders call it zeal for the cause; but it is not. It is only the distorted passions of a bloody-minded people. They would serve their own leaders the same should their fickle minds be led towards it. Thus they go on; but those who expect to crush out this rebellion soon are greatly mistaken. The leaders have prepared for a desperate struggle.—*Private Letter.*

MILITARY EXACTIONS IN TENNESSEE.—Gen. Pillow at one time sent one of his military officers to Haywood county, with orders to collect \$50,000 as that county's share, the amount paid by each man to be set down to his credit on the State tax. The officer assumed authority to apportion the \$50,000 among the citizens, according to his own discretion. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'if you do not meet the demand, I will, with three clicks of the telegraph, summon a regiment here, and it shall be quartered upon you till you pay.'

UNIONISTS HUNG.—Gen. Dick Williams, late of Texas, proposed to give his fellow-countrymen a true and fair narrative of the effects of secession, as witnessed by him in a travel of some seventeen hundred miles overland. He told of some of the most harrowing scenes of outrages and demon-like atrocities committed by the fiend secessionism, as witnessed by himself and family—how men were hung in Texas, neighbors of his, for no other crime than that they were loyal to the government of their fathers. He averred, as a fact, that he believed, from his own knowledge, that the number thus hung could not have been less than a thousand in the States of Texas, Arkansas, and Tennessee.—*Mount Sterling Whig, Ky.*

HAVOC OF LIFE IN BATTLE.—At the battle of Pea Ridge the Fourth Iowa Regiment went into the fight with 500 men, and came out with 180. Its Colonel (Dodge) had three horses shot under him, and was wounded. At Manassas, "of our beautiful Oglethorpe troops," said one writing from Savannah, Ga., "517 men killed, all young men, and members of our best families." A lady writing from Macon, said that of a company of 80 young men, engaged in the same battle, only 20 were left. Only a few cases out of thousands.

BURYING THE DEAD AT MANASSAS.—On Monday, says a Southerner, writing from Manassas, our dead were buried or boxed up, and sent home for interment, and many of the enemy's wounded were brought in and attended to. All day Tuesday was devoted to burying the dead on the other side, and yet the work had not been half finished when I arrived on the field Wednesday morning. So intolerable was the stench arising from the

dead, and especially from the horses, that our men had been compelled to suspend their humane labors. I did hear that some of the prisoners we had taken, were subsequently sent out and ordered to finish the work, which they did, though reluctantly.

It was a sad sight, the battle field that day. The enemy's dead still lay scattered in every direction, and the silent vultures had begun to circle above them. They were well clad, and were larger and stouter men than ours. Nearly all of them were lying upon their backs, some of them with their legs and arms stretched out to the utmost. Many had their feet drawn up somewhat, while their arms, from the elbows, were raised, and the hands rather closed, after the fashion of boxers. It was a singular and yet the prevailing attitude. Those who were not killed instantly, had almost invariably torn open their shirt collars, and loosened their clothing about the waist.

There was another mark in addition to this, by which we could tell whether their death was sudden or lingering. It was the color of the face. If the body had time to become cool and quiet before death, the corpse was pale, though not so much so as those who die from disease. Those who were killed instantly, however, and while heated and excited, were purple and black in the face. In such cases the blood being in full circulation, there was not time for it to return to the heart before the body had ceased all its functions. At least, I suppose such is the explanation, and a physician confirms me in it.

Such of the poor wretches as had been buried, were placed in long ditches or trenches, sometimes twenty or thirty in the same trench! Of course it was impossible to procure coffins or boxes for them. They were laid away in the same attitude in which they were found, and in which their bodies and limbs had become stiff and rigid, one with his arms and legs stretched out, another bent nearly double, a third with his hands raised. One poor fellow had died with his arms clasped around a small tree, and others with their hands clasped tightly about their muskets, or such twigs or roots as were in their reach. One was found with his Bible opened upon his breast. Some had their hands crossed, and the whole composed after the manner of a corpse. A few were found upon whom there was not the least wound or mark. Whether they had died from sun-stroke, or from exhaustion, or simple fright, it was impossible to say, though, probably, it was from the first cause.

MORTALITY AMONG THE REBEL TROOPS.—The mortality among the rebel troops during the last summer was really frightful, as evidenced in a graveyard about eight miles from Manassas. An Alabama regiment was in camp at that locality, and upwards of two hundred of the command found a final resting place there. The average age of those who fell victims to camp disease, far from their friends and home, was about eighteen years. Many were but sixteen, and the oldest but twenty years of age. The graves were placed in order, and a slab of cedar, with the name and age of the sleeper beneath, rudely cut with a knife, marked each.

THE REBELLION A DIVINE CHASTISEMENT.—The true way, says Brownson in his Review, to regard this war, is to regard it as a chastisement from the hand of Divine Providence, as a just judgment from God upon our nation for its manifold sins; but a judgment sent in mercy, designed not to destroy us, but to purify and save us, to render us a wiser, a better, a more virtuous, a more elevated, and a more powerful people. It is intended to try us, to inure us to hardship, to make us feel that all mere worldly prosperity is

short-lived and transitory, and that no people that departs from God, neglects eternal goods, and fixes its affections only on the low and perishing goods of sense, can ever hope to be a great, a strong, and long-lived people. Let us, then, welcome the sufferings, the privations, the toil, the loss of affluence, the poverty, that this war is sure to bring upon no small portion of our population. Let us welcome them as a severe but necessary chastisement, and let us wish the chastisement to be severe enough to correct us, and to ensure our amendment and our future progress. Unless such be the case, no cause of the war will be removed; its seeds will remain, and at the first favorable opportunity, will germinate anew, grow up, blossom, and bear their deadly fruit.

THE REBELLION LIKELY TO MAKE US MILITARY.—“Henceforth we trust we shall cease to fear to sustain a large and respectable military and naval force, both as a necessity of authority, and as an economical arrangement. We are far less likely to fall under military rule with a large military force at the disposal of the Government, than we are by having it unarmed, and at the mercy of unprincipled adventurers like Jefferson Davis and his associate conspirators. We shall henceforth be obliged to maintain a large, well-disciplined and well-appointed naval force in order to recover our prestige, and to exert our legitimate influence among the great, leading nations of the world. The military spirit awakened, and the military resources of the nation called forth by the present Administration, have done something, perhaps much, to raise us in the estimation of foreign powers; but fully to regain and preserve our rightful position, we must, after the present war is over, keep on foot an army of not less than a hundred and fifty thousand men, and have a naval establishment that will enable us to assert equality with the first maritime powers of Europe.”

Here is a premonition of what we must expect as the effect of this rebellion. We shall be strongly tempted to change our peaceful polity. We had already reached from thirty to thirty-five millions a year, spent on our war-system, besides what our militia was costing individuals and the several States; but if an army of 150,000, and a bare apology for a navy, cost us more than thirty millions a year, what enormous sums will be wasted upon a standing “army of not less than 150,000,” and a corresponding naval establishment! John Quincy Adams’ Administration cost an average of only about twelve millions a year; not more than one-third as much in four years, as our army and navy alone will soon cost us every year!

COMPARATIVE COST OF PEACE AND WAR.—According to the *London Times*, the flare-up of the British Government about the *Trent* affair cost two millions sterling, ten million dollars, and very likely “double that sum.” In its ultimate consequences, it may very probably cost Great Britain hundreds of times more than all this; but how vast is even this pittance of war-expenses, in contrast with what has yet been spent in the cause of Peace! The interest at six per cent., on these ten millions alone, would be \$600,000 a year; more than a hundred times as much as the average amount annually spent in this cause, from its rise in 1816 to the present hour! Yet men,

intelligent, Christian men, are marvelling why the friends of peace, with this merest pittance of means, have not already put an end to the war-system, and thus saved ourselves from this gigantic rebellion! Strange lack of reflection! The friends of God and man have hardly *begun* as yet to furnish the means requisite to cure or seriously abate this mammoth evil.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.

This noble champion of our cause held its anniversary in London, May 21st, its President, JOSEPH PEASE, in the chair, who introduced the exercises with an excellent address, and was followed in a series of able and pertinent speeches by six speakers in support of the following resolutions:—

1. That this meeting cordially rejoices in the pacific adjustment of the difficulty which arose between the British and American Governments on the Question of the *Trent*, and gratefully acknowledges the prompt and earnest efforts made by various religious bodies on this side of the Atlantic to allay the dangerous excitement provoked by that incident, and to avert the calamity of war between two great kindred and Christian nations. The meeting, however, cannot but deeply deplore the continuance of that appalling conflict now desolating the American continent, and prays earnestly that it may be brought to a speedy termination.

2. That, in the judgment of this meeting, no better proof need be desired of the value and necessity of those principles of mutual kindness and forbearance in the intercourse of nations, dictated alike by Christianity and sound policy, which the Peace Society seek to diffuse, than is presented by the endless sacrifices and embarrassments in which the nations are involved, by conducting their relations with each other on the opposite principles, exhausting their own resources, and exasperating each other's spirits, by incessant increase of their naval and military establishments, which are so far from affording any sense of security, that their mutual fears and suspicions only grow stronger in proportion to the growth of their armaments, until every year more of the wealth of Europe is being absorbed in those enormous preparations for war with which the so-called civilized and Christian nations menace and defy each other, amid loud professions of peace, friendship, and alliance."

3. That this meeting regards with peculiar interest the opening of another Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, bringing together, as it does, not only the material products of the various countries of the earth, but to a large extent the people themselves, illustrating in the most forcible manner those ties of interest and mutual dependence which bind the nations into one. This meeting cannot but regard the Great Exhibition as emphatically a Peace demonstration, and they earnestly desire that its influence in this direction may be both deep and permanent.

FINANCES.—The Society began the year with a balance in hand of more than £1038, (\$5,190,) received in addition £2,117, (\$10,585,) and reached the close with £995, (\$4,975,) in the treasury. A result very creditable indeed compared with our own meagre income, yet not a tithe of what ought to be annually expended there in our cause. Its exigencies really demand in these two countries from one quarter to half a million a year.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT.

THE WAR (REBELLION ?) IN AMERICA.—Others may estimate this war differently, as they regard it from different points of view ; but the Committee of the Peace Society, looking upon it in the light of that great principle which it has endeavored to hold aloft through good report and evil report, and which it has never shrunk from applying to the wars of our own country, cannot hesitate to declare its belief, that a war more appalling in itself, or more pregnant with disastrous influences on the highest interests and prospects of humanity, and emphatically on the cause of peace, is not to be found in the annals of history. Who, indeed, can look upon that land, so lately the home of liberty and order, to whom myriads of eyes in Europe, weary of the evil habits and traditions that have struck their roots so deep into the soil of the Old World, were looking with the fond gaze of hope, as to the land of promise ; which was even but now rejoicing in what was deemed a special visitation of a gracious spiritual influence from on high, and see what it has now become, torn by dissension, inflamed by fierce and feverish excitement, filled with carnage and blood, without receiving a stronger impression than ever before of the unutterable folly and iniquity of war ?

The present confusion and misery are the least of the evils which this war entails upon the world. Its dark shadow projects far into the time to come. It is educating the whole country to habits of military domination, and an admiration of military glory, which is full of peril to the future peace and freedom of the republic. It is laying the foundation for a permanent system of standing armaments, national debt, and oppressive taxation, with all the manifold evils, material, moral, and political, that follow in their wake. It is teaching the people to look, not as they would if they were in their right mind, with repugnance and alarm, but with infatuated exultation and delight (?) on the prospect of entering with Europe into that fatal rivalry in arms which is dragging all nations in the Old World, nearer and nearer to the abyss of insolvency and ruin, and thus become the means of still further exasperating an evil which is already monstrous and intolerable. Above all, it is corrupting and debauching the moral sense of the community, and infusing a poison of unchristian sentiment into the veins of society which will infect the blood of the nation for centuries to come. And it is surely a striking instance of the strong delusion to which men are delivered who enthrone passion in the place of conscience, that our American brethren are expecting to see the Union emerge unimpaired (?) out of that weltering chaos of discord and blood which seethes and surges around them. If union means the relation which exists between the conqueror and the conquered, the one inflamed with triumph, and the other with vengeance, then they may see their hopes realized ; but if union means that oneness of sentiment and sympathy by which human minds and hearts are fused and welded into one compact community, it would be as rational to say that the explosive power of gun-powder is a good agent for the cohesion of material bodies, as that war, the very essence of which is to alienate and divide, can be an instrument in effecting such a union. May He who holdeth in His hands the hearts of all his children, mercifully interpose to allay this hot frenzy of human passion, and teach our brethren to ponder well the solemn meaning of that scriptural warning, "If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another."

After referring to the danger of a war between England and America from the Trent affair, and the very prompt and strenuous efforts our co-workers then made to avert a calamity so deplorable, the Report dwells on—

NON-INTERVENTION IN AMERICAN AFFAIRS.—While the danger connected with this particular transaction has been happily evaded, it is impossible to disguise from ourselves that, so long as the present deplorable civil war lasts, the relations of the two countries must continue so delicate and hazardous, as to test severely the good sense and the Christian temper of both. No nation can engage in a conflict so gigantic and disastrous as that in which the people of America have embarked without disturbing the whole economy of civilization, and seriously affecting the prosperity of other nations, especially of such as, like ourselves, have been so long and so closely associated with them by the ties of social and commercial intercourse. The sore distress which at this moment prevails among our great centres of industry in the North, proves how wide-spread is the baleful influence it sheds upon the earth. But it is the strong conviction of the Committee—and they have endeavored by means of their lectures and publications to diffuse that conviction as widely as possible through the country—that the policy of England in this emergency is clear as the day, namely, resolute non-intervention, a determined abstinence from all meddling in the domestic quarrels of our neighbors. If anything could add to the horrors of this unnatural strife, it would be for England to throw her sword into the scale, for by such decision she would most assuredly more embroil the fray.

The sufferings of our industrious and thrifty countrymen may well excite our sympathy, as the admirable fortitude with which those sufferings are borne should excite our admiration. And may we not indeed hope that the calm, patient, heroic attitude of the working-men of England amid bitter privations brought upon them by a struggle in which they have no part or lot, will not be without its effect in correcting the views and softening the hearts of our descendants across the Atlantic towards the mother country, whose conduct, it may be safely said, as they have looked at it through the mists of their own excited passions, they have hitherto grievously misapprehended and misjudged. But while admitting, and deeply deploring, the hard case of our suffering population in Lancashire and Yorkshire, it is impossible to doubt that, even as a matter of expediency, it would be a fatal mistake to seek for relief by plunging into complications which would be much more likely to aggravate than to mitigate the evil, while, as a matter of principle, no advantage could compensate for a departure from the salutary rule of non-intervention, which England is tardily adopting as a part of her national policy, and the violation of which in former times has entailed upon her so much of suffering and guilt."

Our friends in England quite misconceive us, if they suppose we distrust the mass of her people; but, with the fullest confidence in their friendship as a body towards us, we must, with the disclosures of the last twelve months before us, continue to regard her Government, her ruling classes, and chief organs of public opinion, as *actively* hostile to us, and more than willing to undermine, ruin and crush our Republic. God forbid we should charge such hostility upon her people; but the aristocrats of England, the men who despise the toiling millions, and are ever ready to deprive them of their rights, the possessors or admirers of hereditary wealth, privilege and power, the natural allies of despotism and slavery, *have* shown as much favor to our rebels as they deemed safe or wise for themselves.

IMPROVEMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW.—The danger to which the affair of the *Trent* exposed the peace of the world, naturally called special atten-

tion to the unsatisfactory state of the law of nations, as at present existing. That heterogenous collection of doctrines, precedents, and judgments which goes under the name of international law, is, for the most part, the offspring of an age widely different from our own. It was an age when the rights of kings were deemed of far higher moment than the interests of peoples; when communications between the inhabitants of different countries were difficult and rare; when commerce, and especially international commerce, was a matter of small account; and when the pursuit of arms was deemed an occupation so supremely honorable, that all other considerations must be remorselessly sacrificed to its exigences. We need not wonder that a system which grew up under such influences, should be found full of anomalies and absurdities, when attempted to be applied to a condition of things like that which now prevails in the world, when by the invention of machinery, the discovery of steam, the wonderful development given to productive and manufacturing skill, and the unbounded freedom of commerce and navigation which the last fifty years have witnessed, the interests of all civilized nations have become intertwined together like the threads in a woven fabric. The far-seeing sagacity of Mr. Cobden first discovered and proclaimed the utter impracticability of governing the relations of modern times by the maxims of this superannuated code. For several years past he has called attention to the subject in various ways. At the beginning of the present session of Parliament, he gave notice of a motion intended to carry out into their logical results the alterations in international law which the most imperative necessity had forced upon the European Powers at the Paris Congress of 1856. This motion, which by an arrangement with Mr. Horsfall, was finally brought forward by that gentleman, proposed to give immunity to private property at sea by exempting it from capture and confiscation during war. The Committee, fully convinced that whatever tends to abridge the so-called rights of war, and to limit its operations, must also tend to the discouragement of the practice itself, were anxious to do what lay in their power to sustain the hands of those who were endeavoring to introduce this great improvement into our practical legislation. They therefore wrote to their friends through the country, suggesting that they should communicate with their representatives in Parliament, with a view to secure their support for the resolutions of Mr. Horsfall, should they be pressed to a division. For a similar reason, they felt it right to reprint the very able speech delivered by Mr. Charles Sumner, in the American Senate, on the affair of the *Trent*, because while explicitly surrendering every right on the part of the American Government as respects that transaction, he does so on such broad principles as in the judgment of the Committee it would be greatly to the advantage of all civilized states to adopt and act upon in their relations with each other. Copies of this pamphlet were sent to all members of Parliament, and to a large number of newspapers and periodicals throughout the kingdom.

More recently Mr. Cobden has written a masterly letter, contending that it is not only for the interests of justice and humanity, but emphatically for the interests of England, that the present law of blockade shall be abandoned, or at least so altered, as to bring it more into harmony with the requirements of modern civilization. This production is about to be reprinted in a separate form, and the Committee will feel it their duty to do all they can to promote its circulation.

APPEAL TO CHRISTIAN MINISTERS.—If the world is ever to be relieved of the presence of war, it must be by the extension of Christian principle among the people of the earth. But, alas! how can even this agency prove efficacious, while so many of those who are the official guardians and interpreters of Christianity, habitually throw their weight into the scale in

favor of war rather than of peace? How otherwise can we account in a manner that shall be honorable to the Gospel itself, for its apparently utter impotence to influence the sentiments and conduct of mankind on this question?

Can any one doubt, if the ministers of religion throughout Christendom, standing on the high vantage-ground they occupy, as the messengers of God to men, were habitually to labor to leaven the public mind with the pacific temper of the gospel, and be ready boldly to confront and rebuke the spirit of war, whenever it lifts up its snaky crest in the heart of nations, that a condition of sentiment and feeling would be produced, which would render war all but impossible? Surely, surely, we have strong ground for a powerful appeal to this class.

May we not, without offence, venture to address them thus:—O ye sworn ministers of the Prince of Peace, who in distant prophetic vision were seen standing "beautiful upon the mountains, bringing good tidings, and publishing peace" to the nations, we invoke your help in this arduous and emphatically Christian enterprise in which we are engaged. We are few and feeble, contending against a colossal evil, which blights the earth with its desolations, and affronts the heavens with its impieties. The whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain, under the burden of this great iniquity. How is it that so many of you stand aloof, some indifferent, some actively and bitterly hostile to a cause so essentially in harmony with the avowed spirit of your message, and the professed object of your ministry? The evil we assail is one of the most formidable barriers in the way of your success. It wastes the resources that might otherwise be devoted to the promotion of the kingdom of God among men. It distracts the attention of the world by its loud and angry tumult, from the celestial message you have to proclaim. It diffuses through society a spirit utterly and intensely opposed to your objects. It hardens the heart of the heathen in prejudice, and sharpens the tongue of the infidel in scorn, against the gospel.

You are, indeed, our rightful and natural allies. We invite you, therefore, we adjure you, nay, in the name of your Master and ours, we demand, that instead of obstructing our work by your apathy or scorn, you should come forth with us to the help of the Lord against the mighty. You cannot guiltlessly be neutral on this question. To be neutral is to be hostile. For to no department of Christian labor is the language of the Master more applicable than to that in which we are engaged, "He that is not with us, is against us; and he that gathereth not with us, scattereth abroad."

FOREIGN INTERVENTION.—Every week, if not every day, brings reports of efforts by a certain class of men in England and France to secure the interference of their governments in our quarrel. All good men must earnestly desire to see it brought to an end; but we entreat the friends of peace and humanity abroad to use their utmost influence to prevent any interference in the way of dictation or menace. No tongue can tell the mischief it would be likely to do. Just think how France, early in her first Revolution, was maddened to fight all Europe for twenty years. It would indeed be ruinous to ourselves; but no power, we fear, could restrain our people, and humanity, the world over, would carry the scars on her bosom for long ages.

ENGLISH VIEWS OF OUR DUTY AS PEACE MEN.

Last autumn a leading member of our Society, (Hon. Amasa Walker) wrote to the Secretary of the London Peace Society, a very fair and pretty full statement of the difficulties into which our great rebellion had thrown the friends of peace in this country, and asked our English friends what they would have us do, or what they would themselves do in like circumstances. After five or six months, an answer came; but so far from meeting the case, it does little more than remind us of a certain chapter in Don Quixotte entitled, "*a conclusion in which nothing was concluded.*" For any practical purpose, it is just no answer at all, and leaves the whole question, whether of principle or expediency, entirely untouched. It does not even attempt to solve our difficulties, but frankly says "we of the Peace (English) Society cannot say what we should do in a moment of extreme temptation." They feel sure, however, they "ought not to renounce their principles," as we say we have neither renounced nor contradicted ours; but what do these principles require us to do in such a case as ours? To remind us, that we acted, as we were forced to do, before consulting our English advisers, or to say, that we on the spot, familiar with all the facts, do not understand the case half as well as foreigners do, that our territory is forty times as large as that of England, or that the form of government, and diversities of local character and institutions are quite different, does not in the least relieve or enlighten us. Supposing all this were true, what ought we as peace-men to do? As soon and as long as we could with any hope of good results, we urged, in every feasible way, a calm, kind, earnest application of our principles to the case, the use of such legal, peaceful means as both parties had themselves, in their cool and candid moments, provided to meet just such difficulties. The government and its loyal supporters asked nothing more than this, but, scorning all such means, the banded slaveholding rebels persisted in their purpose to trample all our laws and constitutions under their feet, and, if necessary for their ends, to annihilate the government itself. Here we were; and what were we to do? Support the government, or join the rebels; enforce law, or abet wholesale crime? One or the other we were compelled to do in fact, if not in form; for real neutrality was impossible, and all who have attempted it, whether here or abroad, have in truth been among the most effective allies of the rebellion.

We do not wish now to discuss this subject; but we are quite anxious to have the friends of peace everywhere reach, if possible, some common, satisfactory conclusion upon it. Sooner or later, we must; for difficulties like these which now press upon ourselves, are very likely to overtake the friends of peace in every country. How shall they be met? Shall they, as our Society has from the first, treat government as a divine ordinance for the good of society? If so, it has a right to exist, to enact laws, and to put them in execution by any amount of force that may be requisite for the purpose. Nothing more than this has our government attempted in its efforts to suppress the gigantic rebellion still in progress among us. It has

only been trying to do its appropriate and prescribed duty ; and if it may not or cannot do this, it ceases, in fact, to be a government. Shall peace-men oppose such enforcement of the laws, and thus practically say that our principles are subversive of all effective civil government? In this country, where the people are the sovereigns, and feel themselves responsible for the maintenance of law and order, nearly all objections to our cause have resolved themselves into this alleged inconsistency of our principles with the authority and legitimate, indispensable operations of government. We insist that our principles are *not* incompatible with government, but say that since our sole aim is to do away the custom of war, or the practice of nations settling their disputes by the sword instead of laws and courts, it is no part of our business to decide how any class of offenders shall be punished. The execution of the laws, whether civil or criminal, we leave to the government, and marvel that our loyal, peaceful acquiescence in its exercise of this acknowledged right and duty, should be construed into an endorsement of the war principle. It is a peace principle in fact ; and we deem it a gross misnomer to brand a due enforcement of law as an act of war. It is never so called, except in a few extreme cases ; for when offenders are punished for robbery, murder and the like, everybody regards it as a legitimate, necessary exercise of authority for the peace and order of society. What else is an effort to suppress a mob, an insurrection, or a rebellion? If the government may and should bring to condign punishment one criminal, why not ten, a hundred, or a million, charged with the same crime? Where does its right to punish in such cases stop, and why?

This subject we regard as vital to our cause. Its wide bearings are not as yet fully seen ; but they will be whenever our reform becomes a living power. Should peace-men become in any country a majority, or a strong minority, and their principles were supposed to mean no coercion of wrong-doers, no punishment or forcible restraint of men who should commit the worst of all crimes by the overthrow of the government itself, how long would Peace, thus understood and applied, be tolerated? We know no peace-men, not even Quakers, who hold such views of peace. They are indeed averse, as all peace-men are, to severe punishments, but recognise the right of government to punish crime, and thus protect society against the disturbers of its peace and prosperity.

What we want is a clue to our duty in the case now upon us. Generalities, however true, will not suffice ; we wish to know precisely what we ought to do now and here. With the general facts and arguments in favor of peace, we have long been familiar, and admit them all. Nor can our friends abroad see so clearly, or feel so deeply as we do, the guilt and evils of the conflict into which our country has been plunged. We foresaw them all long before they came, and did what we could to avert them. It was all in vain, because our people had not been, as no other people in the world are, trained as yet in the principles and habits we inculcate, and are trying to diffuse through the land. It was just the lack of these that has

brought our country where it is. Thus situated, how ought the friends of peace to act? If the case had been their own, how would the London Peace Society have acted—for or against their government; in favor of having the laws enforced, or of allowing them to be violated with impunity? Neutrality being out of the question, on which side would they have arranged themselves, or thrown their influence? If on the side of law and order, it would have been all that we have done, while we utterly condemn and deplore a resort, as forced by the rebels, to violence and bloodshed instead of the peaceful, legal, Christian means provided in our government for the settlement of all such questions.

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

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THE

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SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1862.

OUR SPECTACLE BEFORE THE WORLD.

How strange to all outsiders must our country appear since the rise of our rebellion! Just look at it from their point of view. Here we are, more than thirty millions of people, spreading from Atlantic to Pacific over a territory nearly as large as all Europe, and rich as any other on the globe in every spontaneous production of nature; all worshipping the same God, professing the same religion, and speaking for the most part the same language; all glorying in a common history, if not cherishing the memory of a common ancestry, and seemingly bound together by the strongest ties of duty and interest; living under a government the most beneficent known in history, and enjoying for ages a degree of freedom, prosperity and happiness never surpassed; but now, in the madness of the hour, throwing most of these advantages to the winds, crushing under the iron heel of war the most sacred guaranties of law, arraying brother against brother, Christian against Christian, even one preacher of the same Gospel against another, in the deadly strife of battle, and sacrificing or putting in peril an amount of property, life and power sufficient to turn half a continent into a second Eden.

Thus we stand arraigned before the world; and what answer can we make for ourselves before the grand Areopagus of public opinion? What excuse shall we plead for this fratricidal strife, for the mustering of armies larger than Alexander or Napoleon ever led to battle, for this sudden arrest of the world's progress and prosperity in the very noon of this nineteenth century? Have we no conscience, no honor, no humanity, no religion? Yes; all these we profess in profusion. Then why not put them in requisition to end this suicidal contest? Have we not over us a government chosen long ago as our guardian and arbiter in all cases like this? Have we not constitutions and laws designed for the very purpose of settling all

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such questions without resort to violence? Then why not employ these peaceful, legal, rational, Christian means in place of the cannon and the sword? Why continue a single hour longer this barbarous, brutal mode of deciding the matters in dispute, and thus disgrace our religion of peace, and the principles of free government throughout the world?

To this indictment our simple answer is, that our country, as a whole, is no more responsible for the present state of things, than the people or government of England would be for the burning of London by a gang of incendiaries, or would have been fifty years ago for an attempt of the first Napoleon to capture it, and lay it in ashes. It is a grievous, inexcusable wrong to charge upon our loyal people the evils forced upon them by this gigantic and atrocious rebellion. 'As well might you throw upon God the blame of the revolt of the fallen angels against his throne. None of our friends or foes abroad can understand as well as we do, the countless evils inseparable from the struggle through which we are passing; but we insist that every particle of the responsibility rests upon the men whose parricidal hands have attempted to overthrow the best government in the world, just because our people would not allow them to use it as an instrument to rivet, extend and perpetuate the system of human bondage in the name of liberty. We have resisted this matchless crime by legal, peaceful means; and here is "the head and front of our offending."

Look at the leading facts in the case. The slave-holders, more than any other class of our citizens, have always had their rights insured under our constitution and laws; but the moment they ceased, under one party or another, to hold the reins of government, and feared that the sceptre would permanently pass into hands not likely to treat slavery as the paramount interest of the country, they resolved to ruin when they could not rule. No wrong had been done or threatened; the sole, real ground of complaint was, that slave-holders, a mere fraction of our people, could no longer, certainly not for the next four years, rule the republic in the interest of slavery. Our government and its loyal supporters have, in all the present conflict, neither done nor desired anything more than what the constitution and laws clearly permit, and imperatively require. We simply wish to support the government in putting its laws in execution; and this with more leniency than any other government in Christendom would have shown in like circumstances. We have all along asked for a fair, peaceful settlement of all matters in dispute according to the very government which the rebels themselves helped to establish. There has been no time when we would not gladly end the strife by a full concession to the rebels of all the rights pledged to them by our constitution and laws. We were even willing to make these rights doubly sure by guaranties more explicit and unequivocal. We did everything we could, except to give them the assurance, under bond and seal, that they should, through all coming time, be allowed to rule the land of Washington, Jay and Adams in the interest, not of freedom, but of slavery, and thus make it the theatre of a worse despotism than the world ever saw.

The loyal people of America responsible for the suicidal follies and crimes of this monstrous rebellion! We marvel at the heedless injustice done us by foreigners. What would they have us do? Is it wrong for a government to execute its own laws against those who violate them? Wrong for a people to stand by their rulers in doing precisely what they were chosen to do, and solemnly bound by their oaths of office to do? Is there in Europe, or the wide world, a government that would allow its authority to be defied, and its laws trampled under foot, without a prompt and persistent exertion of all its power to restrain the offenders, and bring them to condign punishment? Yet for doing this we are overwhelmed with reproaches.

HAZARDS OF AN APPEAL TO THE SWORD.

Well does the wise man represent "the beginning of strife as when one letteth out water." How true is this of individuals, and how much more so of nations! It is easy to start the conflict; but how difficult to stop or control it! A spark in the hand of a child may kindle a conflagration that all the waters of the ocean could not quench. Prevention, if seasonable, might be easy where cure would be impossible. It requires comparatively little self-restraint to keep the sword in its scabbard; but once drawn in earnest, or even in menace, no human foresight may be able to tell when it will be sheathed, or how wide and terrible may be its havoc. One party can begin the strife at pleasure; but it will take two, if not ten or twenty, to say when or in what way it shall end. How fearful the responsibility of "letting slip the dogs of war" at any time or anywhere, but most of all amid the vast and increasingly interlinked interests of such an age as ours.

We are not surprised. Long familiar with the workings of the war-principle, we early foresaw as probable nearly all that has yet come; and happy shall we be if the future fails to verify our present forebodings with regard to the cruelties and nameless evils likely to attend, more and more, this death-struggle of the slave-system. It still has in reserve a fearful power of mischief, and will use it all with a fierce and remorseless vengeance. It will die, if die it must, terribly hard. The men who plotted such a rebellion, will strain every nerve to save not only their own necks from a halter, but their pet institution of slavery from overthrow; and with a despot's hand on the rebel government, a rebel press, a rebel pulpit, and every great engine of influence on the public mind all over rebeldom, they may be able to continue it, in one form or another, many years longer. Nearly all they hold dear is staked on the issues; and the leaders, if able by falsehood or force to make the mass of the people do their bidding, will doubtless fulfil their oft-repeated threat to make the whole South a desolation, sooner than yield the struggle.

It is well-nigh impossible to exaggerate the evils inseparable from such a

contest. It was begun with less than 200,000 troops; but long ago the number probably reached near a million on both sides. Recently the rebel leaders compelled a levy en masse; and our government has taken decisive measures to raise at least 600,000 more soldiers. If this process goes on, it must in time, if not soon, exhaust the resources of the combatants, and show which has the most pluck and power to continue the contest. How long they will or can continue it, none can tell; but they clearly have at command the means of inflicting on each other, and on the world, a vast, incalculable amount of mischief. No human eye can foresee all the evils that may be before us. In the sixteenth century Germany had a "thirty years war," that made a wilderness of immense districts, and reduced her population from twelve millions to four millions. Is this the doom hanging over us? God only knows; but it is surely time to calculate the terrible possibility ahead.

One thing is certain, that this struggle cannot continue without increasing in bitterness and severity. On our part, it has hitherto been very indulgent towards the rebels, while they have seemingly spared no plunder, cruelty or outrage in their power; but neither our soldiers nor our government can be expected much longer to show a clemency that has thus far served only to protract and aggravate the contest. What new forms of atrocity it may open, none can foretell; but we certainly have much reason to forebode the worst results. The venom and vengeance of Slavery against its enemies will know no bounds, save its own lack of power; and, finding after all its struggles it must die, it will try hard, like Sampson of old, to cover itself beneath the ruins of the government that refused any longer to do its despotic behests, and its ghost, like vultures hovering over a battle-field, will take a fiendish delight in the blight and desolation of a country it could rule no more.

We are not curious to look further into the future; "sufficient unto the day will be the evil thereof." We have not hitherto dwelt much on the permanent results likely to flow from this war of rebellion; future ages will have leisure enough to con and digest them. They will be pretty sure to shape and color our history through all coming time. Our views, our habits, our condition, our example, our influence on the world, will all be permanently changed, in some few respects we may hope for the better, but mainly for the worse. We shall never be the people we once were, and still less that we might have become under a policy of uniform, permanent peace. The financial, political and moral effects of this Rebellion will engrave themselves in huge characters all over our future history. The world's millennium alone can fully efface its evils. Alas! that the voice of divine wisdom and Christian Peace could not, would not be heard in season to avert such a sad train of crimes and calamities.

HOSTILITY TO ENGLAND.

The calm spectator of the terrible revolution our country is now passing through, sees sad evidences of a sudden and hasty growth of ill-will toward England. Old causes of resentment, such as impressing our seamen, searching our ships, &c. had passed into historic items, and all irritation had ceased. We had admired the wide reach and vigorous actings of British benevolence, spreading Bibles, tracts and missionaries over the earth. We have loved to call England "mother," and were proud of her history as part of our own, and of her great men as our kith and kin. With lavish generosity we freighted our ships with food for her starving peasants. We received her young Prince with enthusiasm, and extolled the virtues of her Queen. We were both friendly and filial.

But the day of disaster came upon us. We found ourselves writhing in a death-struggle, and, all unprepared as we were, had to rouse ourselves to avert the blow which threatened to blot us from the role of nations. Staggered and stunned by the suddenness and mightiness of the mischief, we no sooner prepared to put forth our strength to suppress outrageous and long-intended treason, than we were amazed and irritated by the hasty proclamation that England would regard us and our rebels with *equal* favor, giving a Confederate pirate the same reception in British ports, as an American ship, and forbidding the minister's dispatches of either party to be conveyed in any English vessel. Then came the bluster and the threat of war, because, exercising the right which England always insisted belonged to belligerents, we took Mason and Slidell from one of her merchant ships; and she uttered not even a rebuke to the commander of that ship for violating the Queen's proclamation. Throughout our struggle every sort of arms, munitions, clothing and food, have been shipped from British ports, without any attempt at concealment, and sent into the blockaded ports. Such are *some* of the acts of a government which we have regarded not only with great comity but filial love.

As the best wine makes the sharpest vinegar, so the keenest hate comes of a ruined friendship; and there is deplorable reason to apprehend a revulsion of feeling toward England which will make us ready to embrace the first opportunity of retaliating. Against all tendencies to this revulsion it is the duty of every true American to exert himself. National antipathies have kindled a thousand wars, that should by this time pass into the list of irrational things. The law which commands us to return good for evil, is as binding on a people as on a person. Let us distinguish between the people of England and the rulers of England. Few of her *people* hate America, or wish her stricken from her career of prosperity. They see in us their auxiliary in every great work of human regeneration, and their great ally in resisting the restoration of Papal supremacy, with its Inquisition and untold horrors. They would deplore a war between their country and ours on a thousand accounts. Let us not encourage and cultivate a public sentiment which will surely bring war with the first occasion. Once roused,

popular prejudice is as ungovernable as the rushing storm. No sagacity can estimate the hugeness of the calamities, to both countries, of a war brought on, not as others have been, by the chess-board movements of crowned heads, but by settled national hate.

Every one who can influence opinion in the narrowest circle, should now take every occasion to calm the irritation of our people. We must disperse resentments, suppress animosity, inculcate all the virtues of forbearance and loving kindness, and set forth, in full proportions, the woes and wickedness of a war which could have no motive but resentment, and no result but mutual damage.

Nor is it less the duty of every true Briton to frown upon those braggart, offensive utterances which are now irritating the American people, and working mischief to England even more than to us. She has foes, by religion and by inherited hate, among her immediate neighbors. Let her not wantonly alienate and embitter a people disposed to regard her lovingly, and whose friendship is more important to her than all the world beside.

PAX

LETTER FROM MR. COAN.

HILO, HAWAII, JUNE 11, 1862.

G. C. BEEKWITH, D. D., Sec. Am. Peace Society.

My beloved Brother,—Yours of September 18, 1861, came to hand only a short time ago! Where has it been during these eight months?

On reading your letter now before me, with the three printed documents, I feel stirred up to write you again, although I am not able to do justice to my feelings, or to the blessed cause we advocate, on account of a great pressure of labors. In January I was suddenly called to Kau, 80 miles, by the death of our brother Shipman. Returning, I embarked almost immediately for Oahu, to nurse and bring home a sick son at Oahu college. Since then I have travelled 200 miles in my own parish, in laboring among my people; and lastly, I have just returned from Honolulu, where I have been to attend the annual meetings of our Mission, of our Missionary Bible and Tract Societies, and the examination of Oahu college. And now I am on the eve of starting on another tour through my great field. Thus I am on the wing a large part of my time, and can only *snatch* a moment to write to my friends, to disburden my heart in the cause of Peace, or to contemplate the great themes and the vast movements which mark the times, and shake the world.

But while events thicken, and clouds darken, and thunders roar, and while the great bell of time rings its changes, no subject more interests my heart than the cause in which you labor. Its character, its past history, its present struggle, its promises of the future, all charm me. I hail the rising star of Peace as the harbinger of *all that is good to man*. And

though this star has often been obscured by clouds and surrounded by tempests; though, at best, it has shone through fitful mists and careering storms, looking, as with a tearful eye, on a world in misery, still it has moved onward and upward in its orbit, shedding, wherever it could, its mild radiance on our race.

And this star will ascend to its glorious zenith; and there, in full orb'd beauty, look sweetly down upon a world in peace. From the "new heavens" it will shine upon the "new earth," when the diabolical art of war shall have been forgotten, and when "there shall be no more curse," no more commotion, "no more sea." "*Star of Peace!*" "*Star of Hope!*" "*Star of Faith!*" "*Star of Bethlehem!*" shine on until the turmoil ceases; until "the earth rests and is quiet, and breaks forth into singing;" until "*one song employs all nations.*"

But we must come back to the present, we must meet the facts, we must grapple with stern realities. This is our day; and our work, our conflict are upon us. To combat the lust of power and dominion, the pride, and pomp, and false glitter of the world, and the haughty and vindictive spirit of war, is a task too mighty for a mortal arm. "But all things are possible with God," and "all things are possible to him that believeth." We begin *at home* and in *our own hearts*. Let these be "pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits," and then we are prepared to work externally. Hence, in the outer world, as in our own hearts, we meet with stern antagonisms. On the theory of peace many are with us; but on its practical duties—on the tests, the sacrifices, the conflicts which necessarily precede the desired consummation, most are against us.

Thus it has ever been in all the great reformation which have blessed the world. Great blessings are the results of mighty struggles. Man is born amidst throes of anguish. "When Zion travailed, then she brought forth her children." And these struggles, these throes of anguish, are with the few. They begin in solitude; they are felt in retirement, and when the giddy world without rush by with shouts, and songs, and careless indifference or blind ignorance of the working of these hidden principles, which, like some of the silent forces of nature, are holding, controlling, or revolutionizing the world. Well do I remember when a bold and truthful advocacy of temperance cost a man his character for wisdom and discretion, and perhaps his living. And long since do I remember the contempt and scorn heaped upon the abolitionist, even in New England, New York and the Northern States. I have heard ministers, apparently amiable, candid, evangelical and pious, speak in such contemptuous terms of good, discreet abolition lecturers, as to encourage the mob with the tar-bucket and feather-bag. Perhaps those days are past. "By terrible things in righteousness," God is teaching the world that *truth is eternal, that right is omnipotent. He will break every yoke, and crush every Pharaoh.*

The cause of Peace is now obscured by the tempest of war. Human

passions, like a whirlwind, sweep all before them. But these days will pass. The sun will again break forth from these hurrying clouds, and the voice of "the Prince of Peace" will be heard when the noise of the battle shall cease. The known friends of peace are now few and unheeded. They have, like the dove of the deluge, retired to their chambers, and the doors are shut about them. This is the order of providence; this is the history of truth in the world. What a great fact Huntington expresses in the following lines: "If we are set in earnest on escaping from delusions and sins, we cannot afford to wait for the multitude. If we would walk with clean steps, we must gird ourselves for a solitary march. The world's mightiest tasks of reformation and regeneration have to be wrought out when lookers-on refuse their friendship, and the workers in them stand misunderstood, misinterpreted, reviled, persecuted, alone." Let us be patient, and exercise that trust which removes mountains, and that charity which "hopeth all things, endureth all things, and which never faileth."

I do hope and pray, dear brother, that you may live to see better days in this cause. I *know* they will come; and I do trust that the present generation will not have passed away before the Peace principles we advocate shall have been studied, understood, believed and practised by all Christian and civilized governments. Fifty years hence, and the ministers of Christ and the children of God will look back upon the present views and practice of the church, on the subject of war, with amazement. Why can they not see it now? Because "blindness in part has happened to them," until certain designs of God shall have been accomplished. There are to be upheavings and overturnings, convulsions and revolutions. The nations and the church are still to suffer and to learn by sad experience. O that the world were wiser and the church better! Would all ministers of the gospel, and all churches raise their voices, and plant their feet firmly against war, it would cease at once over all Christendom. Moloch would be dethroned; and legislation, arbitration, reason and right would reign.

The present war is amazing in its magnitude and its turpitude, and its results will be great. It should have been prevented by Christian teachings, by timely repentance, and the practice of righteousness. But God has permitted it as a fiery scourge to the nation and the church. May the people "know the rod, and who hath appointed it," and all "learn righteousness" under this awful judgment of Heaven. "The end is not yet." When our honest and excellent President called for 75,000 volunteers for three months, I remarked to my wife, he will want 500,000 *for the war*. This unnatural and most wicked rebellion must be crushed. We now see no other way; but we do pray that the church may learn such a lesson from this dire visitation that another judgment of the kind may not be needed.

I am pleased with your plan to raise \$30,000 as a permanent fund, and I do hope and trust that this amount will be received. Most gladly would I contribute to it; but our gifts are *mites*. Perhaps all that we can do for you had better go to the general expenses of your Society.

Take heart, dear Soldier of the Cross. The conflict is now sharp; but we have a *Leader who will conquer*; and those "who are with Him, are called, and chosen and faithful." The crown is ready for all who overcome.

Yours, in the bonds of Peace,

T. COAN.

HOW FEW OFTEN CONTROL THE MASSES.

"I greatly differ," says Edward Everett in a late speech, "from those who believe this unhallowed conspiracy to be the work of the mass of the Southern people. I prefer the authority of Mr. Stephens, the Vice President of the Southern Confederacy, who knew the authors of the rebellion well, and who openly declared that it was the work of disappointed aspirants to office. They never dared—they have not to this day dared, in the greater part of the revolted States, to trust the question to a popular vote! The Union sentiment of the South has been, and is crushed, by a reign of terror as despotic, and wielded, I doubt not, by as small a number of arch conspirators as Danton, Murat, and Robespierre.

In this there is nothing novel or hard to credit. It is necessary only to have the control of a small military organization, or even of a well-guided mob; and peaceful millions are overawed into acquiescence, sometimes for a generation. Lord Macaulay, speaking of the force by which General Monk restored the Stuarts, says, "the dread of that invincible army was on all the inhabitants of the islands; and the Cavaliers, taught by a hundred disastrous fields how little numbers can effect against discipline, were even more completely cowed than the Roundheads." How large do you suppose that army was, of which "the dread was on all the inhabitants of England," which cowed alike the high blood of the Cavalier and the stern spirit of the Puritan, and undid the work of twenty years, almost before Cromwell was cold in his grave? It was about five thousand men! As Charles II. came back to the throne, from which his father had been dragged to the block, borne upon the shoulders of the delighted millions of his subjects, he facetiously exclaimed that "it must have been his own fault that he had been absent so long, for he saw nobody that did not protest that he had ever wished for his return." How large was the tattered rabble from the Highlands, who, two hundred years later, struck terror into the hearts of England, with whom, in the language of Lord Stanhope, Charles Edward, if he had pushed up from Derby to London, "would have gained the British throne?" Less than seven thousand, half armed, half fed, half naked.

In the month of June, 1780, "for six days, successively, the cities of London and Westminster (according to the British Annual Register,) were delivered up to the hands of an unarmed and nameless mob, to be plundered at its discretion." Houses were pillaged, pulled down, or burned; the prisons burst open, and their inmates liberated; thirty-six incendiary fires blazed at once. On the fifth of these dreadful days, Dr. Johnson, accompanied by the late Lord Stowell, ventured to the principal scene of the ravages. "On Wednesday," says Johnson, "I walked with Dr. Scott, to look at Newgate, and found it in ruins, with the fire still glowing! As I went by, the Protestants were plundering the Session House and the Old Bailey. There were not, I believe, a hundred: but they did their work at leisure, in full security, without sentinels, as men lawfully employed in full day. Such is the cowardice of a commercial place." But commercial

places are no more cowardly than any other places, and London was, at that time, the abode of the *élite* of the British aristocracy, for Parliament was in session. It is the shrinking of the peaceful masses before the bayonets of an army, or the pikes and bludgeons of a mob.

Twenty-five millions in France, as gallant a population as any known in history, were for eight or ten years held in trembling awe by a handful of cut-throats, and thirty-six millions at the present day are governed not more by the living arm of Louis Napoleon, strong and skilful as it is, than by the dread of a visionary guillotine. Wherever the loyal people of any portion of the South can show their feelings with safety at the time, or with reasonable assurance of continued protection, there is loyalty enough. All along the banks of the Tennessee, as our gunboats ascended the river, the inhabitants sent off the best from their plantations, and wept with joy at the sight of the old flag.

FRENCH SYSTEM OF DRAFTING.

Under French law, every birth in the Empire must be registered within 48 hours, under pain of severe penalties. France is divided into 40,000 communes, each of which has a Mayor, holding his appointment from the Department of the Interior at Paris, in all respects the most important branch of the French Government. It is in the presence of the Mayor that births are declared, and formally placed upon record for future reference and use. The law requires that the child itself be brought before the civic functionary, the name of the infant given, the names and condition of both parents given, also the sex of the child declared, and all the facts certified by two credible witnesses, whose names, residence, and occupations, are also carefully recorded.

It will be seen at a glance that the information thus obtained will be of immense utility to the Government in conducting the operations of the conscription, whose mechanism may be described in a very few words: The Government calls for a contingent, let us suppose, of 100,000 recruits for 1862. The Legislative Body authorizes the levy to be made. Each department of the Empire, of which there are now eighty-nine, is required to furnish a quota, based upon the amount of its population. The Mayors hold lists of all individuals born in their respective communes, and notifications are sent to every male child born in 1842 (the drafting age being twenty years,) that he is to present himself on such a day, at the *mairie*, to take part in the drawing. This notification is a mere formality, as every young man knows when he will be required to come forward; and it frequently happens that youthful Frenchmen, residing abroad, return to their native land at this period, for the special purpose of fulfilling a duty which, if they chose, might be readily avoided by simply remaining out of France.

To illustrate the mode in which the drawing takes place, we will suppose that a particular commune is required to furnish 100 conscripts, the total number of eligible young men being, say 500. Five hundred bits of paper are placed in an urn, of which four hundred are blanks, and the remainder, marked from one to one hundred, oblige their holders to "fall in." The 400 who have escaped, are now exempt from military service, unless some extraordinary event, such as an invasion of France, should demand the calling out of the entire arms-bearing population.

This mode of raising recruits is simple enough, all being afforded a fair chance. As regards exemptions, the French system is scarcely less simple. In the first place, the conscripts undergo a rigid medical examination, and

if any are found laboring under physical disability, they are at once discharged. Next in order are the exemptions of *soutiens de famille*, or individuals with families dependent upon them. Thus, the only son of a widowed mother is exempted. So also is the only brother of an orphan sister. Brothers of a soldier still serving in the army, are exempted until the latter's term shall expire, only one of a family being drawn at one time. A wife cannot exempt her husband, even if there be children, as the law holds that young men ought not to marry until they have fulfilled their military obligations to the state.

A last class of exemptions has a pecuniary feature. In former years—that is to say, up to 1856—no conscript, not exempt by physical debility, or by the other causes above enumerated, could escape service, except by procuring a substitute. This had given rise to a degrading species of trade or speculation, in which large numbers of man-sellers and buyers were engaged. But, under the system referred to, the conscript who bought a substitute, was *responsible for his substitute*, and, if the latter deserted or *died*, before the expiration of the seven years' term, was liable to be forced back into the ranks. This system was abolished in 1856, by order of the Emperor; and the Government itself accepts pecuniary indemnity for the withdrawal of a conscript, and practically pays for his substitute by offering an ample bounty to volunteers. It is arranged that the sum received and paid by Government shall vary according to the military exigencies of the country, but the present basis is as follows:—A conscript is exempted for 2400 francs, (\$480) and the Government pays a bounty to volunteers amounting to 2200 francs, (\$440,) making a profit of 200 francs by the exchange.

The above statement of French conscription certainly has some remarkable features of practical wisdom, equity and kindness. Assuming as its basis that the Government owns, or may rightly use, all its subjects at discretion, and that their first and paramount duty is to support and protect it, we think it would be difficult, on this theory, to improve this system. It does, indeed, impose a grievous burden, but endeavors to make it as equal and as easy to bear as possible. If we *must* have the shame and the curse of a military government, with its hated janizaries to mock and belie our Democracy, we know no easier or surer way to turn our vaunted liberties into eventual despotism.

Mark the idea underlying and vitalizing this whole system—that the Government is everything, and the people merely its servants and tools. If it wants them for any purpose, it uses them, and all they have, at pleasure. Every man's first duty is to the Government, to the privileged few who rule. He must not marry, nor commence a profession, nor attend to his own business, until the Government has got out of him and his its lion's share. Here is the spirit, the very quintessence of despotism; the all-pervading, all-controlling principle, that the people are to be used for the Government, instead of their using the Government only as their instrument solely for their own benefit. Such a perversion of popular Government is sure to follow, sooner or later, the adoption of the war-spirit and war-principle, now so triumphant all over our land. We acknowledge it to be, under the present state of things, an unavoidable necessity; but, unless this necessity shall be hereafter avoided, by a better training of our



people, and the re-casting of public opinion in a mold more in accordance with the gospel, our liberties are doomed to ultimate, if not speedy, extinction.

THE AGE OF PEACE.

During Anniversary Week in Boston, we chanced to hear a beautiful discourse on this subject by Rev. B. Peters, Williamsburgh, N. Y. We are glad to find it published, and take the liberty of making some extracts:

"I frankly confess that this prediction of the prophet, (Isa ii. iv.) does not seem just now to be coming to its fulfilment. When a million of soldiers are marshalled in hostile array, and now are engaged, not in converting "their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning-hooks," but rather changing their plough-shares into swords and their pruning-hooks into spears—melting their church bells into cannon, preparing them for the work of carnage and of death, it does not seem, I grant, a very auspicious moment to refer to the prophecy of the text, and to herald the dawn of the Age of Peace.

Still there is nothing in these events that should render you lukewarm in the cause of Peace, or shake your faith in the possibility of establishing a system of things among the nations, by which this great scourge of mankind may be swept forever from the world. To me, it seems we have every reason to be encouraged. I know we are apt to be too much influenced in our opinions by what we see upon the surface. We pay too little attention to the real philosophy of these questions. We do not look with a sufficiently clear-eyed penetration through the apparent to the real, basing our opinions and hopes, not upon the changing, shifting scenes of the hour, but upon those permanent moral forces through which God works, and which never fail to accomplish what they clearly promise.

The most important changes in the condition of the world, and the progress of our race, have not been brought about by great convulsions, but have always followed in their wake. Commotions have been the instrumentalities by which the Old in customs and institutions, has been broken up, and the world has been prepared for the New. In the Providence of God, commotion is the subsoil ploughing by which the field of possible improvement is prepared for the seed of the new Era, which is left to grow in peace and quiet after the commotion has passed away, bringing forth in due time its bountiful sheaves and its golden grain.

Those who believe that the disputes of nations can never be settled in any other way than by an appeal to the sword, have no doubt, recently received large accessions to their numbers. Upon every hand we hear men predicting that our national difficulty will convert us into a great martial people, and this present complication once settled, we shall go forth into schemes of conquest, and shall yet astonish the world by the vastness of our Empire. Let us check this evil tendency betimes. Nothing could be more fatal than the adoption of such a line of policy. We should seek to prepare the public mind for a higher and morally a sublimer idea of our national destiny. If we are a Christian people, and would be true to our opportunities, we must work for far more beneficial results, than are to be found by a martial spirit and a warlike people. Let us not repeat the follies of the old and broken Empires of the past, but rather let us lead the van among the kingdoms of the present, in ushering in the new Era, that already stands knocking at the door, waiting to be admitted to the nations of the earth.

Our national complication, not only with a wicked and causeless rebellion at home, but so recently with a selfish and threatening power abroad, brings this subject vividly before us, and invests it with an importance which in ordinary times it would not and could not possess.

POSSIBILITY OF SUPERSEDING WAR BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

For years, after studying the process, in the history and the advancement of nations, by which our present systems of adjudication were brought into existence, I have been convinced, that the same principles of law carried up higher and applied to national, as they are now applied to individual complications, would do away with the cruel and barbarous necessity of war. This has grown into a conviction with me; and that conviction is stronger to-day than ever before.

Under existing circumstances war can't be avoided. As the world is, and has been, governed, it may be forced upon the best people on earth, and become unavoidable to them. And yet I can conceive it possible, and that possibility can be made apparent to all reasonable, thinking men, for the Nations to unite in surrounding themselves with such safe-guards as to avoid war, and render it next to impossible. Perhaps no single nation can effect this change; yet two or three of the leading Christian nations could do it. When it is brought about, it must be done by a confederation of Nations. And whenever the Christian nations are sufficiently advanced in true and thorough Christianization, they will look for such an end, and will find their highest good in adopting a system of international regulations by which peace will become the settled policy of the world, and war will henceforth be unknown.

In the crude ages of the past, before our present system of jurisprudence came into existence, all disputes, not only those between sovereign States alone, but those between dependent communities and neighborhoods, and even those between private individuals, were settled by a personal conflict. The methods of conflict varied in different localities and different generations, just as to-day trial by judge or jury changes, and now varies slightly in different countries. But the old feudal method, aside from these slight modifications, was the "trial by combat;" the new method is regulated upon principles of equity, and its aim is justice and security. The change from the former to the latter, was an important step in the progress of the world; and yet it was so gradual, that it would be difficult to mark the precise period in the history of Europe, when the change was brought about.

The first recognized principles of law were those which prescribed the rules for the "trial by combat." They only laid down the rules by which the fight should be conducted. The nations of the earth in their relations to each other, have advanced somewhat, but not far beyond this condition. In the course of generations, in settling the disputes of individuals, it became ever more and more distinctly the object of the law-makers to attain justice, and to take, so far as possible, all advantages out of the hands of Might, and to deal justly by Right and Truth.

The history of the feudal ages is a history of the progress of the world in this direction. At first all disputes were settled by physical force, not only between the lords, the dwellers in mountain fastnesses, but between their vassals, the humble tillers of the soil. At length the disputes between the latter were referred for adjudication to their masters, who became their judges, and fighting among the masses was prohibited. During this period fighting was a luxury in which the gentry alone indulged. They fought on a large scale, when they did fight; but owing to the limitations affixed, this barbarous practice became less and less frequent.

It was in this way that a system of jurisprudence gradually developed itself, and principles of a wide and most beneficent application were more distinctly and generally recognized, until they grew up into a great system by which the interests of individuals, of whole families, of corporate bodies, in fact of all communities less than sovereign States, were ultimately regulated and protected. Thus in a few generations, the causes of fierce petty disputes and feuds were lessened, and became almost unknown. Those that do occur, are now mostly settled in a quiet and peaceable way. It is this change that has made modern society what it is. We hardly know how much we are indebted to it, and how much it has done for the advancement of the world. It was a great step in advance of ancient wrong and barbarity. It opened to man larger opportunities for cultivating the arts of peace, for increasing human comfort, and for diffusing the knowledge and spirit of the Christian religion. It went far towards equalizing the rights of individuals, and opened up more and more to all classes in society better means for improvement. It prepared the way for the sacred rights of property; and the masses, instead of remaining the serfs of feudal lords, became proprietors of the soil which they tilled, and thus became their own masters. The change lifted and partly removed the dark cloud of barbarism which had for ages enwrapped the earth in almost total gloom. It brought light not only into the ordinary relations of life, but shed its lustre on international affairs, so that the disputes between sovereign States, and between such States and their disaffected sections, have been growing less frequent, and less and less likely to run into the extreme of war. The steps of progress over which the world has passed to its present condition, have been gradual. Not one, but two, three, four, if not five centuries have been consumed in the development of those systems of jurisprudence now recognized by the Christian Nations.

You can readily imagine that the first efforts put forth in rude states of society to settle private disputes in some better way than by physical force, must have been more or less, like a new invention in mechanics, clumsy and ineffectual. For many generations they amounted to nothing more than modifications of the "trial by combat;" it was a resort to physical expertness or strength modified by certain rules and regulations. But out of these rules and regulations there grew up a new order of things. They were the buds and blossoms that flowered out and ultimately ripened into a new age—into that advanced condition of society by which we are now blessed. It took these buds of feudal custom, these blossoms of imperfect law, many generations to ripen into the fruit we are now constantly gathering. During the ripening process, owing to the tardiness of the growth, the friends of progress, who saw a change was needed and improvement possible, no doubt often, like the friends of peace, despaired; but the growth matured into new and higher forms of law, until the world has been enriched by those beneficent systems of jurisprudence which sprang out of the rich feudal soil of the 13th and 14th centuries.

Though, in this way systems of jurisprudence have been established to settle the disputes and to define the rights of individuals, of corporate bodies, and of all communities less important than independent States, yet it is a fact, that no perfect system of international law has developed itself, by which to regulate in all cases international affairs, and to define the rights of sovereign States. Still they are growing in the right direction; and with every new complication that occurs, the principles of international law are brought out more distinctly defined and settled, new principles are established, and thus a thorough system of international law is developing itself, so that with every new generation the disputes between nations become less frequent, and there is a more decided tendency to compose na-

tional difficulties by diplomacy rather than the sword. May we not fondly hope, that the age is rapidly advancing, in which the disputes between nations and their discontented subjects, and between sovereign States, will no longer be referred to the arbitrament of the sword, but to leading and authorized jurists, who shall settle the questions in dispute, not by physical strength, or as caprice may dictate, but according to principles of justice and rules provided for such cases?

I feel sure that the time must come, and may now be nearer at hand than we are aware, in which national disputes, like those of private individuals and corporate bodies now settled in courts of law, will be adjudged before a great International Tribunal. As yet they are left in the hands of a privileged few, who are guided too much by the passions and prejudices of the populace, and who for sinister purposes often inflame those passions and prejudices to secure ulterior and ambitious ends, who beguile the people and incite them to a bloody conflict. What a sad spectacle, confirming this fact, does the South to-day present! Thus we see that though individuals and corporate bodies have been delivered from the thralldom of the feudal system, the Nations of the earth are not yet free from its fetters. Before they can be released, certain important steps must be taken. The present system of international law must become more perfect. An International Tribunal, and an International Police force to give authority to its decisions, must supersede the cumbersome and expensive Navies and Armies now floating upon the seas, or kept in the military camps of the nations.

What we have foreshadowed is clearly within the sphere of human possibility; and events are now transpiring that render it probable, and may bring it to pass before the present generation shall pass away. Our national complication, and the changes in the modes of warfare that seem already to have been introduced thereby, are not calculated to destroy, but to encourage the hopes of the true friends of Peace. They do not repress, but awaken such reflections and hopes as I have referred to. Instead of destroying our faith in the possibility of establishing such conditions of peace, our national circumstances should awaken us to see the necessity of it, and should convince us that more decided steps should long since have been taken in this direction. The privileged classes of Europe, and the military leaders of our own country, may not see their immediate interests in this direction; but the great commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing classes of all nations can, through this channel alone, find their true welfare and deliverance from those serious interruptions to which they are too often subjected. These classes should in all countries organize themselves into compact and living Peace Societies; they should push forward the glorious enterprise until crowned with success.

We find our greatest source of hope to-day in the fact that the *few* are less and less, and the *many* are more and more, determining the policy of Nations. The masses have no interest in keeping up the present ruinous and expensive systems of national defence. Are we willing any longer to leave our interests and the peace of our country, at the mercy of a few desperate party leaders, who when they see the least chance of promoting their selfish and ambitious purposes by so doing, can involve a happy and a prosperous people in the horrors of a fierce and bloody war? With such a system as I have indicated firmly established, our present rebellion could not have taken place. The incentives to war, the means to carry it on, would have been lacking. In that case the States which now profess themselves so sorely aggrieved, would have had but one way open through which to find redress. That would have been a legal one. The Confederate States in that case would have entered a complaint against the U. States, and

the case would have been decided, not only according to certain definite international rules provided for such cases, but according to the principles and obligations of our Constitution, the original compact to which the people of all the States were parties, and by which they are all mutually bound. Had the case been decided in favor of the plaintiffs, the independence of the Confederate States would have been acknowledged, or else their grievances would have been redressed; but had the decision been against them, the case would have been dismissed from the court, and that would have been the end of it.

HOW TO DISARM AN ENEMY.—It is said that bees and wasps will not sting a person whose skin is imbued with honey. Hence those who are much exposed to the venom of these little creatures, when they have occasion to hive bees, or to take a nest of wasps, smear their face and hands with honey, which is found to be the best preservative. When we are annoyed with insult persecution and opposition from perverse and malignant men, the defence against their venom is to have our spirit bathed in honey. Let every part be saturated with meekness, gentleness, forbearance and patience; and the most spiteful enemy will be disappointed in his endeavors to inflict a sting. We shall remain uninjured, while his venom returns to corrode his own malignant bosom; or what is far better, the honey with which he comes into contact, will neutralize his gall; the coals of forgiving love will dissolve his hatred, and the good returned for evil will overcome evil with good.

COBDEN AGAINST ARMAMENTS.—In England and all over Europe, the great practical question of statesmen respects preparation for war in time of peace; and every nation is there taxing its utmost energies, in a war of competition, to see which can sustain the largest scale of armaments as a test of its strength. Against this insane, suicidal logic, such men as Richard Cobden are entering their protest, and pressing the *ad hominem* argument from our own example in the following style:

“I have always been accustomed to understand that money was the sinew of war, and that to be well armed, was to be well fortified in your finances. I do not believe that the strength of a nation depends so much on its armaments, as on its resources; and I deny the doctrine, that it is necessary, in order to impress your policy or counsels upon the rest of the world, that you should always present yourself in the attitude of large armaments.

Take the case of America. Every one has complained that America is very overbearing in her foreign policy. Now, bearing in mind that America was never armed by more than 14,000 or 15,000 soldiers, and never would have a fleet, and that during the last ten years she certainly has never had more than one line-of-battle ship; if America played the bully without arms, what was it that impressed her will on the rest of the world? Undoubtedly it was because you gave her credit for vast resources behind her, which were not necessarily displayed in a state of armed defence. What has been the result in the present deplorable war going on in America? You have seen that country manifesting a power such as I have no hesitation in saying no nation of the same population ever manifested in the same time. No country in Europe, possessing twenty millions of people, could put forth the might, and show the resources—the men, the money, and the equipments—which the Federal States has done during the last

twelve months. Taking the whole country together, about 30,000,000 people had kept nearly 1,000,000 men in arms, and they had, on the whole, been equipped and supplied as no other army ever was before. Why was this? Simply because the Americans had not exhausted themselves previously by high taxation. They were a prosperous people. Their wages and profits were high, because taxation was low; and as they were earning twice as much as the people of Europe, when war broke out, they had to restrict themselves to one-half their enjoyments, and they thus found the means of carrying on the war. That is a doctrine which applies to us as well as to America; and I deny the doctrine that a nation increases its power, and is better prepared to carry on war, because it keeps always a large war establishment in time of peace."

A WAR-SCENE AT MIDNIGHT.—As I sit to-night, writing this epistle, the dead and wounded are all around me. The knife of the surgeon is busy at work, and amputated legs and arms lie scattered in every direction. The cries of the suffering victims, and the groans of those who patiently await medical attendance, are most distressing to any one who has any sympathy with his fellow-men. All day long they have been coming in, and they are placed upon the decks and within the cabins of the steamers, and wherever else they can find a resting-place. I hope my eyes may never again look upon such sights. Men with their entrails protruding, others with broken arms and legs, others with bullets in their breasts or shoulders, and one poor wretch I found whose eyes had been shot entirely away. All kinds of conceivable wounds are to be seen, in all parts of the body, and from all varieties of weapons.

A DISINTERESTED OPINION.—The Canadian Baptist, published at Toronto, says:—"The war in which the United States is now engaged, while bloody and fratricidal in the extreme, was thrust upon them by the secession of the South. If war is ever unavoidable, it was so in this case. It was not lust of dominion which led the North to oppose the South, but absolute necessity. War or ruin, temporary evil, or eternal weakness and peril, were the only alternatives."

DECIMATION OF THE INDIANA TROOPS.—Out of the 60,000 men sent forth by Indiana to assist in crushing out the rebellion, it is estimated that 6,000 have been already lost in battle, and by casualties and disease. Probably half as many more, who yet remain in the service, are permanently disabled by the hardships and exposures of military life, and will ultimately have to be discharged.

MEMORIALS OF CIVIL STRIFE.—Rome refused to her generals the honors of a triumph over Romans, as likely to perpetuate bitter memories that ought to be effaced as soon as possible. It would be well for the reputed Christianity of the 19th century to learn a lesson of wise and generous forbearance from pagan Rome. Charles Sumner, observing the disposition to record certain battles on the standards of our troops engaged in them, offered a resolution, "that it was inexpedient that the victories obtained over our own citizens, be placed on regimental colors." We are ashamed to say that this slight attempt at Christian sentiment was refused by our Senate.

MOURNING MOTHERS.

How many mothers in our land are weeping,
 This very day,
 For their beloved, who in death are sleeping,
 Far, far away.

These on the gory field of battle perished,
 In war's fierce strife ;—
 There they, the fervently beloved and cherished,
 Breathed out their life.

No tender heart received with fond affection
 Their parting sigh ;
 No grateful fingers closed, in sad dejection,
 The dying eye.

No dear, familiar forms of home surround them,
 Our young and brave ;
 But sights and sounds of horror all around them,
 With none to save.

Some in the crowded camp are slowly dying,
 From day to day ;
 And some in fever's wild delirium lying,
 Waste life away.

How vain are now sweet thoughts of home that brighten
 The languid eye !
 And those dear hopes that come their grief to lighten,
 For they must die.

The places that have known them once shall never,
 Oh, nevermore !
 Know them again, for they must leave forever
 This mortal shore.

O Christ! in pitying mercy be Thou near them !
 Relieve, sustain ;
 Thou only in that darkest hour can cheer them—
 Earth's help is vain !

Oh, mothers, mothers ! in your bitter anguish
 Look up above !
 And when your stricken hearts within you languish,
 Still trust his love ;

His love, who sees your tears so thickly falling,
 And counts them too ;
 Who hears the sighs upon his mercy calling,
 Who pities you !

Who through the darkness and the storm is guiding
 Our nation on ;
 In glorious wisdom over all presiding,
 On Heaven's high throne.

Vermont Chronicle.

BRITISH NEUTRALITY :

HOW VIEWED BY AMERICANS.

A hundred and fifty years ago, Scotland, then an independent kingdom, was, by an act of her own Parliament, annexed to England, and became a part of the British Empire. Scotland consented to the union on certain clearly expressed conditions in regard to her peculiar code of laws, her established Church, the number of her representatives in the House of Lords, and other like matters.

Now, suppose the Scotland of to-day, under the false pretext that the Queen or her Parliament had violated some of the conditions of the act of union, should summon her ancient Parliament, repeal her act consenting to the union with England, hunt up some seedy scion of the house of Stuart, place him on a throne in the dilapidated palace of Holyrood, and hail him "king of Scotland." Suppose the new King and Parliament should raise an army, and fit out ships to maintain her rebellion, seizing Stirling Castle, Edinburgh Castle, and the other royal keeps and garrisons from John o' Groat's House to the Tweed; stealing all the arms in the arsenals, and all the treasure in the coffers of her Majesty, and proceeding to bombard and reduce the only two or three loyal fortresses north of that river. Suppose nearly all the Scotchmen in the British army and navy should turn traitors to the crown, and surrender important posts on the land, and valuable ships on the sea into the hands of the rebels, the rebel officers taking new commissions in the Scotch service. Suppose the Scots should pour troops in large masses down upon the English borders, commanded by officers who had just deserted the service of Queen Victoria, and furnished with cannon, rifles, powder, shell and shot, stolen from her garrisons; and from stratagetic points threaten to sack Newcastle and Carlisle, to burn Liverpool and Bristol, speedily to take possession of London, organize their treasonable Parliament at Westminster, and lodge their fugitive king in Buckingham Palace. Giving rein to the mob, and license to ruffianism, suppose the Scotch should maltreat every English tourist found among their lakes and mountains, and every English merchant trading in their cities, scourging some, hanging others, and hunting all who tried to escape over the borders like beasts of prey, and (perhaps worse than all in this venal age), utterly refuse to pay their indebtedness to the merchants of London and Liverpool, and the manufacturers of Manchester and Birmingham, and return their protested notes accompanied with the most insulting letters. Among other acts of the so-called Scotch Parliament, suppose they should pass a law authorizing letters of marque, whose every provision was redolent of rascality, offering a temptation to every corsair that infests the seas, to take commissions, and sweep the ocean of English commerce, stimulating their thirst for gold and blood by a reward of £20 sterling for every English mariner whom they would shoot, drown or butcher.

In the face of such facts as these, and while England was putting forth all her might to crush this rebellion, appealing to the loyalty of her own people, and the sympathy of constitutional Governments to sustain her, suppose one of our leading statesmen should propose in our Senate urging the Government of the United States to recognize the independence of Scotland, while the President should issue a grave proclamation recognizing the Scotch rebels as "belligerents" in the international sense of that term, and proposing to treat their letters of marque as legal documents, and all ships, goods and men captured under them, as prizes and prisoners according to the law of nations. What would the statesmen and people of England say to this? Would they not ask: Does not the government of the United States remember that it has a solemn treaty of amity and com-

merce with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; that Scotland is embraced within this geographical designation; that Victoria I. is the sovereign of this realm, and not Charles III; that our gracious ruler dwells at Buckingham Palace, not at Holyrood House; that the British Parliament sits at Westminster, not at Edinburgh; that a scion of the illustrious house of Russell is our Foreign Secretary, not some rebel Rob Roy of the Highlands; that our Ambassador at Washington is Lord Lyons, not a bevy of wandering fugitives from beyond the Tweed, styling themselves "Commissioners"? More than all, suppose it should turn out that this Scotch rebellion was utterly causeless, and was set on foot, not because of any violation of the act of union, but, was fomented under false pretenses for the purpose of establishing despotism at home, extending the curse of human slavery into all the Colonies of Great Britain, and ultimately re-opening the African slave-trade to supply the victims of their cupidity? What, then, would the people of England, and of the whole civilized world, say of such conduct on the part of the American Government?—*N. Y. Trib.*

Such is the view taken by our people of the course which England claims as fair and friendly toward us. Her vaunted neutrality they regard, in its origin and purpose, as a stab at the life of our Government, and her claim of friendship in what she has done, they deem an insult to their common sense. Under the present pressure, they restrain themselves; but from the silent effervescence of such feelings among the entire mass of our people, the friends of peace between the two countries cannot avoid gloomy forebodings of what may come at no very distant day.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF WAR.

BOWIE-KNIFE CONFLICT.—While the fight was raging on the Ridge, a soldier belonging to the 25th Missouri, and a member of a Mississippi company became separated from their commands, and found each other climbing the same fence. The rebel had one of those long knives made of a file, which the South has so extensively paraded, but so rarely used; and the Missourian had one also, having picked it up on the field. The rebel challenged his enemy to a fair, open combat with the knife, intending to bully him, no doubt; and the challenge was promptly accepted. The two removed their coats, rolled up their sleeves, and began. The Mississippian had more skill, and his opponent more strength; and consequently the latter could not strike his enemy, while he received several cuts on the head and breast. The blood began trickling down the Unionist's face, almost blinding him, and he became desperate, for he saw the secessionist was unhurt. He made a feint; the rebel leaned forward to arrest the blow; but employing too much energy, he could not recover himself at once. The Missourian perceived his advantage, and knew he could not lose it. In five seconds more it would be too late. His enemy, glaring at him like a wild beast, was on the eve of striking again. Another feint, another dodge on the rebel's part, and then the blade of the Missourian hurled through the air, and fell with tremendous force upon the Mississippian's neck. The blood spouted from the throat, and the head fell over, almost entirely severed from the body. Ghastly sight, too ghastly even for the doer of the deed! He fainted at the spectacle, weakened by the loss of his own blood, and was soon after butchered by a Seminole, who saw him sink to the earth.

FIGHT BETWEEN THE REBELS AND THEIR ALLIES.—A body of 300 or 400 Indians were discovered firing from a thick cluster of post oaks into two or three companies of Arkansas soldiers, marching in McCulloch's division toward the upper part of the Ridge. The major of the battalion seeing this, hallooed out to them that they were firing upon their own friends, and placed his white handkerchief on his sword and waved it in the air. The Indians either did not see or did not care for the flag of truce, but poured two volleys into the Arkansas, killing among others the Major himself. The presumption then was that the Cherokees had turned traitors; and the secession soldiers were immediately ordered to charge upon them. They did so; and for an hour a terrible fight ensued between them and their late savage allies, in which it is stated some 250 were killed and wounded on both sides. The Indians suffered severely, as they were driven from their hiding places, and shot and butchered without mercy. A person who witnessed this part of the fight, says it was the most bloody and desperate that occurred on the field, being conducted with the most reckless and brutal energy by the two parties, of whom it would be difficult to say which was the most barbarous. On the dead savages were found, in some instances, two or three scalps, fastened to their belts by thongs of leather!

RECKLESSNESS OF LIFE BY THE LOYAL TROOPS.—A captain of one of the companies received two balls through his hat and three through his coat, without being conscious of his narrow escape until after the battle. A lieutenant seized the colors of one of the regiments, after the ensign had been shot down, and bore them for a quarter of an hour in the thickest of the fight. I observed several soldiers who were half covered with blood, about to go on the field again; and they would have done so, had they not been ordered by the surgeons to the hospital. Even then, one of the determined fellows escaped, and carried his musket into another regiment. Seven privates who had been struck in the arm and head, went to the surgeons, and asked them to extract the balls as soon as possible, that they might again participate in the action. Their request was granted, and five of them returned to the field.

A DEATH-STRUGGLE.—Pea Ridge Fight. One of the Texas soldiers was advancing with his bayonet upon a Lieutenant of the 9th Iowa, whose sword had been broken. The officer saw his intention, avoided the thrust, fell down at his foe's feet, caught hold of his legs, threw him heavily to the ground, and before he could rise, drew a long knife from his adversary's belt, and buried it in his bosom. The Texan, with dying grasp, seized the Lieutenant by the hair, and sank down lifeless, bathing the brown leaves with his blood. So firm was the hold of the nerveless hand that it was necessary to cut the hair from the head of the officer before he could be freed from the corpse of the foe.

BURKE ON CIVIL WAR.—War suspends the rules of moral obligation, and what is long suspended, is in danger of being totally abrogated. Civil wars strike deepest of all into the manners of the people. They vitiate their politics; they corrupt their morals; they pervert even the natural taste and relish of equity and justice. By teaching us to consider our fellow-creatures in a hostile light, the whole body of our nation becomes gradually less dear to us. The very names, affection and kindred, which were the bond of charity while we agreed, become new incentives to hatred and rage, and the communion of our country is destroyed.

AFTER-SCENES OF BATTLE.

AT FORT DONELSON.—Federals and rebels were promiscuously mingled, sometimes grappled in the fierce death-throe, sometimes facing each other, as they gave and received the fatal shot or thrust, sometimes lying across one another, and again heaped in piles which lay six or seven deep. I could imagine nothing more terrible than the silent indications of agony that marked the features of the pale corpses which lay at every step. Though dead, and rigid in every muscle, they still writhed and seemed to turn to catch the passing breeze for a cooling breath. Staring eyes, gaping mouths, clenched hands, and strangely contracted limbs, seemingly drawn into the smallest compass, as if by a mighty effort to rend asunder some irresistible bond which held them down to the torture of which they died. One sat against a tree, and, with mouth and eyes wide open, looked up into the sky, as if to catch a glance at its fleeting spirit. Another clutched the branch of an overhanging tree, and hung half suspended, as in the death-pang he raised himself partly from the ground. The other hand grasped his faithful musket, and the compression of the mouth told of the determination which would have been fatal to a foe, had life ebbed a minute later. A third clung with both hands to a bayonet which was buried in the ground, in the act of striking for the heart of a rebel foe. Great numbers lay in heaps, just as the fire of the artillery mowed them down, mangling their forms into an almost undistinguishable mass. Many of our men had evidently fallen victims to the rebel sharpshooters; for they were pierced through the head by rifle bullets, some in the forehead, some in the eyes, others on the bridge of the nose, in the cheeks, and in the mouth.

Many of the rebels, says another writer, were horribly wounded, mostly by our Minnie rifles and Enfield muskets, and usually in the face or on the head. Poor fellows lay upon the ground, with their eyes and noses carried away, their brains oozing from their crania, their mouths shot into horrible disfiguration, making a hideous spectacle, that must haunt those who saw it, for many future days, and rise in horror through many distempered dreams.

The 11th Illinois suddenly coming upon the enemy, was forced to retreat beneath an awful shower of balls. The major then called for volunteers to bring off the wounded. Twenty or thirty started, crawling, and they brought off a few; but some of them were wounded in the attempt. Again volunteers were called for; and they approached amid an awful fire, when one of our wounded beckoned them away. The attempt was madness. Just then the leaves took fire; and covered by smoke, our men rushed in and saved a few more; but the clothes of these had taken fire, and some perished miserably. Those who were left, of course perished.

A Father and his Son.—I saw an old gray-haired man, mortally wounded, endeavoring to stop, with a strip of his coat, the life-tide flowing from the bosom of his son, a youth of twenty years. The boy told the father it was useless, he could not live; and, while the devoted parent was still striving feebly to save him who was perhaps his first born, a shudder passed through the frame of the would-be preserver, his head fell upon the bosom of the youth, and his gray hairs were bathed in death with the expiring blood of his misguided son. I saw the twain an half hour after, and youth and age were locked lifeless in one another's arms.

A young Rebel and his Mother.—A dark-haired young man, of apparently twenty-two or three, I found leaning against a tree, his breast pierced by a bayonet. He said he lived in Alabama; that he had joined the rebels in opposition to his parents' wishes; that his mother, when she found he would go into the army, had given him her blessing, a Bible, and a lock of

her hair. The Bible lay half-opened upon the ground, and the hair, a dark lock tinged with gray, that had been between the leaves, was in his hand. Tears were in his eyes, as he thought of the anxious mother, pausing perhaps amid her prayers to listen for the long-expected footsteps of her son, who would never more return. In the lock of hair, even more than in the sacred volume, religion was revealed to the dying young man; and I saw him lift the tress again and again to his lips, as his eyes looked dimly across the misty sea that bounds the shores of Life and Death; as if he saw his mother reaching out to him with the arms that had nursed him in his infancy, to die, alas! fighting against his country, and her counsels whose memory lived latest in his departing soul.

KINDNESS ON THE BATTLE-FIELD. — A rebel soldier, (at Fort Donelson) a member of the Tenth (Irish) Tennessee Regiment, was lying just inside of the fortifications. His glazing eyes gave assurance that life was embraced in minutes. He held a rosary and a crucifix in his hand, and his moving lips were doubtless offering a prayer. He had evidently endeavored to kneel, but was too weak. One of our soldiers saw and hurried to assist him in his attitude of prayer; and while engaged in this kind office, a shot from the rebel cannon, struck and killed them both.

In some instances I noticed wounded foes lying near each other who were offering water to one another from their canteens; and so humane and gentle were our living to the wounded and dying enemy, that one would have supposed they were the nearest and closest friends. One fierce rebel, however, a Mississippian, refused all aid, though badly wounded, and had endeavored to shoot a member of one of the Indiana regiments who had approached to render him assistance, which so outraged the good-hearted soldier that he lifted his musket to blow out his enemy's brains. A moment's reflection, however, made him magnanimous, and he left the Mississippian to take care of himself.

BATTLE-FIELD-HORRORS. — The appearance of the hill and woods shelled by Gen. Sigel's division, attested the terrific shower of missiles that fell upon them. Walking over the ground immediately after the flight of the enemy, and the pursuit by our forces, I found it thickly strown with dead and wounded, most of them having fallen by the deadly artillery projectiles. On the hill, where the cannonade had been severe, trees, rocks and earth bore witness to its fierceness. Fifteen wounded rebels lay in one group, and were piteously imploring each passer-by for water and relief for their wounds. A few rods from them was another, whose arm had been torn off by a cannon shot, leaving the severed member on the ground a few feet distant. Near him was the dead body of a rebel, whose legs and one arm had been shattered by a single shot. Behind a tree, a few yards distant, was stretched a corpse with two-thirds of its head blown away by the explosion of a shell, and near it a musket broken into three pieces. Still further along was the body of a rebel soldier who had been killed by a grapeshot through the breast. A letter had fallen from his pocket, which, on examination, proved to be a long and well written love epistle from his betrothed in East Tennessee. Around him in all directions, were his dead and dying comrades, some stretched at full length on the turf, and others contorted as if in extreme agony.

The bursting of shells had set fire to the dry leaves on the ground, and the woods were burning in every direction. Efforts were made to remove the wounded before the flames should reach them. Several were afterwards found in secluded spots, some of them still alive, but horribly burned and blackened by the conflagration.

Stripping the dead.—The rebels, in nearly every instance, removed the shoes from the dead and mortally wounded both of their own army and ours. Of all the corpses I saw, I do not think that one-twentieth had been left with their shoes untouched. In some cases pantaloons were taken, and occasionally an overcoat or a blouse was missing. * * For ten miles on the road by which the rebels retreated, the houses were full of wounded. The whole line of buildings on the route hence to Keetsville, is one grand hospital.

FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

This has long been the chief hope of the South, and fear of the North, in our present troubles; but from the *right sort* of intervention we should expect only desirable results. Unfortunately, intervention has all along meant covert hostility to our government by abetting the rebellion. I foreign powers, deploring its evils, would, in good faith and real friendship, endeavor, in the spirit of their treaties with us, to dissuade our rebels from continuing their efforts to overthrow the government they have sworn to obey and support, they might do much to restore peace and prosperity. It is only such intervention that any other nation ought for a moment to attempt or sanction. We are glad, after a thousand rumors, that England, or France, or both, would interfere on behalf of our rebels to aid them in dismembering our Republic, to find Russia reported as anxious to see our "war ended by a prudent and honorable compromise, and imploring America not to divide, but to bring together and re-unite adversaries who ought always to remain brothers."

On this the *N. Y. Times*, (Aug. 20.) well says, "Foreign mediation resting upon such a basis as this, would have much to recommend it. All the suggestions of intervention which have come from other quarters, have assumed, as a *sine qua non*, the division of the Union, and the independence of the Southern Confederacy. This has been the burden of everything said by the English and French press upon the subject. *Such intervention is simply the most aggravated form of hostility to the United States, and the most effective method of giving aid and comfort to the rebellion.* The suggestion of such an intervention, merely indicates the wish of those proposing it, for the *disruption of the American Republic*, and can never be regarded as a friendly offer, or as emanating from any feeling but one of *intense and radical hostility.*"

From Russia, who has no interest in our destruction, we might reasonably have anticipated a more just and sensible proposition. We are not surprised, therefore, to find in the organ of the Russian Government such a suggestion. If Russia, or any other foreign Power, can bring the people of the South, or those who control their action, to see the folly of continuing this rebellion, and induce them to return to the Union, we have no doubt the people of the North will very readily assent to any terms compatible with national honor, and essential to the protection and preservation of Southern rights. They have proved this willingness too often already to leave it in any doubt. If England and France would unite with Russia in pressing upon the Southern States the considerations which have weight with the Russian Government, and would make their combined protest *against* a division of the Union, they would contribute something toward terminating the injurious civil war which they all affect to deplore."

THE VOLUNTEER'S BURIAL.

'Tis eve! one brightly beaming star
Shines from the eastern heavens afar,
To light the footsteps of the brave,
Slowly marching to a comrade's grave.

The northern wind has sunk to sleep;
The sweet south breathes, as low and deep,
The martial clank is heard, the tread
Of those who bear the silent dead.

And whose the form, all stark and cold,
Thus ready for the loosened mould,
And stretched upon so rude a bier?
Thine, soldier, thine! the Volunteer.

Poor Volunteer! the shot, the blow,
Or swift disease hath laid him low;
And few his early loss deplore,
His battle fought, his journey o'er.

Alas! no wife's fond arm caressed,
His cheek no tender mother pressed,
No pitying soul was by his side,
As lonely in his tent he died!

He died—the Volunteer—at noon;
At evening came the small platoon
That soon will leave him to his rest,
With sods upon his manly breast.

Hark to their fire! his only knell—
More solemn than the passing bell;
For, ah! it tells a spirit flown,
Unshriven, to the dark unknown.

His deeds and fate shall fade away,
Forgotten since his dying day,
And never on the roll of Fame
Shall be inscribed his humble name.

Alas! like him how many more
Lie cold upon Potomac's shore!
How many green unnoted graves
Are bordered by those placid waves!

Sleep, soldier, sleep! from sorrow free,
And sin and strife. 'Tis well with thee,
'Tis well, though not a single tear
Laments the buried Volunteer.

PARK BENJAMIN

EFFECTS OF THE REBELLION ON RELIGION.—The editor of the *Central Christian Advocate*, of St. Lou's, has learned from Col. Bussey, that two of the three missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal church in Arkansas have been murdered, and that the church herself is now extinct. The editor thinks that little or nothing can be done in that State for several years, and that it will take one or two generations to replant it in that region.

EFFECTS OF THE BLOCKADE.—There is a suicidal contradiction in the complaints about our blockade of the Southern ports, some representing it too loose and ineffectual to deserve respect, and others so effectual as to destroy nearly all commerce, and render articles from abroad extremely dear. On this point, a gentleman recently (Aug.) from Richmond, Va., “represents the suffering as extreme. Prices have reached a point never before known in the extremities of any people. The poor are continually on the verge of starvation; and were it not for flour—the only article of a moderate price, and that selling for from twelve to fourteen dollars a barrel—want, destitution and misery would do the work of annihilation. Beef is fifty cents per pound, and bacon seventy-five. Clothing is enormously high. Boots sell for from forty-five to fifty dollars per pair, and other articles in proportion. Our informant was offered for a black coat which he had worn two years, fifty dollars. Broadcloth is worth fifty dollars per yard, bleached cottons one dollar, and unbleached seventy-five cents. Calico is worth one dollar and fifty cents. Coffee is worth two and a half dollars per pound, tea sixteen dollars.”

So in New Orleans. A copy of its price current, embracing a summary of the year's business ending March 1, 1862, was recently sent to the Navy Department, from which it appears that the exports of cotton from New Orleans for the past year have been 11,000 bales, against one and a half millions the previous year. The exports from all the Southern ports have been only 13,000 bales, against more than 2,000,000 the previous year. This we may take as a fair and truthful commentary on the efficacy of the blockade, and the fatal blight of the rebellion on Southern commerce and general prosperity.

A TOUCHING SCENE.—The Philadelphia Inquirer gives the following incident at Fortress Monroe, on the arrival of the wounded from the late battles near Richmond:—“Among those brought to the White House, was a rebel Colonel shot through the lungs. As he appeared to be dying, Mr. Barclay, a philanthropist who had been devoting himself to the sick and wounded in the hospitals, asked him if he wished anything done. He said ‘yes,’ and gave the commissioner the names and address of his wife and children. ‘And now,’ said he, ‘ask God to forgive me for ever having anything to do with this wicked rebellion.’ Mr. Barclay asked if he desired him to pray with him. He answered in the affirmative; and after a prayer, petitioning the forgiveness of Almighty God for his sins, and His fatherly interposition on behalf of the soon-to-be widowed wife and orphaned children, the penitent Carolinian raised his trembling arms, and threw them about the neck of Mr. Barclay, and kissed him again and again. The bystanders were all in tears, as they turned from the affecting scene, and walked silently away.”

Alas! that there could not have been in season enough of such a spirit as this to prevent the war itself! How little of it would have sufficed at the right time and place! How surely and soon would it even now staunch the wounds of our bleeding country, and bring us all back to loyalty and brotherly love. God in his great mercy breathe such a spirit throughout the land.

CRITICISMS ON THE PEACE SOCIETY.

We have expected that, during the continuance of our present troubles, very little, if any heed would be paid to our cause by any except its most intelligent and tried friends; and we were glad to find especially a journal so respectable and so widely known as the *National Intelligencer*, giving the subject any attention, however unfair or unfriendly. Its leading editorial of Aug. 5, spends nearly two columns of condemnation upon our Society, chiefly because it recognizes the right of our government to enforce its laws against the rebels leagued for its overthrow or resistance of its rightful authority. It calls us "learned and amiable gentlemen," associated for a worthy object, but says "*many* of our most distinguished patrons are now signalized for their zeal and vehemence against the insurgents"; a slander which we repel as false, and quite unworthy of a journal so respectable as the *Intelligencer*. It accuses us of inconsistency, represents "our principles, when tested, as melting away under the fervent heats of the hour," and speaks of us as "under the necessity of *revising* our opinions," to meet the exigencies of our unexpected experience. Every one of these charges or insinuations we regard as false. We have neither abandoned, nor falsified, nor modified either our principles, or the system of means designed ultimately to carry them into effect. In our principles and our policy, we stand just where we did before the present rebellion arose; and the terrible experience through which our country is now passing, serves only to strengthen our confidence in both. Our cause, though held awhile in abeyance, bides its hour, and is sure in time of a triumph all the more signal from its present difficulties and discouragements.

But how came the *Intelligencer* to fall into mistakes so palpable? Chiefly from ignorance of our cause. It sets up a man of straw which it calls the Peace Society, and then holds us responsible for all the objections it can bring against this caricature. It does not allow us to define for ourselves the precise object, sphere and operations of our cause. A fair and careful consideration of these would obviate nearly all the objections ever urged against it. Our *sole* aim is the abolition of war, the well-known custom of nations settling their controversies by the sword; and we distinctly say we have nothing to do with the internal affairs of government—how it shall punish violators of its laws, or how put down mobs, insurrections, or rebellion.

Now, we can see nothing inconsistent or wrong in all this. Our Society does not profess to be a catholicon for *all* the evils of mankind, but restricts itself to the single, specific one of international war. You may think there are many kindred evils worse than this; but even if so, it is no part of our business, as peace reformers, to attempt their removal. Just so with the evils incident to civil government. We recognize its existence as a necessity, and its authority as "an ordinance of God," for the benefit of mankind; but we have as peace-men no responsibility in enacting or enforcing its

laws. We cannot be otherwise than loyal ; and loyalty, if it means anything to purpose, is active support in all ways not forbidden by our moral principles. Government, if anything more than a name or a bugbear, *must* have the right and the power to execute its own laws. It *must* enforce them ; or it ceases, in fact, to be a government.

Now, does the enforcement of law, the infliction of its prescribed penalties upon its violators, deserve the name of war ? When a teacher corrects his pupil, or a parent chastises his child, or a magistrate, even by the aid of a *military* police, arrests and brings to condign punishment a gang of robbers or incendiaries, would you deem the process an act of war, and think it wrong or inconsistent for peace-men to acquiesce in such an exercise of rightful authority ? But nothing more than this has the Peace Society done in the case of our present rebellion ; and we are unable to see how it could do less without taking part with the rebels, and conceding to them a right to violate, with entire impunity, all law and all authority. Indeed, the *Intelligencer*, in its insidious attempt to transfix us on the horns of this dilemma, does but poorly disguise the logic and lurking proclivities of rebellion. It strives to make Peace mean what its friends say it never did mean, nor ever shall,—allowing transgressors to have their own way, without resistance or punishment ; a virtual annihilation or suspension of all law, authority or government.

‘ But has not the Peace Society encouraged this war ? ’ Never ; on the contrary we have from the start done all we could to avert it, and continued our efforts just as long as the rebels would let us. Early and loud did we plead against all thought of appealing to the sword, as likely to prove suicidal to both parties. We urged, as the only proper and safe course, a resort to the peaceful, rational expedients provided, in their common constitution and laws, on purpose to meet and decide aright all such disputes. Any other mode of settling them, we deemed both wrong and ruinous.

‘ But when the rebels drew the sword, did not peace-men take sides *against* them ? ’ Certainly ; just as we would against any other wrong-doers. As wilful, persistent violators of the laws, they deserved to be punished like any other class of criminals ; and all good citizens, peace-men among the rest, were bound to sustain the government in bringing them to condign punishment, and thus protecting society, by proper, peaceful means, against the consequences of their guilt. Government exists for this very purpose ; but if it may not, cannot or will not do this, it is a practical nullity, a sheer and bitter mockery. If we have a government, its laws must be put in force ; and to brand such enforcement as war, is a pitiful begging of the point in issue. A rebel is as truly a criminal as the murderer ; and if peace-men can consistently see the latter punished in any way, they may with equal propriety acquiesce in the condign punishment of the former. There is in principle no more war in one case than there is in the other.

‘ But if government may punish its own subjects, why not those of any other government, guilty of the same offences ? ’ For the obvious reason

that they are not under its jurisdiction; and it can properly punish only where it has a right to rule. A foreigner, coming to reside or merely travel among us, voluntarily makes himself by that act subject to our laws, and fairly liable to any penalty he may justly incur; but an ambassador from France, acting in her name, and representing in his person her sovereignty, would not be amenable to our authority. Whatever his offences, we could not hold him personally responsible, but must look to his government for redress. The fact of his having committed a crime punishable by our laws with death, would not authorize our rulers to hang him. He is not subject to our authority; and for this reason, we cannot touch him. So warriors, just like ambassadors, are held in war to no personal responsibility for any acts they commit at the bidding of the government that employs them. We abhor this logic; but it is the principle that underlies and sustains the whole war-system.

Here is the grand, fatal wrong of this system. It supersedes the reign of law, and puts in its place the blind, reckless, irresponsible tyranny of mere brute force. It ignores the question of right, and makes everything, if it can, bow to its own despotic will. It is a reversal or suspension of all the ordinary rules of morality. It authorizes, abets and perpetrates, as its peculiar work and glory, all manner of crimes, the very deeds which every government on earth punishes as the worst crimes against society. Herein lies the transcendent wickedness of the French and British governments in licensing our rebels, by the concession of Belligerent Rights, to perpetrate by wholesale, and with entire impunity, all the crimes which these very governments punish with the greatest severity. The principle is abominable, and ought to be held universally infamous. That act made England and France morally responsible, as aiders and abettors, for the crimes and nameless evils flowing from the gigantic rebellion still raging in our land. If pirates were swarming along the coasts and among the islands of Great Britain, or hordes of outlaws, well organized and armed to the teeth, were infesting half the departments of France, and our government should recognize, in the face of the whole world, the *right* of these pirates to commit with impunity, and without censure or reproach, the very crimes which all nations punish with the most exemplary severity, it would do only what those governments have done to us under a plea of friendly neutrality!

‘But how shall nations get justice from one another without war?’ Alas! they have as yet adopted no system of peaceful justice among themselves; and a leading object of our cause is to supply this strange and deficiency by creating such a public opinion as shall demand for nations essentially the same expedients for a rational, peaceful settlement of disputes among themselves, that every civilized people has provided for individuals and all minor communities.

On this subject, so vital to its general peace and prosperity, how little comparative progress has Christendom yet made! Its nations even now

have no laws, no courts, no executive officers, armed with the requisite authority and power, to insure a peaceful, equitable adjustment of their disputes. They have for individuals, for neighborhoods, for towns, for counties, for states, but none for themselves. In this respect they are more like barbarians or brutes, than like Christians or rational beings. Every community, whether civilized or savage, has some kind of provision designed to ascertain and enforce what is right between individuals; but nations reputedly Christian, have as yet no analogous system of justice among themselves — no common Legislature to enact laws for them, no common Court to apply such laws, nor any common Executive to put them in execution. There is not on earth a tribe of savages so poorly furnished with the means of justice and safety for its individual members, as the great brotherhood of Christian nations are at this hour among themselves. They have no other *recognized* system for guarding their rights, and redressing their wrongs, than club-law, mere brute force, such a sort of order and justice as reigns among lions, tigers and hyenas. Each decides for itself, and relies on its own skill, power and good fortune to win its cause. To call this a system of justice, would be a gross misnomer, an insult to common sense; and yet the boasted civilization of Christendom in this nineteenth century has no other.

How much longer is Christianity or common sense going to slumber over a subject of such vast importance to the world? While the first minds are taxing their utmost energies to perfect the art of war, and teach reputed Christians how to destroy life, property and happiness with the greatest success; while our own country alone is marshalling a million of men for the work of mutual slaughter, brother against brother, Christian against Christian, upon a hundred battle-fields, and spending in suicidal strife two or three millions of dollars a day; while all Christendom is at this hour employing for war not less than five millions of men, and wasting, in one way or another, full two thousand millions of dollars a year, enough to evangelize half a score of such worlds as ours; will not statesmen, patriots, philanthropists, Christians find at length some time and thought to spend upon the long and strangely neglected question of Peace? Is the ark of Christianity going to float down into the millenium upon a deluge of blood. Alas! how strange a response are Christians now making to the prophecy of Isaiah, or the song of the angels over the manger of Bethlehem!

HOW WAR PERVERTS EVERYTHING TO ITS PURPOSES.—On the occupation of Nashville by our troops, one of our colonels was sent to examine the great Methodist Publishing House there, and found the basement a perfect armory, full of gun carriages, arms, ammunition, and some 1200 pikes. Dr. McTyeire explained how all these were the legitimate machinery for publishing the glad tidings of a rebel gospel; but the officer, not viewing them in the same light, took possession of that nest of treason, and confiscated it and its contents to the government.

FINANCIAL RESULTS OF THE WAR-SYSTEM.—What evils follow in its train! In time of peace the cost of standing armies requires a large sum, which has been estimated at two milliards of francs. The annual loss in labor which Europe sustains by the withdrawal of four millions of men who are ranged under the banners of war, has been valued at eight hundred and ninety millions of francs. These two sums combined, constitute an expense for Europe, every year, of nearly three milliards. In time of war these expenses, and by consequence, the taxation, increase to frightful proportions. War, which devours every year forty thousand men out of every hundred thousand, thus takes away for ever from Europe a great part of its laborers. Hence come depopulation and debt, without taking into account pestilences and diseases. Napoleon said at Saint Helena: "Under the school of Pitt, we have desolated the world; and with what results? You have imposed fifteen hundred millions upon France, which were levied by the Cossagues; I have imposed upon you seven milliards, which were levied by your own hands through your Parliaments; and now, even after victory, is it certain that you may not sink beneath the weight of such a charge! With the school of Fox we should have understood each other; we should have accomplished the emancipation of peoples, the reign of principles; there would have been in Europe but one fleet, one army; we should have governed the world, we should have established in all countries repose and prosperity, either by force or by persuasion. Yes, I say once more, what evil have we done, what good might we have done?"

In fact, by reducing standing armies in time of peace, and rendering war as rare as possible, what decrease of taxation could be effected—what reduction of the public debt—what progress in industry, in commerce, in agriculture! In augmenting the number of working men, you would, on the one hand, diminish the price of workmanship, and, on the other, increase the mass of productions. It is thus that, according to the expression of Franklin, the earth might become in some sort a terrestrial paradise.—*French Paper.*

LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE REBELLION ON THE REBELS THEMSELVES.—It is too early to collect full or exact statistics of its results thus far; but from all we can learn, or safely conjecture, we doubt whether in the rebel States one-quarter as many religious periodicals are now circulated, or one-third as many students are found in seminaries of learning, as before the rebellion. Many of them are entirely suspended, and the rest are very poorly supported. Over all such interests the rebellion has thrown its black and baleful shadow: and should it stop to-morrow, a whole generation could hardly repair its evils in these respects.

WHAT CAN THE FRIENDS OF PEACE DO NOW?—1. You can pray; and never was there more need of such prayer as will prevail with the God of Peace for deliverance from the terrible evils that are now upon us. Both parties in this conflict are daily importuning him to interpose in their behalf; but is it in such a spirit and way, that he can consistently grant their requests?

2. You can, as you certainly should, adhere with a firm, unfaltering fidelity and confidence to the cause you have espoused. Now is your hour of trial; and, if you are well established in your principles, you will come out of this fiery ordeal, like the faithful Jewish captives in Babylon, unharmed and stronger than ever.

3. You can exemplify in practice the principles you profess. Now is the time, of all others, to do this, and thus prove that peace is wrought, as it should be, into the very web and woof of your character. A hard task, the most difficult of all; but every true friend of peace will try to make sure of doing it. He must of course judge for himself *how* he shall do this; but at all events he should not fail of an honest and earnest effort to do it in a way that shall justify himself before God, and his own conscience, if not before the world.

4. You can, also, fortify yourself more and more as an advocate of Peace. The events passing on every side furnish facts, arguments and illustrations, in overwhelming abundance, to confirm, with fearful certainty, every position we have ever taken in behalf of our cause. Now is the time to collect and prepare these for use when the storms of war shall have passed over, and left the way open for a prosecution of our cause more effective than ever.

5. You can, moreover, do something to calm, restrain and guide the public mind. A delicate and difficult service; but it must be performed by somebody, and by none can it be done so well as by the true friends of peace. When the hurricane is past, and the land is strewn all over with its mournful wrecks, then will begin our special mission, and we should be ready to do it with a will.

6. Prepare yourselves, then, to work in due time for Peace as you have never yet done. Men will not heed you now; but then they will with open and greedy ears. Experience is a stern but often most effective teacher of wisdom and duty. The fires through which we are now passing, cannot fail to burn into the public mind not a few of the lessons of peace which we have so long striven in vain to inculcate. Peace is now at a sad discount; but then it will be as much above par as it is now below. The present is the hour of its crucifixion; but there will come, if our land be not abandoned and cursed of God beyond all hope, its resurrection to a new and glorious career.


7. Above all, and as the sum of all that we would press upon you at this crisis, cultivate a deeper feeling than ever of your responsibility as peace-men. You are responsible before God and the world for a cause now seen by every one to be vital to all the great interests of patriotism, humanity and religion. Shrink not from this heavy but blessed responsibility. Cling more strongly than ever to our cause. It rests now on a few, yourself among them; be sure you do your part to keep it alive, if not in full vigor. It is at this hour more essential than any other enterprise of benevolence or reform, because indispensable to the ultimate success of all others, and ought, in every view, to be sustained, at any sacrifice possible, by its plighted friends. We know well how earnestly they are pressed just now to help other good causes to the neglect of this; but we beg them to pause long before they do so, and ask themselves when, if not now, it will ever need or deserve their fullest, most earnest, unfaltering support.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR
NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER.

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THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1862.

PEACE OR PERDITION.

Here is the only alternative for nations; and the time is approaching when they must all look it full in the face. Their war-system, always a cancer on their vitals, is sure, at its present and prospective rate, to prove sooner or later their ruin. It is a question of life or death; they *must* either change their war-policy, or die. They cannot stand forever, if they can much longer, its incessant, ubiquitous, enormous drain upon their material or their moral resources.

Just glance at some leading facts patent to every eye. In the last half century the nations of Europe have probably spent in actual war an amount greater than all they are now worth; and these expenditures they are, even in time of peace, constantly increasing at a fearful rate. Those of England have more than doubled in thirty years, and those of the Continent have not been much better. In peace, Europe keeps from four to five millions of men ready, on land and sea, for the work of mutual slaughter and wholesale mischief. The sum total of her war-debts already amounts to nearly, if not quite, ten thousand million dollars; and these debts are constantly increasing even in times of profound peace and general prosperity. England never expects to pay her debt; we doubt whether any other nation in Europe will do much better than she in this respect; and nearly every government there is steadily pushing its system of taxation just as fast and far as the people will bear. Meanwhile they are straining

every nerve in the rivalry of preparations for war; and the recent changes in naval warfare, threatening to supersede the old navies, and demanding in their place enormously expensive iron-clad war-ships, will impose burdens that must ere long become absolutely intolerable. The people cannot, if they would, bear them forever. Nations must, from sheer necessity, change their war-policy, and devise some other system for the settlement of their disputes, for the protection of their rights, and the redress of their wrongs. The issue is clear as noon-day, and inevitable as fate. They are stabbing or eating out their own vitals; and they must, sooner or later, abandon their suicidal war-policy for a policy of peace, or go to perdition.

Such change, however, we neither expect nor desire to be introduced at once; but we insist that it can be, and must be, in time. Nor is it so difficult as many suppose. Light, poured like that of the sun all over Christendom, would insure it. Just revolutionize public opinion on the subject; and the result we seek, would gradually follow as a matter of course. It can be done, if we will, with moral certainty and comparative ease. How much would such a change cost? Not a hundredth part as much as it now does to sustain the war-system. This system requires for its support even in peace not less than four million men, and a thousand million dollars every year. How small a fraction of these would suffice to effect in thirty years such a change of opinion as would lead nations to supersede in time their war-policy by one of peaceful justice, far more effective in securing their rights, and redressing their wrongs, than the sword ever has been, or ever can be. If only one of the thousand million dollars spent annually by Christendom for war purposes, had been wisely used every year for the last fifty years in spreading light on this subject all over Christendom, we should doubtless have seen long ago such a change in public opinion as would ere this have rendered war among its nations well-nigh impossible, and its whole war-system in a course of sure, if not rapid extinction.

How sad the thought that the seeds of peace were not sown among ourselves in season to avert the terrible crime and calamity now upon us! But our people would not spend one dollar for peace; and now they are forced to spend in war scores on scores of thousands; and God only knows when or how it is all to end. Alas! if we could only have been wise in season. To say nothing of the hundreds of thousands of lives sacrificed, had only a single day's cost and waste of this rebellion, probably not less on both sides than three mil-

lion dollars, been spent, or the bare interest of it,—\$180,000 a year,—in *seasonable* efforts to diffuse all over our country light on this subject, and thus train the people of the South, as well as the North, in only the lowest principles and habits of peace, this appeal to the sword could never have been made, but all our difficulties would have been settled by legal, peaceful means. The merest fraction of what has been spent in past years upon our own comparatively cheap war-system, would have sufficed, if used in season, to avert all this wide and fearful avalanche of crime, calamity and woe upon our land.

TAXATION IN FRANCE.—The ingenuity of France in finding subjects for taxation, is remarkable. It is proposed to levy in Paris an annual tax upon carriages, of four wheels, of fifty francs; upon those of two wheels, thirty francs; and twenty-five francs upon each saddle and carriage horse. In the country this tax is to be reduced to forty, twenty-five and twenty. It is said there are 12,000 carriages in Paris, and that through the country the result of this impost would be 5,500,000 francs or more. Dogs are taxed now at the rate of ten francs per annum; and it is said the government intends to levy a tax upon cats. Among other projects of increasing the revenue, is also said to be one for a tax of a centime a hundred upon matches, which would yield half a million of dollars a year. The good Lord save us from such minute, ubiquitous taxation; but the rebellion is sure to draw after it for ages, if not to the end of time, this hateful yet inevitable legacy of war. Our days of comparative freedom from taxation are gone in all probability forever. Henceforth ours will be the fate of Sisyphus rolling his stone, and of Ixion tugging at his wheel.

BRITISH WAR EXPENSES.—In 1835, the cost of our army, navy and ordnance combined, was less than £12,000,000; in 1850 it had increased to £15,300,000, and now to nearly £30,000,000 a year. France spends £5,000,000 a year on her navy, we £13,000,000; and yet we are told that we are greatly behind that terrible naval power in naval preparation. We have more than 900,000 men in our army and navy, and are paying for them thirty millions a year, or nearly £600,000 (\$3,000,000) a week, £100,000 every working day, £4000 every hour in the twenty-four, £66 every minute, or £1 every second of every working day in the year; an amount which in two years exceeds the value of our entire British and Colonial fleet of merchantmen.—*London Patriot.*

SPECIE AND BANK-NOTE CIRCULATION.—Advance from 1840 to 1860.—Circulation of notes in 1840, \$132,405,294; in 1860, \$208,000,000. Increase 57 per cent. Specie, 1840, \$33,165,155; 1860, \$80,000,000. Increase 160 per cent. Thus the specie increased almost three times as fast as the circulation; and while in 1840 one specie dollar supported four paper dollars, and in 1850 sustained three, it now holds up less than two and a half. So much for California.

THEORIES OF PEACE.

Ridicule is much easier than an honest, earnest search after truth; and thus it is that most men, even while claiming to be followers of the Prince of Peace, undervalue the cause of peace through an inexcusable ignorance of what it really is. They have few definite ideas of its principles, its object or its means. They talk flippantly about its quixotism, its visionary, impracticable schemes, just as if they contained no reason or practical reality. But what are "the theories of peace?" We will state in brief some of the most important:—

One is, that war is an unchristian, irrational, brutal method of settling disputes, that ought, especially in such an age as ours, to be discarded, might be, and will be just as fast as public opinion on the subject shall be recast in the mould of the gospel.

Another is, that the principle of legal, peaceful justice, such a system of laws and courts as every civilized community provides for its individual members, is equally applicable to nations, ought to be applied for the settlement of their controversies without resort to arms, and might, if used in season and in good faith, be made to supersede all necessity of appealing to the sword.

We insist, also, that war, after ever so many years of mutual slaughter and devastation, really decides nothing, but still leaves the whole original matter of dispute to be settled in the end by the very same means that might have been employed far better before fighting than after it.

We urge, moreover, *specific substitutes* for war; substitutes much more likely than the sword to secure the great ends of international justice and safety. We say, as a clear dictate of common sense, that controversies, whether between individuals or communities, can be settled only in one of two ways—either by amicable agreement between the parties, or by reference to a third party as umpire; and hence our substitutes for war would be mainly the following:

1. *Negotiation*, by which the parties adjust their own difficulties; and, if nations, or their rulers, would always keep their passions under the control of reason, would discard the illusions of national honor, and abstain from all committals in the way of menace or defiance, waiting patiently till mutual forbearance and concession should be exhausted in vain, they could hardly fail in any case to secure between themselves a peaceful adjustment.

2. *Reference in different forms*.—If the parties cannot agree be-

tween themselves, they must, either before or after fighting, refer the points in controversy to umpires in one of the following ways:—*Mediation*, where a third party, friendly to both, interposes with the offer of its services as mediator.—*Arbitration*, where the parties unite in submitting the matter in dispute to the decision of umpires. This has been for ages an occasional expedient; but we wish to make it a *permanent substitute* for war. We therefore urge nations to stipulate *expressly* for this in their treaties, hence termed *Stipulated Arbitration*; and just as soon as this shall become *the usage of all nations*, the whole war-system must gradually pass, like the judicial combats of a former age, into entire and perpetual disuse.—*A Congress of Nations*, designed to provide, in its code and its courts, essentially the same means of peaceful justice for nations, that every civilized society has provided for individuals and minor communities.

Such are the chief “theories of the Peace Society.” Is there in them anything absurd, visionary or impracticable? If so, we challenge you to show it. It does not profess to cure all the evils of society, but merely to prevent, or mitigate, and eventually do away, those which come from the custom of nations settling their controversies by the sword. Here is its precise and sole mission. Is it not a proper, a necessary, a most important work? Are not the means proposed both rational and feasible? Does not the whole enterprise commend itself to the Christian, the philanthropist, the patriot, and every man of sense?

ENGLISH VIEWS OF OUR PRESENT DUTY:

RESPONSE TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE LONDON PEACE SOCIETY TO OUR PEOPLE.*

We have received “the Address of the London Peace Society to the People of the United States,” with a request that we would “procure its insertion in our journals.” We rejoice in the proof it gives of your interest in our welfare, and of your anxiety to see the contest still raging in our land, brought to an end; but we doubt, after much reflection, the wisdom of our endeavoring, as matters now stand, to urge its circulation here.

The Address, though excellent in its aim and its spirit, contains after all no facts, arguments or motives not already familiar to our people. Indeed, we on the ground know far better than any foreigners can, at what

*FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CHRISTIANS, — More than sixteen months have elapsed since we ventured to address to you a few words of respectful and earnest entreaty against referring the dispute which agitated your country, to the decision of the sword. Since then the evils of war have

a fearful rate this unnatural conflict is wasting property and life ; how many hearts and homes it is desolating all over the land ; how much vice, crime and misery it must necessarily diffuse ; how likely, if not sure, it is to become in its progress more and more fierce, ruthless and savage ; and how loudly " the interests of civilization, the honor of free government, and the glory of the Gospel," plead for its speedy termination. On such points as these, which form the substance of your appeal, it is not possible for you to exceed, if you can equal, the convictions forced upon ourselves long ago by the terrible experience through which we are now passing.

On such generalities, then, we are agreed ; but in view of all the facts in the case, what would you have the friends of peace here do ? Shall we press anew the general arguments in favor of peace ? This we did in early anticipation of just what is now upon us. Before the rebellion began, we earnestly warned the parties, then accessible in every part of the land by common means of communication through the mail and the press, against the vast and terrible evils sure to overwhelm us all from any mode of ad-

been brought home to your own experience with an impressiveness and force which make the language of respectful admonition we then employed, and, indeed, all human language, poor and powerless in comparison with the reality.

But the difficulties in which the war originated, appear as far as ever from a satisfactory solution. And is it not necessarily so ? How is it possible that conflicts of brute force can decide complex questions of moral and political right ? Is it not the inevitable tendency of such conflicts to exasperate, rather than to conciliate, differences ? And is not the time come, when thoughtful and religious men among you should begin to ask yourselves the question, " Shall the sword devour for ever ? "

We entreat you to believe, Christian friends, that apart altogether from political and commercial considerations, of any and every kind, there are myriads of Christian hearts in this country which are wrung with a very anguish of sympathy and sorrow at the desolating calamity which is laying waste your country. How, indeed, can it be otherwise ? Are you not our nearest kindred among all the nations of the earth ? Are we not united to you by the manifold ties of common race, language, literature and religion ? Are there not many of us bound to many of you by the closest moral and spiritual sympathies, by community of interest and action in great enterprises of Christian philanthropy, and by frequent acts of religious fellowship ? How, then, can we witness the deplorable scenes of blood and misery now presented to us in your country, without having our hearts rent with grief ?

It is not merely the loss of precious human life, with the premature extinction of incalculable capacities for usefulness in the service of God and man ; not merely the enormous waste of wealth, which might have been turned to so many admirable purposes ; not merely the prolonged agony of loving hearts, and the eternal desolation of families, which this war involves. More mournful to us than even these evils, fearful as they are, is the appalling moral damage it is inflicting on the national life and character, hardening the heart, searing the conscience, unchristianizing the temper of the whole population. Nor is this deteriorating process likely to stop. It is in the nature of all war, emphatically so of all civil war, to become more ferocious in feeling, more bloody and barbarous in act, at

justment likely to involve a resort to the sword. What more could we have done, than we did at the time, to avert the present conflict? We pressed every conceivable motive in favor of employing only such peaceful measures as the parties themselves had, in their cool and candid moments, provided in their common laws to meet all such cases. By every consideration so well enumerated in your Address, we besought them as Christians and patriots, as friends of God and man, to banish all thought of imbruing their hands in each other's blood for the settlement of controversies that can never be satisfactorily adjusted by any other than rational, peaceful means. Such was then, as it is now, the prayer of all loyal citizens. Neither they, nor the government, have ever asked anything more than what is confessedly prescribed in laws to which all owed submission. Such a restraint upon their schemes, however, the rebels would not brook. They resolved, right or wrong, to have their own way at all hazards, by fair means if they could, by foul if they must; and, finding every other expedient fail, they boldly seized our government by the throat, and claim-

every step in advance. There are not wanting ominous indications that this war also is rapidly developing the same tendencies, revealing to us, at no distant time, the probability of a series of retributions and reprisals, becoming ever more ruthless and savage, until humanity veils her face in horror at the prospect.

Is the time not come, we repeat, friends and fellow Christians, when an attempt should be made to arrest this destructive conflict? We deprecate utterly all armed intervention, or any intervention at all, but such as you yourselves would willingly admit on the part of England, or any European power, in your affairs. We beseech you to reflect that sooner or later, some method of peaceful adjustment must be adopted. There are only two alternative issues out of war,—either the utter extermination of one party, or some form of accommodation and compromise between the contending sides. None of you can wish the former. And is it not better ~~at~~ once to have recourse to the latter, before further blood is shed, and the feelings on both sides shall become hopelessly inflamed with animosity and vengeance?

We appeal especially to the religious portion of the community amongst you. Is not this one of the conjunctures by which the practical value and power of Christianity are to be tested? And shall American Christianity, at such a crisis as this, abdicate its high functions as the great reconciler, whose special business it is to calm the angry passions, and to keep before the minds of men the sublime lessons of the universal fatherhood of God, and the universal brotherhood of man?

The eyes of the whole world are fixed upon you. There is no great principle in which the friends of humanity are interested, but must suffer incalculable injury by a prolongation of this conflict. We beseech you, therefore, friends and fellow-Christians, for the interests of civilization, for the honor of free government, for the glory of Christ's Gospel, that you, the ministers of religion, and the conductors of the religious press especially, should put forth your influence to bring about a speedy settlement of a quarrel which at present is arresting the progress of civilization, bringing disrepute upon all free government, retarding the triumphs of the Gospel, and causing the Name that is above every name, to be blasphemed among the heathen through you.

HENRY RICHARD, *Secretary.*
LONDON, September, 1862.

JOSEPH PEASE, *President.*

ed the right (!) to trample all its constitutions and laws under their feet with impunity.

It was thus we were brought into our present deplorable condition ; and now what would you advise peacemen here to do beyond what we have done ? *Neutrality is plainly impossible* ; we *must* take sides either with the rebels, or with the government. On which side shall we take our stand ? Do you say, 'do nothing, but remain in friendly neutrality to both ?' This would mean, in practice, a most effective endorsement and support of the rebellion ; for the rebels, like all wrong-doers, ask only to be let alone in their guilty schemes. Would you have us resist or discountenance a due enforcement of the laws ? This we cannot do, as no true peace-man can. We all profess to be loyal ; but loyalty, if it means anything to the purpose, must mean that we support the government over us in all ways not forbidden by our principles. We all regard civil government as a divine appointment for the benefit of society ; but a government that may not, or does not enforce its own laws against those who violate them, is really no government at all, and would be scouted by men of sense as a burlesque on the name. If we deny it this power, we reduce it to a practical nullity. It *must* punish crime, or it ceases in fact to be a government. Now, rebellion is the very climax of crimes against society ; and if a government is not allowed to punish such offenses, what can it do, or what is it worth ? In the present case, our government has attempted only to enforce its laws against rebels in arms. Can this be wrong ? Would you have us use our influence against such enforcement, and in favor of letting rebels trample all law and all authority under their feet with entire impunity ? If not, what *shall* we do ?

We should be very glad if you can make the path of our duty plain ; but, for this purpose, we need something more specific than we find in your Address. Tell us, if you can, precisely what we shall do in the present crisis of our country. Shall we go to the rebels ? They are inaccessible to us, more than they are to yourselves ; and if you could through your own government, or by any other means, bring them back to their duty, you would at once end these troubles. Shall we appeal to our rulers ? But what shall we say to them ? Beg them to stop this unnatural, ruinous conflict ? But how ? They will tell us they are quite ready and anxious to do so in any way they can consistently with their duty. They were appointed, and have solemnly sworn, to see the laws executed ; and they only fulfil their oath of office in putting down the rebellion. They have no legal right to do anything else. They were elected, not to divide the country, but to rule it in accordance with its laws ; and this they *must* do, or give up their places to others who will. It is now their special, imperative duty to coerce rebels into submission ; but they have no authority to recognize them as a distinct, independent confederacy. This could be done only by changing the fundamental law of our Republic ; and every proffer of such change for such a purpose, the rebels haughtily spurn-

ed from the start. Shall we ask our rulers, then, to stop the fighting, or in other words, to cease from all efforts to execute the laws against rebellion? This would just be urging them to abdicate their powers, and hand the country over to the rebels, if not to anarchy. Here is the true and the whole controversy. As viewed by all loyal men among us, it is a question of life or death to our government, and the result, if we yield to the rebels, sure to be either a plunge into anarchy, or the rise here of a worse despotism than the world has ever seen. Would you have us favor such a result? Impossible; but should we make the attempt, of what avail would it be with everybody except traitors set against it?

We have another difficulty. You well know that our settled principles and policy as peace reformers forbid our interfering with the legitimate domestic operations of government in support of its own authority, or the enforcement of its laws. All along have we distinctly said, that we deem it no part of our business to decide how murder, or any other crime, shall be punished; how a mob, an insurrection or a rebellion shall be put down; by what precise means either a government shall maintain its rightful, indispensable supremacy, or a people shall right their wrongs, and permanently secure their liberty. Such questions, however important, it is not ours as peacemen to consider; but, while restricted to the single object of doing away the custom of war among nations, their practice of appealing to the sword as the only recognized arbiter of their disputes, we have been careful to avow our loyalty to government, and to insist that the tendency of our views is to uphold and confirm its rightful authority. If rebellion be a crime, it is not ours as peacemen to say how it shall be treated, any more than it is to decide how theft, murder or piracy shall be punished. The question belongs not to us, but to government; and, whether right or wrong in its mode of dealing with rebels, it is simply ours, as law-abiding citizens, to acquiesce, without any personal responsibility therefor, in whatever action it may take. The case comes not in the domain of peace, but in that of civil government, and is a question of obedience or resistance to its rightful authority. It is not a dispute with another nation, but strictly and solely a domestic difficulty; and the single point in issue is, whether the government shall be obeyed or resisted by its own subjects. The peace cause was never meant to meet such issues. Its specific aim is the abolition of war among nations; but a rebellion against a government by its own subjects, is not a conflict by force of arms between two nations. It will, of course, be called, in loose parlance, war, civil war, embodying in itself perhaps the worst elements of war in any form; and yet it differs essentially from what is commonly meant by war, or the custom of war. Nations have no common tribunal to decide between them; but all subjects, whether loyal or rebellious, have such a tribunal, to which they can resort, if they wish, for a peaceful redress of their wrongs. There is no power authorized, as in the case of citizens, to hear and adjudicate their disputes. There is no established system, such as every government pro-

vides for its own subjects, to decide between nations, and mete out impartial justice. If the punishment or restraint of those who violate law be proper, then the suppression of a riot or a rebellion must be a legitimate act of government. It may do this in a wrong way; but it has just as clear a right to punish this crime as it has any other. Ought any act of government in enforcing its laws against its own subjects, to be stigmatized as war? With such views as these, long established as our guide, we see not how we could consistently interfere with the regular execution of the laws against our rebels, after they had once put themselves in array against the government.

Just make our case your own. Were you at the head of the British Empire, or the American Republic, how would you, as a conscientious Christian ruler, deal with open, persistent violators of the laws? Let them alone in their wickedness? If you should, what would be the effect? If we have a government, it must be upheld in its rightful authority. If laws are enacted, they must be put in force. If crimes are committed, they must be visited with condign punishment. If rebellion be a gigantic, wholesale crime, a fountain from which flow nearly all crimes, shall this alone be allowed with impunity to stalk in blood and devastation through the land? Would you deem it right or wise for peacemen, or any others, to obstruct or discountenance a due enforcement of the laws?

Bring our case more fully home to yourselves. If one of your most estimable citizens, a man of wealth at the head of a large family, were stripped of his property, as well as of his authority, and driven from his home by two of his sons; or if a gang of burglars or incendiaries were to rob the Bank of England, and set fire to London; or if a set of bold, reckless conspirators, with disappointed and desperate politicians at their head, were to seize the Tower, your grand arsenal at Woolwich, and no small part of the public treasure within reach; would you urge your own rulers, as you do ours, to let such villains alone, and leave them to complete, without resistance, their schemes of wholesale mischief and crime? If Lancashire, with all Ireland and half of Scotland, were to rise in rebellion, and openly avow their purpose to usurp or overthrow your government, and dismember the British Empire, would you deem it wrong to withstand the rebels, and bring them to condign punishment? These illustrations are by no means too strong to illustrate our case; and if you cannot say how you would yourselves act in such circumstances, we see not how you can advise us in ours.

Nor must we conceal our most serious difficulty in circulating your Address—the certainty of its being received with disfavor and distrust by nearly all our loyal citizens. You may be surprised at this; but everybody here knows it to be a fact. England's treatment of us since the rise of the Slaveholders' Rebellion, has wrought among our people an almost total change of feeling toward her. They look upon her, with the influences that predominate in her government, and among her ruling classes,

as our *worst enemy* next to our rebels, in clear sympathy and collusion with them, and anxious, like them, to see our Republic broken in pieces. Even your own address implicitly asks us to submit to this catastrophe; an advice that, in a change of circumstances, England would indignantly spurn. Everything that comes from your country now, they suspect of some lurking hostility. Most deeply do we deplore this state of feeling between the two countries; but we are of course compelled to act in view of this fact. Just reverse the case. Suppose that not only Lancashire, Ireland, and no small part of Scotland, but all India, and every one of your possessions in North America, were leagued in a conspiracy, wider and mightier than the world had ever seen before, to overthrow your government, and put in its place another almost entirely different in its aim, principles and tendencies; that everybody, certainly yourselves, viewed the contest as a death-struggle for the very existence of the British Empire, and sure to involve in its issues the question whether either Freedom or Protestantism should have any fair chance in England or in any part of Europe for long ages to come; that our rulers, forgetting in this your extremity all their treaty obligations, should, in hot haste, rush without warning to show these banded rebels all the countenance they safely could, by conceding to them belligerent rights, thus treating them, *Nina Sahib* himself, with as much favor as they would your Premier or your Queen, and as having just as good right to violate your laws as your rulers have to enforce them; that our government, despite its proclamation of neutrality, and the repeated protests of your minister at Washington, were conniving at all sorts of aid and comfort to the rebels, even the building of armed privateers in our ports, provisioned and manned by our own seamen to cruise under our own flag, and plunder your commerce on every sea; that our President, and the chief members of his cabinet, as echoes of public opinion here, should proclaim in advance the dismemberment of your empire as a foregone conclusion demanded by the welfare of the world, and by your own interests, if you did but know it; that all our most influential classes and leading papers were notoriously in favor of such a dismemberment, playing into the hands of your enemies in every way they safely could, jubilant over their successes, and truculently gloating over your own disasters; in such circumstances, with what favor do you imagine the people of England would receive from us an address urging them to let such rebels have their own way in trying to lay your magnificent empire in ruins, or reduce it, all shorn of its pristine glories, to a third-rate power? Would you deem it wise, in the very height of the contest, to press upon your rulers or your people such a plea on behalf of the rebellion? If not, you can conceive how your address must be received by the mass of our people.

We deeply regret the necessity of reporting such an answer to your well-meant appeal; but we know not when we can get before the public, through either press or pulpit, any such views as we ourselves pressed upon

both parties before this rebellion began. It is a state of things more deplorable than you can well conceive ; but we see not at present how the friends of peace, whether abroad or here, can touch it with any hope of good results. Just as soon as we can, we certainly shall do so ; and meanwhile we hope all foreigners, if friendly to us, will show their friendship by letting us entirely alone. It is clear that few of them understand our case ; and it makes our people very sore to see them dogmatizing about it just as if they understood it better than we do ourselves. We cannot say that we have found any paper or person ready, as matters now stand, to favor an effort for the circulation of your appeal here.

We will state, as a specimen, a few facts to show how the best men among us feel at this crisis. Of our two largest and most influential Congregational churches in Boston, one has sent more than one hundred men to the war, with their eloquent pastor as chaplain, who takes with him, as a private volunteer, his oldest son, a lad of sixteen ; and the other church has unanimously voted to let their junior pastor go as chaplain, while the senior pastor, though regarded here as a strong pro-slavery man, has three sons in the army. So much for the leading evangelical denomination in New England ; while for the Methodist, the largest Protestant sect in all the land, we quote the following indication of their views from one of their papers that has fallen under our notice since we began this letter : “ *A Methodist Regiment*—The 73d Illinois regiment, which has just (Sept.) passed through Cincinnati to Kentucky, has a large share of Methodists in it. More than half of the privates are members of the Methodist Church ; seven of the Captains are regular itinerant ministers ; the Colonel is a Methodist preacher ; and the venerable Rev. John S. Burger, of the Illinois Conference, the chaplain, is known by thousands of our readers. In the private ranks are twenty-five Methodist preachers.” Thus nearly all Christians here feel, except such pro-slavery men as England has been wont to deem unworthy the Christian name. They regard it as one of their plainest and most sacred duties to put down this rebellion at all hazards ; a duty quite as imperative upon them as that of either supporting the gospel at home, or spreading it among the heathen ; a duty they owe to God, their country and the world.

These extended statements we make to show you how we are situated as peace-men. We shall be glad to receive from you any light that may make our path of duty plainer, and trust, at all events, you will enlist the prayers of all good men among you, that God will ere long bring us out of these strange and terrible straits.

In the bonds of Peace and Love,

Very truly yours,

GEO. C. BECKWITH, *Sec. Am. Peace Society.*

Boston, Oct. 10, 1862.

REV. HENRY RICHARD, *Sec. London Peace Society.*

SOME OF THE PRESENT DUTIES OF PEACEMEN.

With you I can heartily say, I have lost no interest, nor experienced any change of opinion, on the subject of peace; and with you I am aware that the times render it very difficult to make progress, or even hold our own in the cause. If in time of peace our importunities were dismissed with the half-courteous assurance, 'I think just as you do on the subject, but see, quite beyond you, difficulties which no human power can reach, and, while recognizing your good intent, cannot waste my time or means in a cause so hopeless,' what can we expect when the powers of hell are suffered to take the reins?

I have always thought the Peace Cause, like every Christian reform, ought to go along with the gospel; and accordingly I wrote to Dr. Baird, Sec. Am. and For. Chr. Union, in response to a courteous invitation published in its organ. My letter, somewhat lengthy, was an appeal to that society to give the Cause of Peace a place among their efforts in the professed Christian church, since I viewed it as coming within their professed design and effort. It was courteously received; and I have thought it may perhaps be expedient for the Peace Society to invite their co-operation in *this branch* of Christian reform. I have, also, addressed to some of our best religious papers animadversions on some comments and commendations respecting the alleged benefits of war which had found place in their columns. I have seen, however, no notice of my communications; and there seems to be a virtual concert among the exponents and guardians of public opinion to shut, if possible, the public mind against any fair or earnest consideration of the peace question. If we could induce our best men to go with us into the closet, and for a grave hour shut out the din and smoke of war, and take a sober view of the whole theme, we might make progress in our cause as never before. But tossed, as the public mind is, on the tempestuous flood of our daily prints, and deafened by the outbursts of joy and woe, of commendation and condemnation, we can gain neither the eye nor the ear, much less the candid thought.

Well, then, does the last Advocate ask, what can the friends of peace do? I subscribe to the sixth item as my special answer. Our whole nation are taking hard lessons on war that cannot soon be obliterated; and the friends of peace should take the occasion, if not to learn for themselves, at least to impress on the community as many as possible of the arguments and warnings of peace.

From this war I am more strongly impressed than ever with the utter inconsistency of martial with civil law. Says the Constitution of Vermont, "The military should ever be kept in strict subordination to and governed by the civil power." This looks well on paper, but in war is impossible. Hence the difficulty realized by our Congress relative to contraband and confiscation. Hence the reason why this contest, though begun as the act of a sovereign over an offending subordinate, so soon ran into belligerency, and compelled the acceptance of flags of truce, and the parol and exchange of prisoners, to keep within the accredited limits of civilization. What should have been a process of justice, a direct, simple enforcement of laws, has degenerated for the most part into the common usages of war.

Now, what are the principles of war? "War," says Vattel, "is that state in which a nation prosecutes its claims by force. . . . No person is naturally exempt from taking up arms in defense of his State. . . . The sovereign should exactly specify and determine the functions, duties and rights of military persons. . . . The troops officers and soldiers are only instruments in his hands; and they execute his will, not their own. They are not responsible. The arms and all the apparatus are only instruments of an inferior order. . . . Every member capable of carrying arms, should take them up at the first order of him who has the power of making war. . . . War cannot be just on both sides; yet in every case, susceptible of doubt, the arms of the two parties are to be accounted equally lawful on both sides, as pertains to external effects."

Such are the laws studied at our military academies, and even in our colleges; and, though we may have been ready to pass them by as obsolete, we now see them to be a practical reality utterly inconsistent with the supremacy of justice, and in direct contrast to the sovereignty of the people. I am fully convinced that these and similar maxims must be done away before much progress can be made in the cause of peace. The factitious distinctions between persons and people, between citizens and subjects, between status and domicile, must give place to the doctrine of human brotherhood. We have believed it in the power of an enlightened public opinion, by a salutary pressure on the aristocracy, and aspirants to office, to secure such an end; but current events are thwarting such a course, and leaving the nation more sadly involved in those absurdities than we had ever apprehended or feared.

The friends of peace must take this opportunity, when our present

conflict is over, to break in upon the absurd laws of nations. We must show their tendencies by their effects, their true character by their contrast to civil and common law, and thus bring them into contempt, abhorrence and eventual disuse. In doing this, however, we have a more formidable obstacle than the aristocracy, or the aspirant to office. This obstacle is found in the clergy — in those whose profession it is to teach religion and morality, the will of God, and the duties of man, and who are to a great extent accredited by the people in such teaching. Would that their influence in their appropriate work were far greater than it is. Yet have the clergy come out in this war as the bulwark of those absurd maxims in and by which this war exists. Such a statement relative to the clergy, I am aware, may shock many a pious mind; but, if we confine the statement to the clergy of the South, there would be a ready acquiescence. Davis and his coadjutors did not dare enter on their bloody work until they had secured from the leading clergy a pledge of their influence. Without censuring the clergy of the North for the aid they have given by their influence to enlistments, and it has been great, I must say, they have done much to revive the old despotic sentiment that there resides in civil government a certain mystic, divine life or power above and beyond that of the people who compose the State; a power capable of binding men's consciences in certain cases, or rather a certain delegated divine authority over men. By such inculcations much has been done by the clergy, even of the North, to convince the people, that civil government has by divine sanction a power over the liberties, and even the lives of the people, a divine authority of appealing to arms as "*the highest trial of right.*" Thus the clergy, whose duty and profession it is to inculcate the word of God, are doing much to shield the ambitious warrior against the remonstrances of conscience, which no other class of men can do. Nor is this strange; for as the acts of war are a direct invasion upon the prerogatives of God, men cannot well be induced to perpetrate them without assurance of a special divine sanction. So it has ever been even in pagan lands, and in the most corrupt forms of Christianity. Heathen priests have taught that the smell of carnage was more grateful to their gods than sweet incense. The envy of Cain, which led to the first murder, was excited by religious rivalry; and it may be doubted whether any war, from his age downward, has been accomplished without the claim of religious sanction.

With these views, I am led to believe, that the only point we can

press with hope of success, is the clerical, and that the friends of peace should now be preparing themselves for this work. What though they should find it necessary to array before the moral vision of the clergy all the innocent blood, with all its guilt and remorse, that has been shed from the days of righteous Abel to the last victim of this rebellion? If they are the true disciples of Christ, they will meekly receive the rebuke. I have no doubt, if the clergy and the church could be brought to right views of war, and the flagrant absurdities of international law, and to repudiate all that veneration for kings and governments which has no foundation in moral right, and none in Scripture, but had its origin in the unhallowed alliance of church and state, then all the difficulties, especially in our own land, from governmental sources in bringing the war-delusion to an end, would clear up apace.

Middlebury, Vt.

S. W. B.

BATTLE OF BATON ROUGE, LA.—The field exhibited evidences of the desperation of the combatants at the crossing of the roads where the rebels had endeavored to flank us, and where they were met by the Indiana and Michigan Regiments. The men fought hard. Those who had lost their arms tore up the rails from the fences. More than one rebel was found dead who had been killed in this way. In one spot, behind a beautiful tomb, with effigies of infant children kneeling, twelve dead rebels was found in one heap. Everywhere they strewed the earth, and made ghastly the quiet grave-yard in which they lay

SOULS OF SOLDIERS.—Who is responsible for them? Who will answer for them in the day of judgment? They fight our battles for us, and in our stead discharge the solemn duty of all legal citizens in defending the government. While we are secure and happy at home, they, as our representatives, are exposing health and comfort, their limbs and their lives, to the fatal hazards of war. We will gratefully recognize their good service in our behalf, and acknowledge our obligation to equip, maintain and reward them. But what Christian can reflect how much more than mere *life* every soldier imperils, and not feel the terrible stress of the inquiry, 'what is to become of these men's souls? Who must answer for them, if we let them go into battle and into eternity without the very best religious instruction?' Too many of them are manifestly unprepared to die, and if cut down as they are, would take their place forever with the ungodly and the blasphemers. If patriotism, justice and humanity command us to care well for their temporal good, a thousand-fold more do they oblige us to do *all* that can be done to save their souls endangered in our cause.—*N. Y. Observer.*

These are very natural and pungent questions; but how is it possible to have war in any form without all the evils so pathetically deplored. Why not strike then at the root of the whole mischief by doing away its cause the custom of war?

SOUTHERN TREASON.

Like Jezebel's face at her casement,
 Strangely dismayed and perplexed,
 The World looks forth in amazement,
 Marvelling what's to come next ;
 The World looks around her in wonder
 For Beauty and Strength destroy'd,
 For Brotherhoods broken in sunder,
 And Statecraft quite made void !

Alas, for America's glory !
 Ichabod—vanish'd outright ;
 And all her magnificent story
 Told as a dream of the night !
 Alas, for the heroes and sages,
 Saddened in Hades to know
 That what they had built for all ages,
 Melts like a palace of snow !

And woe, for the shame and the pity,
 That, all for no cause, to no end,
 City should fight against city,
 And brother with brother contend !
 Alas, what a libel on Freedom !
 Patriots—gone to the bad,
 Citizens—Arabs of Edom,
 Slavedrivers—Liberty-mad !

How sadly through sons so degraded,
 Pigmies ill-sprung of great men,
 Even your glories look faded,
 Washington, Franklin, and Penn !
 Popular government slander'd
 'Mid the deep scorn of the world ;
 Liberty's star-crowded standard
 Foul'd by black treason are furled !

Southerner, shame on such treason !
 Woe, for your folly and guilt—
 Woe, for this War of Unreason—
 Woe, for the brothers'-blood spilt !
 Curse on such monsters unfilial,
 Tearing their mother to shreds—
 Curse on those children of Belial—
 Curse on their parricide heads !

Albury, Sept. 23.

MARTIN F. TUPPER.

PEACEMEN RESPECTED IN WAR.—It is remarkable that a settlement of Quakers near Mount Vernon have remained unmolested during the entire war, though alternately included within national and rebel lines. Their semi-weekly meetings have been regularly continued, sometimes a rebel picket pacing in front of the building, and perhaps a Union sentinel having the same beat the next week. They have remained undisturbed both in property and in person.

BRITISH SYMPATHY WITH AMERICA.

From an article in the July number of the *American Quarterly Review*, one of our ablest journals, edited chiefly by Professors in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in New York, we quote an extract that very truthfully represents the view, taken by nearly all loyal men in this country, of England's conduct towards us in this rebellion :—

“ Up to this time the tone of the foreign, especially of the English press and periodicals, had been favorable to the United States government. The North was encouraged ; the South was blamed. England had freed its colonial slaves, and boasted of its love and sacrifices for human freedom. For a quarter of a century, it had been assailing this country chiefly because it was the only Christian power that tolerated slavery at home. British Christians catechized all our ministers upon this question, and refused the right hand of fellowship to such as could not clear themselves of the suspicion of looking upon the slave-system with leniency or indifference. All Europe understood that the last presidential election turned upon the question of the prohibition of slavery in the territories—in fact, upon the question, whether the slave-interest should be national or local. Abroad the election of Mr. Lincoln was well nigh universally hailed as an indication that the power of slavery was broken, and that the free North would exercise in our national councils the supremacy to which it was entitled by its numerical superiority, and by its devotion to free labor, free speech, and human rights. The Great Republic was greeted as disenthralled from the fatal spell that had so long held it in bondage to a system which sacrificed the general welfare to the exorbitant demands of a slave-holding minority and oligarchy.

But no sooner was the rebellion fairly inaugurated by the Confederate States, than all this applause was suddenly changed into doubt, reproach or denunciation. The disruption of the Republic seemed to be assumed as a foregone conclusion. Apologies were invented for the South, and calumnies for the North. The war was “deplored” (the pet word) as a terrible struggle for a chimerical and undesirable result. The lust of conquest was stigmatised as the moving spring of the North, and the love of independence applauded as the passion of the South. The right of Secession was violently maintained by journalists that had evidently never seen our Constitution. Slavery, it was squarely asserted, had really nothing to do with the strife. It was even gravely maintained, that if Englishmen wanted to see the slave-trade abolished, and emancipation made sure and easy, they must sympathize with the Confederate States. The vaunted British sympathy, more often extolled than tested, for the weaker and oppressed party, was invoked in favor of the persecuted Southern States, who only wanted to secure their independence. Besides, if the South succeeded, republicanism was surely a failure, as sagacious Englishmen had always said it must be. Also, if the South succeeded, it would have free trade with England, and free trade is a very great blessing—for England, which has so many manufactured goods to sell in the dearest markets, and raw goods to buy in the cheapest. And would it not, after all, be better to have the new slave republic succeed (especially as it had prohibited the slave trade,) than to have the Great Republic subdue it ; for in the latter case, the power of republicanism would be proved mightier than any other form of government ; whereas, if the South established its independence, it would certainly need a stronger government than before, possibly an aristocracy in form as well as in fact, and this would go to show that aristocracy is conducive to the well-being of states. Even if it were a slave republic, that would not make any English-

man love slavery more; whereas, if the United States triumphed, and all the States were reunited as one free republic, this would give greater warrant and license than ever before to the insolent radical faction under "our venerable constitution," who have been trying to prove by Western example, that the masses may wisely be entrusted with a greater share of that political power which all conservatives hold should be administered, not by the people, but for them. Some ulterior consequences about Canada, the British West Indies, commercial supremacy, naval power, and kindred matters, were also incidentally suggested to reflecting minds. The net result of the whole calculation was thus very clearly made out to be something like this: if the South succeed, England will be a gainer in divers ways (even though, parenthetically, humanity be the loser); but if the North succeed, nobody can tell what may happen, though it is quite probable that the British Isles will not receive any immediate benefit. Serious-minded philanthropists were also prompted to inquire whether, after all, humanity would suffer so very much from the triumph of the South. There are surely men, and gentlemen and Christians (as well as cotton) there in abundance, in spite of their horrible system of slavery; and if they can only be brought into intimate fellowship with the British people, and bound to it by ties of gratitude, may it not reasonably be expected in the course of time that they would be persuaded to treat their poor slaves a little better? Moreover, may there not have been some gross exaggerations about this matter of slavery? The North is very jealous of the South; and it is plainly the interest of the planters to treat their chattels well, or else they could not produce so many bales of cotton of such a long and fine staple. Thoughtful English philanthropists and traders deeply pondered such obvious considerations. De Tocqueville is acknowledged to have written the best book on American Democracy; the same shrewd critic in his *Memoirs* also tells us: "In the eyes of an Englishman a cause is just, if it be the interest of England that it should succeed. A man or a government that is useful to England, has every kind of merit, and one that does England harm, every sort of fault." He also adds, that it is "the conviction of all nations that England considers them only with reference to her own greatness, that she never notices what passes among foreigners, what they think, feel, suffer, or do, but with relation to the use which England can make of their actions, their sufferings, their feelings and their thoughts; and that when she seems most to care for them, she really cares only for herself."

This severe judgment of a philosophical observer seems to be confirmed by the course of the British people in relation to the present crisis in our national affairs. By the closest ties of descent, language and commerce, by traditional regard for the authority of constitutions, and by the inborn love of human rights, as well as by treaties of amity, they were allied to our General Government. When the rebellion broke out, the whole North felt and said, England will surely give us its moral support. And this on two grounds, if on no other; first, the maintenance of the rightful authority of a constitutional government against the assaults of perjured conspirators and traitors; and, secondly, in the interest of human freedom as against the retrograde movement tendencies and inherent selfishness, if not barbarity of the slave power. Here we supposed were fixed facts as to the side to which England would gravitate in its political and moral sympathies. But it was soon found that we were imposed upon by the delusions of a dream. As with one consent, the leading journals, representing the aristocratic, the commercial, and also the religious opinions of Great Britain, began to show the most inexplicable dislike of the United States, and to pour out upon it a torrent of abusive misrepresentation, and perversion of principles and facts, almost unequalled in the fiercest excitement even of a local, political debate.

The amount of stupid prejudice and obstinate ignorance about our affairs shown by these journals, is well nigh incredible. All the old sores of the past fifty years were raked up to inflame popular prejudice. Our institutions, history, morals, manners and government were disparaged and vilified, as if no public or private virtue were left on this side of the ocean. Whatever the South said for itself, or against the North, was credulously believed; and all that the North said was ignored or denied. The tone of the British government itself was cold and diplomatic, and tended to favor the South alone. According to all recognized principles of international law, the only lawful army and navy which England had any right to see within our boundaries, was that called out by the United States. But the British government at the very outset, even before the minister of our government could arrive in England, issued a proclamation, conceding belligerent rights to the revolted as much as to the loyal states. It assumed a position of neutrality between a lawful government and its rebellious citizens. It put the privateers of the latter on the same footing with our men-of-war. The Nashville wantonly destroyed the *Harvey Birch* by fire, and then found refuge and comfort in British ports: Earl Russell said it was a Confederate "vessel of war." Spain and Turkey have been more just than England. *The Times*, *The Morning Herald*, and *The Post*, followed by nearly all the leading journals, (excepting *The Daily News* and *The Star*,) have bitterly and constantly denounced the policy, the aims, the power and the right, of our Government in the prosecution of the war. In the affair of the *Trent*, England ignored its old policy and claims, that it might put us in the wrong. The news of the seizure of that ship was followed by a furious outburst of indignation and hostility from Johnny Groat's to Land's End. The wildest surmises were current and credited about our intent and policy; as, the manufactured lie, that the government at Washington was under the dictation of a mob; or, the gross absurdity, that the North, hopeless of subduing the South, had put a deliberate insult upon England, that it might in its extremity embroil itself in another war, and so have a decent pretext for making peace with the rebels! The British lion could not have sprung to its feet with more instant rage even in the event of a French invasion; only it was in menace of a foe supposed to be powerless, and not in panic before an empire known to be strong. In hot haste a virtual ultimatum was despatched across the Atlantic, containing no hint of possible diplomatic negotiations even on points of international law plainly involved and not yet settled. To aid diplomacy, large reinforcements were at once shipped to Canada. In the extremity of our Republic, before we had completed our preparations for coping with the rebellion, ere we had gained a single great victory, England sent us an ultimatum, and sent a large force to our borders in menace, while the whole British press poured out a volley of anathemas. Mr. Seward's note to Lord Lyons, indicating a pacific solution of the difficulty, was in the hands of the ministers of the crown, and its contents carefully suppressed. And only the good sense of our government, and the moderation of our "mob," kept Old England from the unspeakable shame of making war upon a free Republic in the interests of a slave-holding confederacy. Then, of course, there came a lull in the storm, but still no concession to the justice or rights of our cause; there was silence but no favor:

Turpiter obticuit, sublato jure nocendi.

Of this attitude and public policy of England in respect to our struggle, there is one and only one possible solution, in consonance with all the facts of the case. The preeminence of Great Britain is the historical idea of British statesmanship. This may spring from the latent conviction that Eng-

lish supremacy is for the greatest good of mankind ; it is, at any rate, sufficiently powerful to absorb all minor morals and objects. The peculiarity of the British power, as compared with that of all other great historic nations, is seen in the fact that it is the only island which has ever ruled continents. The marvellous energy, pluck, good sense, and pertinacity of the British people have given it unequalled success in the planting and holding of colonies. It has also been able at home to combine the most diverse interests in one orderly and wonderful state. Monarchy, aristocracy, representative government, commerce and manufactures are wrought into one system, making one power as never before. To support all these interests, to remain a great and growing power, it must have great colonies, and a proportionate maritime and commercial superiority. It lives and thrives through and by its possessions abroad. It is by necessity ambitious for foreign conquest and rule. Some of its interests, especially those of the aristocratic, the manufacturing, and the commercial classes, seem endangered by the example, or by the growing power of our Republic. Dread of this power, and of its future growth, controls the words and policy of many of England's greatest and best men. Our democracy is disliked by their aristocracy; our manufactures rival theirs; our commerce threatens at many points to supplant theirs. We are in dangerous proximity to some of their best colonies. They can hardly replace the drain we make upon their people by the superior advantages our land holds out to their more destitute population. In this state of things, what was more natural than that, in such a crisis as ours, all these threatened interests should rise up against us? Our hour had come; it was our time of rupture and of weakness; this Republic seemed rent asunder. Now, if ever, was the opportunity, without infringing on the letter of the public law, to make use of practicable means for giving aid and comfort to the cause of Secession, thus hastening the dissolution of the Union. In many ways this would be for the advantage of England. The United States would cease to be a first rate power. Southern cotton could be directly exchanged for English manufactures. The need of a strong force in Canada and the West Indies would be curtailed; and the Monroe Doctrine would become a dead letter. It would also be proved, that Republics tend to subdivision. Thus the material and commercial prosperity of Great Britain might be enhanced, and its aristocracy have a new lease of power, both in church and state.

AMERICANS WRITING FROM ENGLAND.—The foregoing impressions are fully confirmed by Americans visiting England. One, obviously an intelligent Christian, whose letter appears in the *Boston Recorder* of October 30, says: "All are bitter and severe on America. This war gives them an excuse to vent out what always has been in them,—an intense dislike of our institutions, and an unconscious envy of our sudden prosperity. All are befooled and misled by the *Times*, which is full of lies as an egg is full of meat. It is committed to misrepresentation of us, and will publish nothing which bears on the other side. It desires to see our country divided. All the sympathies of the English are with the South; all hesitate not to avow their sympathies; all profess horror and execration of the war; all declare that our cause is hopeless. I thought I might lecture on the war; but I had rather speak to the north wind. Nobody will hear; nobody wishes to know the truth. There is a universal and intense desire to see our eternal division. It has become fashionable to sneer at the slave. There is no anti-slavery sentiment that I have heard. They say they like the South because the Southrons are gentlemen, are land-owners, are aristocrats, and are oppressed by barbarians, by plebeian adventurers. It is the aim of all parties to do us

all the harm they can, because they see that the war will be fatal to their *trade*, and because they fear a people who can put one million men into the field. No arguments will tell on the English mind but *results*. When we have succeeded, they will be silent, except to curse and to hate."

We devoutly trust that all this cannot be true; but clearly there is rising between the two countries a state of feeling sure, if not checked and changed, to end in evils to both parties and the world, which no arithmetic can compute. Nobody here doubts the settled, chronic hostility of the aristocratic, ruling classes in England to our government; but the great body of her people, whose interests and political views are mainly in harmony with our own, we still regard as friendly to us, and likely to continue so, unless the aristocrats, who hold in their hands, just as our slave-holders do, the chief engines of influence, shall succeed in misleading and embittering their minds beyond cure. If they do, we see no escape from the evils ahead; and, in every view of the case, the friends of peace in the two countries will need to be constantly on their guard, and use their utmost efforts to avert the threatened storm.

OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST OUR REBELS :

ITS AIM AND SPIRIT AS VIEWED BY LOYAL CHRISTIANS.

We have been hoping that the necessity for war had passed. We thought that henceforth reason and argument, and the peaceful ballot, were to be the forces to purify and elevate mankind. We have seen, in Christian England, great measures of humanity and great constitutional reforms accomplished, with no conflict but that of free discussion, and no revolution but that of public sentiment. We have believed that this hereafter was to be the law of progress in civilized nations; but how it might be in a land where a high Christian civilization was wedded with such a barbarism as all Christendom abhors; where side by side with every liberty which is precious to man, has stood and grown mightier every day, a system whose perpetuity requires that those liberties should be restricted and denied—this we had not taken into the account. And now the question has come squarely upon us, whether we will relinquish these hard-earned liberties, or whether we will hold them in battle, and cement them, if need be, with blood.

With multitudes of our fellow-countrymen in these alienated States, we had no controversy. To the institution of Slavery, considered as an evil entailed on them by our common ancestors, much as we lament it, we could have no active hostility. But to the system, as shaped and organized by its modern advocates into a political despotism; to the theory of government which it engenders; to its aggressions and demands; to its insolent attempt to dictate our opinions, and decide what men we shall elect to office; to the spirit of conspiracy, intrigue, and violence which is its natural fruit; every principle of freedom which we prize is irreconcilably hostile. Reason has failed to remove these differences. Argument and persuasion have been wasted. Compromises have been in vain. The laws and the Constitution have been set at naught. All that remained for us, was either to buy a base peace by the surrender of our liberties, or to establish them firmer than ever with the untaught hand of war.

Let us not think, moreover, that the conflict into which we entered, is to terminate merely with these local interests. We cannot fight the battles of our country against treason, without fighting at the same time a battle of freedom for mankind. If the Revolution which gave this land its birth, sent forth a wave of influence which rocked the thrones of the Old World, and whose vibrations still tremble in the heart of nations, so the issues of this contest are to be felt with swifter impulse in every land that knows the American name. Yes; we have great work on hand. We are to prove in the face of all nations, that a popular government is strong enough to punish treason. We are to show that a people can be as loyal to their elected rulers as to a hereditary king. We are to show, that a government can be defended and maintained as thoroughly by the rallying hosts of free-men, fresh from honest toil, as by the costly machinery of standing armies. We are to show at what price we hold our rights, what sacrifice we will make to keep them, how deeply the principles of justice have sunk into the American heart, how wisely we can use the difficult advantage, which may be put into our power, of striking the death-blow of Slavery on this Continent; for all these issues seem to be wrapt up in the contest. We shall begin by vindicating our own freedom; but, when we have thoroughly done that, we shall be apt to find that unawares we have shattered and cast down into the dust, the last power in Christendom which dared to maintain the right to enslave a fellow-man.—*Rev. W. H. Goodrich.*

MITIGATIONS OF WAR.

Evils of every sort are so inseparable from war—in any form,—that we are glad to record any facts which can relieve a picture so revolting as a civil strife in particular must always be. The general rule will inevitably be violence, cruelty, crime, suffering; but, mingled with these, we occasionally find feelings and deeds that win our sympathy, admiration and love. We quote a few on both sides of the present struggle:—

FACTS CREDITABLE TO THE REBELS.—*A magnanimous Rebel.*—A Colonel of one of the Louisiana regiments saw a poor private, a Federalist, lying wounded alone by the roadside, and begging for a drink. The Colonel dismounted, and, taking the soldier's canteen, went to the creek, and filled it, gave him a drink, and placed him in an easier position; all this while our bullets were flying thick around him. I am very sorry I do not know the gallant Colonel's name. He never did a nobler act on the field.

Rebel Treatment of Prisoners.—We are glad, said the *Baltimore American*, to contradict the rumors of barbarous treatment of our soldiers after the battle at Manassas. We learn that every attention was paid to the wounded which the most humane could have desired; one soldier affirming that when he called upon the man who had shot him down for some water, the Confederate supplied him from his own canteen. Let every humane act of either side be chronicled.

FACTS FROM OUR ARMY.—*Gen. Burnside's Address to his Army before the Battle of Roanoke.*—"On the march of the army, all unnecessary injury to houses, barns, fences, and other property, will be carefully avoided, and in all cases the laws of civilized warfare will be strictly observed. Wounded (rebel) soldiers will be treated with every care and attention; and neither they nor prisoners must be insulted or annoyed by word or act."

Generous Treatment of Inhabitants by our Troops.—They have taken special pains to guard their persons and property, even where fathers and sons were away fighting in the rebel army against the Government; and their prisoners have quite generally expressed surprise at the kind treatment received at our hands, and thousands have refused to return on exchange or parole. "It is worthy of remark," says a Chaplain writing from Winchester, Va., "that I have not seen or heard of a *single invasion of private right or intrusion* since our arrival in this town. This course is highly appreciated by the Secessionists, and tends greatly to disabuse the Southern mind of the impression that we are all barbarians."

Absence of Malice in the Army.—"I have conversed," says a correspondent of the *Prot. Churchman*, "with innumerable soldiers, officers and privates, with a view to discover their prevalent feelings. In some cases I have found that thoughtless ardor for a brush or a battle which pervades all armies; but in no one instance have I detected a spirit of malignity. On the contrary, over and over again have I heard generous and sad regrets at the dreadful necessity of taking up arms against brethren, profound wonder at the infatuation which seeks to overthrow this most beneficent of human governments, hopes that the Union may be preserved with little bloodshed, and that fraternal feeling toward their Northern brethren may soon revisit the South. This, beyond all doubt, is the prevailing spirit of this magnificent citizen army."

General Spirit of our People.—Sad as the present aspect of affairs throughout our land must appear to those who may have hoped for better things, it is still cheering to discern traces of the softening and humanizing spirit of the Gospel, as shown in the forbearance of our Government toward those who have so wantonly sought to overthrow it; in the great reluctance to the shedding of blood, which from the first has been manifest among those who do not feel restrained from taking part in the strife; and in the earnest desire of the great mass of our fellow-countrymen, that the contest might be a short one. May we not here see the happy result of those Christian sentiments which have been cherished during a long period of peace and prosperity.—*Friend, Philadelphia.*

The feeling prevalent from the first all over the North, is thus described by Rev. Dr. BUTLER, Episcopal minister in Washington:—"Having so long breathed an atmosphere heavy with the poisonous fumes of treason, I found the patriotic gales which were sweeping over the mountains, plains and cities of the loyal States, most invigorating and refreshing. Some of the observations which I then made, were very encouraging. First, and best of all, I was glad to find a calm and kind temper prevailing at the North. As I had heard so much in this community of its bitter spirit, I determined particularly to notice spontaneous expressions of feeling. Mingling as I did with all classes, and in various places, I recollect, but two instances in which I heard expressions of revengeful feeling; and those had reference to South Carolina. Since my return, I have heard Mr. Holt (a slaveholder) repeat emphatically the declaration made in one of his public speeches, that in all his wide sweep over the West and North, he did not hear one revengeful or unbecoming expression of feeling towards the South."

RELIGION IN OUR ARMY.—Its general Character.—There has never been a war in human history, unless it was that between the Parliamentary forces and the Royalists in England, which resulted in the dethronement of Charles I., in which there was so large a number of praying men on the right side of the conflict, as in ours. Nearly every regiment which

has yet gone forward has its Chaplain. In every regiment at Washington there have been thus far religious services on the Sabbath; and it is found that in most of the regiments the men are provided with Bibles and hymn-books. Prayer-meetings, too, are maintained in several of the regiments, and a daily Union prayer-meeting has been established in Washington, at which large numbers of the soldiers attend. The Fulton prayer-meeting for the past three weeks, has been witness to many touching scenes, when members and officers of the different regiments took their leave, asking the prayers of those who remained, and avowing their determination to live for Christ, even amid the temptations of the camp, and to endeavor to glorify God, living or dying. Such soldiers will fight well; for it is not the mad impulse of revenge, or the fierce and transient excitement of the smell of blood, or the stimulus of intoxication, which makes them fight, but their firm and decided conviction of the right.—*N. Y. Examiner.*

The moral and religious tone of the grand Union army of the Potomac has no parallel in the history of armies. Prayer-meetings and religious organizations are common in almost every regiment, and perhaps in every one, where the chaplain is a *pious* man. The vices of the camp have always been numbered among the worst scourges of war; its slaughters and desolations are as nothing compared with the moral waste and ruin which usually follow in the train of armies. The hundreds of thousands of men who are now in arms, are to return to their homes; and their virtues or vices will go with them, and have their influence in every neighborhood, and in every grade of society.

Methodists in the Army.—Every military camp abounds with Methodist men. There are regiments in which they form perhaps a majority of the whole. There are companies composed of but little else. We are greatly mistaken, if they do not outnumber any other class of religionists. And they are in the main worthy representatives of the church. They do not hesitate to stand out among their associates in camp in their proper religious character. As brigade, regimental or company officers, they delight to look after the religious welfare of their men, and to participate in the various forms of devotional exercise common to camp-life. Methodist colonels there are who make it a first consideration to foster and support all healthy religious movements in their regiments. We know Methodist captains who night and morning read the Scriptures, and offer up prayer at the head of their companies. And in the rank and file many are to be found no less faithful, zealous and efficient. By their patient and untiring efforts they ably second the religious movements of the army chaplains, and aid in the diffusion of sound morals through the army. *The greatest moral problem of to-day is the preservation of our citizen soldiery from moral taint.* In this movement the Methodist Church is in the van, battling for spiritual victories where men are training for physical conflict.—*Pittsburg Chr. Adv.*

A Praying Regiment.—A few days since, the several regiments of Gen Sickles' Brigade were sworn into the service of the United States by the administration of the customary oath. Four regiments had been sworn in, and each took the solemn oath, accompanied and followed by hurrahs. When the fifth regiment was drawn up in line, an officer of one of the companies, stepping to the front, addressed Gen. Sickles, and requested that his regiment might be sworn in with prayer. It was too solemn a moment for hurrahs. The General told him the chaplains were absent, and there was no one to call upon to perform the duty. The officer replied that he would call upon one under his command, if the General would give

him leave. Consent was given. The duty was explained to the regiment; and the officer called upon a youth, *seventeen years of age*, to step to the front, and lead in prayer. He did so; and the whole regiment was melted into tears, as well as hundreds who were standing around as witnesses of the scene. The men stood weeping after the prayer was over. So deeply affected was the General, that he sent for the chaplains to come and witness the scene. It was from his own lips that these facts were derived.—*N. Y. Sun*.

It will be seen from the above extracts, that the Christian conscience of the Free States is deeply in the effort of our Government to suppress this rebellion. They feel about it just as they would about enforcing the laws against a gang of incendiaries or pirates, as a matter of Christian duty that they owe to society and to God. It is only this view that can relieve the revolting aspects of the contest; and this just intensifies the utter atrocity of the rebellion.

DEPRECIATION OF REBEL PROPERTY.—Most kinds of property throughout the South have, in consequence of the rebellion, fallen in value for the time, if not permanently, more than fifty per cent. We will quote only a few facts as specimens of what is well-nigh universal.

Of slave property the depreciation has everywhere been immense. "In South Carolina, remote from the scene of the war, which it has done the most to excite, slaves that before the rebellion averaged \$1000 in value, are now sold for \$300 to \$400, and the females bring the highest price, the males being more liable to seizure for military service, and more liable than the females to seize themselves." A Baltimore paper (*The American*) said some time ago, that "slaves of a description that used to bring a thousand dollars before the rebellion, cannot now be sold for a hundred." The Louisville (Ky) Journal "reckons the depreciation on the 185,000 slaves in South Carolina, even in Confederate shin-plasters, as equivalent to \$264,000,000. What a monstrous loss for a State no richer than South Carolina! If the depreciation of slaves has already been so great in a State remote from the scene of the war, what has it probably been in Virginia and Tennessee?"

Take the reports from these two States. "It will take," says the Richmond Examiner, "one hundred full years to restore Virginia to the condition in which the war found it." This was said early this autumn; but six or twelve months hence what may be her condition! "Clarkville, Tenn., had in its palmy days 10,000 inhabitants; but there are not now half that number here. More than half, perhaps two-thirds, of the stores are closed. There was, before the rebellion, considerable wealth here; but now every one is poor in purse, and real estate and all kinds of property have only a nominal value."

"There is no disguising the fact," said Gov. Magoffin, Ky., before the recent incursions, "that the people are suffering seriously in every

quarter of the State for the want of means to meet their engagements. Trade is stopped in a great measure ; and even what produce finds its way to market, is sold at ruinous sacrifices. In regions over which the contending armies have passed, large amounts of property have been taken or destroyed, the country has been made desolate, and large numbers of the people, who were contented, comfortable and independent, are suffering for the necessaries of life. Their fences have been destroyed, and their stock and provisions taken, so that many cannot make a crop this year. Add to this, that many persons have been frightened or dragged from their homes and suffering families. The laws are silent, or cannot be executed. Universal gloom and distress pervade these regions. Families are divided and broken up, and each has its wrongs or its woes to relate. Starvation stares many in the face. In more highly favored districts, no property of any description can be sold at one-third of its former value. The people are much in debt. They would gladly pay, if they could ; but owing to the great reduction in the circulation of the banks, the enormous war debt which must be met by an increase of taxation, the destruction of property and of confidence, the withdrawal of their funds by capitalists, the consequent fall in prices, and the great indebtedness of our people, bankruptcy and ruin stare them in the face."

Slavery is vanishing from Missouri more rapidly even than its enemies predicted. Secession has made the State too hot for the institution ; and secessionists are daily leaving the State for the South, with their slaves, to escape the very dangers they themselves madly invited and provoked. We argued, six months ago, that secession in Missouri would overthrow slavery in the State, and hurry the institution to its doom. But the secessionists would not listen to its doom. They are now verifying our predictions by fleeing with their slaves from the consequences of their own folly.—*St. Louis News*.

"Our Southern cities, and especially Vicksburg, can be compared very well to a steamer on the Mississippi, whose bottom is perforated by a thousand holes, which is perceptibly and rapidly going under. There is no business doing. The shelves are bare, the merchants lolling on the counters. There is no money, no credit, and provisions scarce and dear. If the war continues, this whole country will be overwhelmed in bankruptcy and ruin."—*Letter from Vicksburg, Miss.*

It is of course impossible to say precisely how far property throughout the South has depreciated as the result thus far of this rebellion ; but it is quite clear that its market value has already fallen on an average of more than fifty per cent. What a terrible blow, like a thunder-bolt from heaven, upon a whole people ! It cleaves down the high as well as the low. "The losses in property, and the sufferings," says one writing not long ago from New Orleans, "are enormous. The Soules, for example, had, before the war, an income of \$80,000 a year, but this is now reduced to a mere living on plain pork and flour !"

CHURCH ACCOMMODATION IN THE U. S.—The census for 1860 contains the following, among other important items of intelligence ; a table showing the church accommodations of the various denominations—the Methodists at 4,209,333 ; the Baptists, 3,130,878 ; the Presbyterians, 2,322,202 ; and the sum total of all denominations, 13,849,896,

THE BATTLE AUTUMN OF 1862.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

The flags of war like storm-birds fly,
The charging trumpets blow ;
Yet rolls no thunder in the sky,
No earthquake strives below.

And calm and patient Nature keeps
Her ancient promise well,
Though o'er her bloom and greenness sweeps
The battle's breath of hell.

And still she walks in golden hours
Through harvest-happy farms,
And still she wears her fruits and flowers
Like jewels on her arms.

What means the gladness of the plain,
This joy of eve and morn,
The mirth that shakes the beard of grain,
And yellow locks of corn ?

Ah ! eyes may well be full of tears,
And hearts with hate are hot ;
But even-paced come round the years,
And Nature changes not.

She meets with smiles our bitter grief,
With songs our groans of pain ;
She mocks with tint of flower and leaf
The war-field's crimson stain.

Still in the cannon's pause, we hear
Her sweet thanksgiving psalm ;
Too near to God for doubt or fear,
She shares the eternal calm.

She knows the seed lies safe below
The fires that blast and burn ;
For all the tears of blood we sow,
She waits the rich return.

She sees with clearer eye than ours,
The good of suffering born,
The hearts that blossom like her flowers,
And ripen like her corn.

Oh, give to us, in times like these,
The vision of her eyes ;
And make her fields and fruited trees
Our golden prophecies !

Oh, give to us her finer ear !
Above this stormy din,
We too would hear the bells of cheer
Ring peace and freedom in.

REBEL MODES OF WARFARE.

Our rebels have all along indulged, with little or no scruple, in nearly all sorts of crime and cruelty most likely, in their view, to compass their ends; and yet their leaders, when our Government has attempted to check such outrages by any wholesome severity, have cried out lustily against it as a violation of the laws of civilized warfare, and resorted in some cases to threats of retaliation and vengeance. All war, indeed, is little else than legalized barbarity; but the chief atrocities in this rebellion have been perpetrated by the rebels, while our government has treated them with a lenity which most persons would regard as culpably suicidal to ourselves.

“ We do not charge that the rebel leaders have any special preference for barbarous warfare, or that they would not, under ordinary circumstances, attempt to keep within those limits of civilized warfare for which, in every published document, they profess such a profound respect; but that, as a matter of policy and of set purpose, they have been and are willing to see the war degenerate into the practice of any sort of inhumanities, however shocking; and that when they falsely declare themselves *driven* to a course which they abhor, they in fact only pursue by craftily disguised means a system which they have from the first been ready enough to enter upon, and by which they propose to themselves to secure certain advantages.

In every case where expedients likely to be disapproved by the world at large, have been resorted to, the rebels have been the party introducing them. They resorted to privateering, condemned by the sense of the civilized world. They introduced the savage practice of picket-shooting. They invoked the aid of Indian warfare, with all its barbarities. They resorted to guerilla fighting, with the certainty that by entering upon a practice which is unknown to the recognized laws of warfare, stringent repressive measures and retaliation, with their bitter hostilities, would be the natural result. Indeed, in such a matter as the stone blockade, viewed with such affected horror by foreign critics, they set the example; while it is certain they early undertook a general and most cruel proscription of all citizens not agreeing to their movement, and the sequestration of property belonging to such persons.

The effect of these practices has been to give this war that cruel, relentless aspect which traditionally belongs to a civil contest. In one year's time we have slid, as it were, into a comparative indifference to savage proceedings, which would not fail to excite our horror, if we saw them in progress elsewhere. It is only familiarity with the infamous barbarities systematically incited and defended by the rebel leaders, that suffers the public to take so coolly the cruel murder of the gallant General McCook, shot while riding, sick, in his ambulance, by one of those wayside murderers whom the rebel leaders encourage and protect under the name of guerillas.

We do not lightly say the rebel leaders sanction and encourage this barbarous debasement of the conflict. The proceeding is entirely in accordance with the policy which led them to provoke a war at the outset,—the policy of so embittering and maddening the opposing parties as to make reunion impossible. They have fully estimated the fresh obstacles placed in the way of reconstructing our government by every mouth of passion, and by every hardship and outrage. They deliberately invited an armed contest, and forced it upon their people of set purpose. They have steadily pursued the policy of protracting it, and of giving its moral effect upon their people the added strength of every conceivable aggravation and revengeful motive.

Their resort to the savage and even infamous expedients which they have

used, has been a part of this policy, so systematically carried out from the moment of the attack on Sumter. Beyond this, we believe there is good reason for the opinion, that the rebel leaders have also designed to degrade the war in the eyes of the foreign world by the introduction of every repulsive feature, while feigning regret at such a change in its character! This is done with an assumption of pure intention and of Christian regret, which might excite the envious admiration of an English minister of state. Nevertheless it is matter of history, that the Confederate leaders themselves began and still keep up the practices which have led to the orders now so severely denounced by them in documents evidently intended for effect abroad. How are we to understand these things, except on the assumption that there is a settled purpose to give this war a character which shall excite the horror of nations abroad, and thus lead them, if possible, to intervention?—*Boston Advertiser*, Aug., 1862.

PRACTICES OF GUERRILLAS.—For a year past our soldiers in Virginia, however scrupulous their officers may have been as to interference with the inhabitants of the country, have been held as fair game for every man who could find opportunity for a shot from rock or bush. The “peaceful tillers of the soil,” acting as guerillas at one moment, have at the next, when detected, thrown themselves upon their immunity as non-combatants. When the pretence is made, that this or that method of warfare has been inaugurated by the government, let it be remembered that the rebels themselves have encouraged and carried on these irregular practices for a twelvemonth, and that every farmer in his homespun has been a guerilla while his rifle was in his hands, and transformed into a non-combatant when it was in the hedge.—*Id.*

EXULTATION OVER FALLEN REBELS.

There is, even in the victories of the best cause, something inexpressibly sad to every Christian or humane heart, and most of all in a civil war where every blow or ball strikes some kindred bosom. We felt a keen disappointment at the failure of Mr. Sumner's noble attempt in our Senate to discourage among our troops a spirit of exultation over discomfited rebels. Let us thank God for their discomfiture, but do so only in deepest sorrow for the evils they have brought upon themselves as well as upon our country. Well did the Louisville (Ky.) Journal say of the early defeats of the rebels in that State:—

“The Cincinnati papers feel inclined to criticise the conduct of Louisville, because our citizens have not gone frantic with joy over our recent glorious victories, and burned powder and tar barrels and candles in salutes, bonfires, and illuminations. We believe we feel as much gratification at the success of the Union armies, as those who shout themselves hoarse with huzzaing; but our joy is tempered with sadness. There is hardly a loyal citizen of Louisville, but has a son or other young relative in the rebel ranks, where they were artfully enticed by Buckner and his infernal co-plotters in treason. The salvos for our victories may be discharged over their graves; our shouts of triumph may fill the air in terrible discord with their groans as they lie wounded, and the glare from an illuminated house, so cheerful without, may fall upon a family circle bent in prayer for the return of absent wanderers, and that they may see the error of their conduct toward their country. There are mothers, whose hearts

glow with every feeling of patriotism, yet "refuse to be comforted" because they know that their dear, kind, light-hearted, honorable young boys would not have done wrong, had they not been tempted by fiends in the guise of angels. The painter, when he felt unable to picture the extremity of grief, hit upon the expedient of concealing the face of the mourner. Let the privacy of home be the same veil to the agony of the mothers of our city.

There are other reasons which impede the full flow of rejoicing in our city, to which it is unnecessary to refer; but they all show that any proposed illumination would not be general, and, therefore, we have no hesitation in discountenancing it altogether. We do not hesitate to declare that we do not feel like making any outward manifestations of rejoicing at the victories over so many of our deluded children and brothers. The terrible humiliation to which they have been and must be subjected, will be worse than a thousand deaths; and let us throw the mantle of charity over their delusion, as if they were in their graves. But when the rebellion is thoroughly suppressed, and the masses in the South are relieved from their despots, then, when peace is proclaimed, we will go in for pageants and processions, and bumpers, and illuminations. We will then garland our articles in triumph with laurel; but now they are so badly twined with cypress, that we have not one thought of joy beyond that which every patriot must feel in the conquering march of our victorious armies, even though the hearts of those we cannot cease to love, are trampled beneath their mammoth tread. Let Cincinnati rejoice, and may God bless its noble State for timely relief in our hour of deadly peril; but let Kentucky continue to fight the good fight for the Union resolutely and sternly, without asking her to pause in her career to think what misery, and desolation, and degradation her poor deluded young men have drawn upon themselves. There has been but one Lucius Junius Brutus on the page of history; and yet there is many a father in Kentucky who is ready to give signal for the sacrifice of his sons, and shout, though the death-agony pierce his heart:


Justice is satisfied, my country free !

WIDE EFFECTS OF WAR.—They reach through the world. Look at England and France keenly suffering from our rebellion. See its disastrous results upon our neighbors in Cuba. "The price of sugar has fallen, and the price of provisions and the rates of freight enormously increased, so that many of the planters and factors are likely to be ruined. Coolies cannot be sold for the cost of their transportation from China, and one house has two thousand on hand, the feeding of whom is no small expense."

HOSPITALS FOR SOLDIERS.—Nearly six months ago we heard there were about 10,000 sick or wounded soldiers in Philadelphia alone. A Washington correspondent of the *N. Y. Times* says, "the different hospitals in that city contain over 19,000 patients; and that the country for miles around the battle-field of Antietam, is one vast hospital, every barn, stable and other building being filled with the wounded." At Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Louisville, all over the land, how vast the number of such sufferers on our side of this rebellion, and how much greater among the rebels!

REBEL RELIANCE ON COTTON.—They have had, said the *Charleston Mercury*, four instrumentalities to win them peace, and the acknowledgment of their independence—1. Negotiation ; 2. Fighting on the seas, or privateering ; 3. Fighting on land ; 4. Cotton. Two of these have confessedly failed. The object for which Commissioners were sent to Europe, is lost ; and privateering, as a means to coerce a peace, by sweeping the shipping of the United States from the seas, is at an end. France, Great Britain and Spain have prohibited our privateers from carrying their prizes into their ports ; and we cannot bring them into our own, for they are blockaded. If the prizes taken by our privateers cannot be sold either in the ports of foreign nations or our own, privateering cannot be successful in its money-making results, and consequently will be discontinued. The commission is, therefore, a complete failure. Fighting on land may go on for a long time without any decisive results.

"Cotton is far more speedy and certain in its operation. It is not confined in its influence to the Continent of North America ; it extends to Europe, and appeals to all civilized nations to put an end to the war which may prevent supplies necessary to the subsistence of millions of their people. We have only to withdraw our Commissioners, dismiss all the foreign consuls from our ports, and hold on to our cotton ; and the armies of the United and Confederate States constitute but a small portion of the population to be killed by the war between them. Starvation in Europe will destroy fifty times more than rifles and cannon in America. And it must do it speedily. "In six months"—this was early in the rebellion—"there must be immense distress, and in nine months convulsions, political, commercial and social, in more than one country of Europe, if the cotton of the Confederate States is withheld from exportation. We can make the foreign nations who require our cotton our friends,—nay, our allies against the United States, to put an end to the war which interferes with their necessities and welfare. Neither to Great Britain nor France would a war with the United States be one-half as disastrous as the deprivation of the cotton of the Confederate States. The commerce of the U. S. is nothing to them. On cotton, therefore, more than on diplomacy ; on cotton more than fighting on sea or land, do we rely for coercing the recognition by foreign nations of the independence of the Confederate States, and the termination of the war."

 **THE FRIENDS OF PEACE**—will bear in mind, that *December* is the common time for their annual contributions to our Cause. We need not say *how much* we need their aid, *more now than ever before* ; for while we are of course doing less than usual, we are compelled, if we would keep the Cause alive, *as it must be by all means*, to go for awhile *much beyond our income*. We cannot just now make appeals for aid to *the public at large* ; and hence the Cause, if sustained at all, must rely almost solely upon the comparatively few so intelligently interested in it, as to feel a personal responsibility for its continued support through its present straits. If such friends do not come *spontaneously* to its aid, it cannot be sustained at all. We cannot call on them in person, but must leave them to "stir up their own pure minds by way of remembrance," and forward to *American Peace Society, Boston*, whatever they can give. Our Cause, *now prospectively more needed than ever*, its plighted friends *must* not for a moment think of giving up in the teeth of any storm of war. As God is true we shall yet reap, if we faint not.

TO EDITORS—the Advocate is sent in the hope that they will in their own columns use its contents, in whatever way they may think best, to diffuse as much light as possible on the subject to which it is devoted, and thus help form a public sentiment that shall gradually supersede war by introducing better means for the settlement of national disputes.

TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL—the Advocate is occasionally sent without charge. We hope it will be welcome, and lead them to examine and advocate the great cause which it pleads.

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GEO. C. BECKWITH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, to whom may be sent all communications designed for the Society.

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